

Northern Institutional Profile Analysis: Chukchi Sea

Social and Economic Studies



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**Northern Institutional Profile Analysis:
Chukchi Sea**

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IMPACT ASSESSMENT, INC.

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Alaska OCS Environmental Studies Program

Northern Institutional Profile Analysis: **Chukchi** Sea

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PREFACE

Overview

The Northern Institutional Profile Analysis (NIPA) technical report is necessarily a large document. Thus, a guide to its organization will be helpful to the reader. This structure is actually quite simple and is dictated by the main purpose of the study. Each North Slope community has been described, in as standard a manner as possible, using existing published information supplemented by a short period of fieldwork. A separate chapter is devoted to each community. These mainly descriptive and community-specific chapters are preceded by a regional chapter which describes the North Slope Borough in general and synthesizes the village-specific information in a comparative way to discuss village similarities and differences, many of which facilitate the discussion of regional issues. The decision was made to have this regional/comparative chapter before the more descriptive village chapters so that this information is more readily available and to encourage its dissemination. The length of the document makes it unreasonable to expect a reader to become familiar with all the village data before encountering a synthetic regional discussion. The discussion contained in the North Slope Region chapter should enable the user to decide which of the more detailed sections of the report it will be useful to consult. If a regional treatment or a summary discussion is **all** that the reader requires, the introduction and North Slope chapter should adequately fulfill these needs.

Including all of the communities of the North Slope in a single volume produces a document of intimidating proportions. Further, not **all readers** are likely to be interested in all of the communities of the Slope, since it is a far-flung region and in fact covers two Minerals Management Service (MMS) planning areas. For these reasons, the study was split into **two** volumes: a **Chukchi** Sea volume (Technical Report No. 141) and a Beaufort Sea volume (Technical Report No. 142). Each volume contains a common introduction and regional discussion. Each volume also contains the Barrow and **Atqasuk** chapters, as Barrow is central to any discussion of the North Slope as a region, and is physically located in both the **Chukchi** and Beaufort MMS planning regions. **Atqasuk** is treated, for the purposes of this study, as analytically inseparable from Barrow. The **Chukchi** Sea report contains the chapters covering the additional communities of Point Hope, Point Lay, and **Wainwright**. The Beaufort Sea report contains the additional communities of Anaktuvuk Pass, Kaktovik, and **Nuiqsut**.

Report Organization and Objectives

In each report, the North Slope regional chapter is itself preceded by a chapter of introduction. The introduction introduces regional issues at a more general level, untied to specific data, than do the subsequent chapters. It thus provides a contextual framework for those later chapters. Much of this information could have logically been contained in the North Slope chapter, but would perhaps have been obscured by the detailed discussion presented there. This separation also has

the advantage of making the presentation of material in the North Slope and following village chapters as standard and comparable as possible.

The objectives of the NIPA project are to provide, in a single source, information on population, economy, both formal and informal **sociocultural** institutions, and infrastructure for all communities of the North Slope. It does so within a framework which will enable comparable monitoring efforts in the future so that the information can be periodically updated. The major emphasis of the study has been **on** the collection and use of the published literature on the region, supplemented **by** some work with unpublished documents and very short periods of fieldwork. This emphasis was dictated **by** limitations on the time and money available for this research, as well as a desire to collect as far as possible the descriptive results of previous MMS studies in the region. The study is not primarily original research in the sense that one of its intentions was the collection of a substantial body of new data. Rather, its explicit **goal** was the gathering together of the information that already existed and to make this information easier to access and **use**.

The need for a study such as NIPA has grown from a combination of the present information needs of MMS and the history of the research program which MMS has sponsored. MMS funded this study because having a single, comprehensive, source for this information will be useful to its analysts in the assessment of current **sociocultural** and **socioeconomic** conditions and trends on the North Slope. MMS has become increasingly interested in descriptive and more primary data so that MMS analysts can evaluate for themselves the analysis provided by their contractors. This descriptive information should also be quite useful to other planning agencies (village, regional, state) in carrying out their charges, and so should find a more general audience. Prior to this study, the results of previous work on the North Slope were for the most part only available in the original study reports and required the consultation of many different volumes.

The reader will note that the coverage of the communities is not comparable. This is primarily due to two factors. First, some communities have a much larger body of literature associated with them than others, for a variety of reasons. Second, Impact Assessment, Inc. has had several other MMS contracts involving fieldwork in some North Slope communities which has allowed us to provide more detailed information for those communities than for others. Additionally, limited fieldwork dictated that some communities (**Atqasuk** in particular) **would** receive less attention because of the amount of time required and the lack of substantial previous research.

Appendices **A, B, and C** of both reports contain information related to the NSB Census of Population and Economy (1988-89) upon which much of the most current quantitative information in these reports is based. Appendix **D** contains updated information on household income and spending patterns that became available subsequent to the completion of the body of these reports.

CONTENTS

Chukchi Sea Northern Institutional Profile Analysis

Introduction

North Slope Borough Region

Atkasuk

Barrow

Point Hope

Point Lay

Wainwright

Bibliography

Appendix A:

List of Primary Occupation Categories
NSB Census of Population and Economy

Appendix B:

List of Primary Industry Categories
NSB Census of Population and Economy

Appendix C

Methodology and Quality Control
NSB Census of Population and Economy

Appendix D:

Updated Household Income and Spending Data

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

AA	Alcoholics Anonymous
AAIA	Association of American Indian Affairs
AANHs	Alaska Area Native Health Service
ACI	Alaska consultants, Inc.
ACS	Alaska Communications System
ADCRA	Alaska Department of Community and Regional Affairs
ADF&G	Alaska Department of Fish and Game
AEIDC	Arctic Environmental Information and Data Center
AEwc	Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission
AFN	Alaska Federation of Natives
AFNA	Alaska Federation of Natives Association
AIN	Wainwright
AKP	Anaktuvuk Pass
ALS	Alaska Legal Services, Inc.
ANCSA	Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971
ANF	Alaska Native Foundation
ANICA	Alaska Native Industries cooperative Association
ANILCA	Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act of 1980
ANWR	Arctic National Wildlife Refuge
ARCON	Arctic Contractors
ASNA	Arctic Slope Native Association
ASRC	Arctic Slope Regional Corporation
ASRCHA	Arctic Slope Regional Corporation Housing Authority
ASTAC	Arctic Slope Telephone Association Cooperative
ATQ	Atqasuk
ATV	All-Terrain Vehicle
AVE	Authorized Village Entity
AWIC	Arctic Women In Crisis
BAP	Barrow Alcohol Program
BIA	Bureau of Indian Affairs
BRW	Barrow
BUECI	Barrow Utilities and Electrical Cooperative, Inc.
BUI	Barrow Utilities, Inc.
CB	Citizen's Band Radio
CD	Compact Disc
CHA	Community Health Aide
CHP	Community Health Practitioner
CHR	Community Health Representative
CIP	Capital Improvements Program (North Slope Borough)
CMH	Community Mental Health

Acronyms and Abbreviations (continued)

CMHC	Community Mental Health Center
CNN	Cable News Network
COD	Cash On Delivery
DCRA	(Alaska) Department of Community and Regional Affairs
DEW Line	Distant Early Warning Line
DOI	Department of the Interior
DPS	(North Slope Borough) Department of Public Safety
ECE	Early Childhood Education
EIS	Environmental Impact Statement
EMS	Emergency Medical Service
FAS	Fetal Alcohol Syndrome
FTE	Full-Time Equivalent
GED	General Education Diploma .
HH	Household
HRAF	Human Relations Area Files
HSS	Health and social Services (NSB)
HUD	Housing and Urban Development
IAI	Impact Assessment , Inc.
ICAS	Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope
IHS	Indian Health Semite
IR	Incident Report
IRA	Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (extended to Alaska 1936)
IRS	Internal Revenue Service
ISER	Institute of Social and Economic Research
IWC	International Whaling Commission
KAK	Kaktovik
KIC	Kaktovik Inupiat Corporation
MJP	Mayor's Job Program
MMs	Minerals Management Service
MTV	Music Television Network
NANA	Northwest Alaska Native Association
NARL	Naval Arctic Research Laboratory
NPR-A	Naval Petroleum Reserve-Alaska
NQT	Nuiqsut
NSB	North Slope Borough
NSBDPS	North Slope Borough Department of Public Safety
NSBHS	North Slope Borough Health Service
NSBSD	North Slope Borough School District
OC	Olgoonik Corporation
OCS	Outer Continental Shelf
OEO	Office of Equal Opportunity
PA	Physician's Assistant
P/K	Prudhoe/Kuparuk Industrial Enclave

Acronyms and Abbreviations (continued)

PET-4	Naval Petroleum Reserve Number 4
PHO	Point Hope
PHS	Public Health Service
PMC	Piquniq Management Corporation
PTA	Parent-Teachers Association
PSO	Public Safety Officer
PTL	Point Lay
RELI	Rural Employment and Living Improvements
SAC	School Advisory Council
SAR	Search and Rescue
SATS	Substance Abuse Treatment Service
SCBA	Self-Contained Breathing Apparatus
SMR	Standardized Mortality Ratio
TAPS	Trans-Alaska Pipeline System
TC	Traditional Council
TDY	Temporary Duty Assignment
TLUI	Traditional Land Use Inventory
UAF	University of Alaska, Fairbanks
UIC	Ukpeagvik Inupiat Corporation (Barrow)
USDW	Utilities and School District Warehouse Combined Facility
USFWS	United States Fish and Wildlife Service
USGS	United States Geological Survey
VCR	Videocassette Recorder
VFD	Volunteer Fire Department
VHs	(A specific VCR tape format)
VISTA	Volunteers In Service To America
VSAR	Village Search and Rescue
WIC	Women-Infant-Children Program

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

I. SETTING	1
Physical Environment of the North Slope Region	1
Geopolitical Relationship of the North Slope to the State and the Nation	2
The Communities of the North Slope Borough	3
Anaktuvuk Pass	3
Atqasuk	4
Barrow	4
Kaktovik	4
Nuiqsut	5
Point Hope	5
Point Lay	5
Wainwright	6
II. GENERAL HISTORY OF THE NORTH SLOPE REGION	7
Precontact to the Whaling Period	7
Reindeer Herding and Fur Trapping and Trading	8
Post-World War II Era -Oil Exploration andthe DEW Line	8
The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) and the North Slope Borough (NSB)	9
III. THE COMMUNITIES TODAY	9
The Villages and the North Slope Borough	10
The Individual Nature ofthe Communities	12
Anaktuvuk Pass	12
Atqasuk	12
Barrow	13
Kaktovik	13
Nuiqsut	13
Point Hope	14
Point Lay	14
Wainwright	15

INTRODUCTION

I. SETTING

Physical Environment of **the North Slope** Region

A complete physical description **of** the North Slope region is beyond the scope of this report. The following brief description is intended to orient the reader and provide the essential information about the physical characteristics of the area. It is not a definitive treatment and is simplistic in many respects. The reader interested in detailed information about the specific climatic and physical features of a particular community or area of the North Slope is referred to that more specific literature.

Most of the area encompassed by the North **Slope** Borough (**NSB**) consists **of a plain** extending from the Brooks Range in the south to the Arctic Ocean on the north. The foothills of the Brooks are within the boundaries of the NSB, as is a small portion of the Brooks Range itself. **Anaktuvuk** Pass, the southernmost NSB community, **is** in the mountains. **Kaktovik** is close to the mountains in the east but is **still** a coastal community, however, as the mountains simply approach the coast closer here than at any other point in the NSB. Point Hope, on the seaward edge **of** the coastal plain in the west, is near the western part of the range, but the mountains are not as high as the eastern Brooks Range. Anaktuvuk Pass is the **only** true inland NSB community (see community discussions below). Thus, the typical landscape for a North **Slope** dweller is the flat **coastal plain**.

The Brooks Range is a topographic barrier, separating the forested land to the south from the treeless Arctic Slope. It is also the continental divide, with streams either flowing north to the Arctic **Ocean** or south to the major Alaskan rivers. Once the rivers flowing north leave the foothills and enter the arctic plain their courses meander and many lakes and marshes are formed. The entire plain, as **well** as the foothills, are underlain by permafrost. In the summer the ground only thaws to a very shallow depth, so drainage is very poor. Even though average annual precipitation is only five to fifteen inches a year, the summer tundra is waterlogged with numerous stagnant pools and marches, and most streams and rivers are characterized by long oxbow features.

Differences in temperature and the amount of sunlight (and to some extent wind) differentiate the seasons on the North Slope. Depending on one's exact location (north at Barrow or south at Point Hope), one could experience up to seventy-two days of winter darkness and summer sunshine, with the days in between being transitional. Temperatures in summer are cool, averaging in the forties (Fahrenheit) on the coast, although it can reach the eighties on occasion. Average winter temperatures are in the minus ten to minus thirty degree Fahrenheit range, with an extreme of minus sixty or seventy and a high **of plus** twenty to thirty. Temperatures in the interior can be more extreme both in the winter and summer.

The coastal environment of the North Slope is not uniform, but can generally be divided into two parts. The eastern portion, the Beaufort, includes the coast east of Barrow all the way to **Kaktovik** (and the Canadian border). There is relatively little movement of the winter ice and conditions are more **stable** than to the west. This makes conditions for hunting on the ice fairly safe, but relatively unproductive. Seal hunters must use the "**breathing-hole**" technique which

requires patience and persistence. Perhaps because of difficult conditions, **aboriginally** this area was only sparsely populated. In fact, today **Kaktovik** is the only coastal community in this region. **Nuiqsut** residents whale along this coast in the fall and exploit this area in the summer, but seem to be primarily river- and land-oriented in the winter.

The western Arctic coast, along the **Chukchi** Sea, reaches from Barrow to Point Hope. While there are areas where the ice is relatively **stable** in this region, such places are very localized. In general, there is considerable ice movement. Leads (stretches of open water) **will** open periodically during the winter, often close to **land**. This is the source of rich and relatively **easily** exploited marine resources. For this reason this area was densely populated (for the Arctic) in aboriginal times with villages or settlements at Point Barrow (two), Atanik and Point **Belcher** (both north of present day **Wainwright**), **Wainwright**, Icy Cape, Point Lay, Cape **Lisburne**, and Point **Hope**. There were also scattered houses or seasonally used campsites **all along** the coast.

The ice in this region is considered very dangerous, however, because it is very mobile. Currents in the **Chukchi** are much stronger than in the Beaufort. These ice conditions clearly have implications for oil exploration as well as for subsistence hunting, making the undertaking more technically difficult and potentially dangerous. Part of the **Chukchi coast** has a barrier island and lagoon environmental zone which is more stable in winter and productive for **fishing** in summer. However, most marine mammals are hunted beyond this area, although **beluga** may **be** driven into the lagoon to facilitate their **harvest**.

Geopolitical Relationship of the North **Slope** to the State and the Nation

To **all** intents and purposes, the political structure **of** the North **Slope** region of today is equivalent to the North **Slope** Borough (**NSB**). The relationship of the NSB to the state of Alaska and the rest of the United States is a **result** of oil development, the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (**ANCSA**), and the formation of the North Slope Borough. **ANCSA** required the formation **of** regional and village corporations, but did not address the political organization of Alaska Natives. Thus, the NSB was not a necessary (in the sense of mandated) organization. Rather, the NSB was formed from the **local** perception that local **Inupiat** interests **would best** be served by a regional government. The common perception was that the corporate form mandated by **ANCSA** was too new to many **Inupiat**, and the potential distribution of resources too wide, for the village corporations to coordinate in an effective manner for some time, even with the guidance of the regional corporation. The NSB was also seen as a way to tap a different and steady resource for the **Inupiat** people, to help supplement and develop their vision of the land rights granted them by ANCSA (for which the **ANCSA** cash settlement and corporate forms seemed inadequate and difficult to use).

All Native communities have delegated most of their city powers to the NSB, so that the NSB is administratively a single, consolidated municipality. **The** NSB consolidates the policies and powers of **all** the **villages** and can therefore work more effectively with the state and federal government. This sometimes means that individual villages are misrepresented but this is typically a minor problem. The NSB has so many more resources available to it than do the individual villages that the advantages of NSB **representation** outweigh the disadvantages. Since the State of Alaska is only somewhat less dependent on oil revenues than is the NSB, and oil production in Alaska is

primarily **concentrated** on the North Slope, the NSB has a strong position in relation to the state. The state initially opposed the formation **of** the NSB and tried to severely limit its taxing authority. This question has **still** not been completely resolved, but the **practical** result has been a legislative limit on the **NSB's** ability to tax for **operating** expenses and a political limitation, based on the **total** debt load that the NSB was willing to assume, on the level **of** taxation for the payment **of** interest on bonds issued to finance capital improvement projects.

Alaska is a large state, and the North **Slope** is by no means the most isolated part of the state. One could argue that because **of** the oil development in **Prudhoe** Bay and the air travel associated with it, the offices in Barrow, the relative wealth of the NSB, and the development of telecommunications systems, that the North **Slope** has more access to Fairbanks and Anchorage than practically any other region of the state. The NSB maintains offices in Anchorage and Juneau and its leaders remain **up-to-date** on state-level events. In past state legislatures the "Ice-Block" of northern representatives had a disproportionate influence relative to the size of the populations they represented. This has since been nullified by a form of reapportionment, but these representatives still wield a good deal of influence.

The existence of **mineral** resources in Alaska lay behind the push for statehood. The discovery of vast **reserves** of **oil** on the North Slope was directly responsible for the pressure to **build** the **Trans-Alaska** pipeline and for the passage of **ANCSA**. **These** have been the most obvious parts that the North **Slope** has played in the national political system. At present, national **oil** policy is **still** somewhat responsive to conditions and activities on the North Slope, but it is now more a case of North Slope activity being predicated upon national policy than vice versa.

The Communities of the North Slope Borough

The above section briefly discussed the physical environment of the North **Slope** in general. Here we will supply a short summary of each community. Particular emphasis will be placed on the relationship between a community's location and physical setting and the subsistence activities which are possible and actually take place there.

Anaktuvuk Pass

Anaktuvuk Pass is located in the Brooks Range in one of the few passes through those mountains. It is a transitional zone between the continental subarctic and arctic **climatic** zones. Temperatures range from highs in the nineties in the summer to lows of minus fifty or sixty in the winter. The people depend heavily on terrestrial subsistence resources, primarily caribou, supplemented by **fish**. Because of the mountainous terrain, **Anaktuvuk** Pass is the only village where six-or eight-wheeled ATVS (all-terrain vehicles) are employed to a great extent. **Valleys** and stream courses, combined with the limitations imposed by the federal authorities, define the areas where animals can be hunted in the Gates of the Arctic National Park within which lies most of the village subsistence range.

Atqasuk

Atqasuk is located about sixty miles south of Barrow on the coastal plain, on the **Meade** River. Because of the coastal geography, **Atqasuk** is **less** than thirty miles from the ocean. **Aboriginally** the community was oriented to the land and river, but the current population shares so many ties with Barrow and transportation between the two is so fast **and** easy that **Atqasuk** in many ways has adopted the subsistence harvest patterns of Barrow. Many **Atqasuk people** go to Barrow to whale, and many Barrow people maintain **fish** camps in the Mead River area. People transfer and move between the communities very readily. Caribou and fish are the two most important **local** subsistence resources.

Barrow

Barrow, like Point Hope, is ideally situated for spring whaling. Point Barrow extends far out into the ocean and is used as the demarcation of the **Chukchi** from the Beaufort sea. Barrow is not located on the point as such but is near enough **to** take advantage of the environmental conditions created by the point (**aboriginally** there were communities on the point as well as in the present location of Barrow). To the west of the point, the **Chukchi** is subject to the same currents and shifting ice as Point Hope. To the **west**, the Beaufort is more stable. Barrow hunters are thus able to utilize the sea ice ocean environment at all times of the year. The Beaufort coast is basically oriented east and west, while the **Chukchi** coast is north and south (or southwest to northeast). Thus, wind direction has different effects in the two regions. The coastal region in its entirety is subject to the forces of erosion. Barrow also has good access to terrestrial and **riverine** resources which supplement the marine orientation of the population.

Kaktovik

Kaktovik is located on Barter Island, a thin barrier island about three hundred miles east of Barrow, near the Canadian border. It has an environment much different from the other NSB coastal communities because the Beaufort Sea is frozen for up to ten months a year. There is relatively little ice movement and winter populations of sea mammals are relatively **small**. The area was traditionally more significant as a meeting and trading place than as a location for subsistence activities. Whaling did occur **between** the **island** and the mainland at some time in the past, but land forms or **whale** migration patterns have changed since that time. **Fall** whaling in the Beaufort does continue at the present time. Success in **fall** whaling is much less sure than in spring whaling, however, and the conditions are often unpleasant and dangerous. Kaktovik does not have a- to a major navigable river, but is the **closest** village (other than **Anaktuvuk** Pass) to the Brooks Range. Spring and fall trips to the mountains are quite common. Caribou is the major subsistence resource. Kaktovik is the **only** coastal village to also hunt a substantial number of sheep. **Fish** are also quite important.

Nuiqsut

Nuiqsut and **Kaktovik** are the only **NSB** villages on the Beaufort Sea part of the plain, and **Nuiqsut** is actually inland and not coastal. While **Nuiqsut** residents have ocean-going boats and have a fall whaling quota, the community is oriented more towards the exploitation of terrestrial and **riverine** subsistence resources. The **Colville** River fisheries, especially in the delta, are **very** productive. Caribou and moose are the mainstays of the terrestrial resources exploited. The present **community** is surrounded by oil development, which somewhat hinders subsistence pursuits. The **Colville** River is a transportation avenue in all seasons, either by boat or by **snowmachine**, for subsistence activities. Three- and four-wheelers are also **used**, but not as extensively as in coastal communities..

Point Hope

The most important physical feature of Point Hope is its location on a low-lying peninsula jutting out into the Chukchi Sea. This peninsula is subject to erosion. Marine resources are very rich and form the bulk of Point Hope's **harvest**. Terrestrial resources, especially caribou, are also important (and have become more so with the advent of technological innovations in **snowmachines** and **ATVs**) but the focus of Point Hope subsistence is **still** on the sea. The currents around Point Hope are strong, making the influence of the wind on ice movements quite profound. The ice can shift very quickly around Point Hope. This contributes to the richness of the resource base, but also makes hunting on the ice quite dangerous. The location of Point Hope is ideal for spring whaling, and this activity is the quintessence of Point Hope's identity as a community.

The ice cover is **almost** completely absent in the summer, so sea mammals are not **harvested** much at this time. The foothills of the De Long Mountains provide access to caribou and moose. For further information, see Foote 1961, Nelson 1979, and **Lowenstein** 1981.

Point Lay

In comparison to most of the other coastal communities, Point Lay has little written about it in regard to geography and subsistence. Point Lay is located in an area of barrier islands and an extensive lagoon system. **Until** the refounding of the village in 1972 the village site had been on the barrier island spit. These barrier islands are for the most part only several feet above sea level, **while** the shore of the mainland is faced by steep **bluffs** of ten to **twenty** feet (sometimes with a **very** narrow beach area at their foot). **All** are subject to severe erosion in the storms which periodically buffet the region.

Point Lay is one of the windiest locations on the North **Slope**. Its temperatures fall between those of Point Hope and Wainwright. The hinterlands, up to and including the mountains, are extensively traveled by snowmachine and ATV (locally known as "Hondas," in reference to a brand name that has become a generic label). Point Lay makes great use of terrestrial subsistence resources. This is especially true of caribou, which are hunted by some people at almost any time of year.

The lagoon is shallow and so restricts the size of boats and motors that can **be** used there (although it is said that the lagoon was deeper in the past). The lagoon provides a stability in the ice system absent in other villages. Except for a period of several weeks during freeze-up and break-up, the lagoon is safe for **travel**. The ocean beyond the spit is not as hospitable. When it is open, Point Lay **people** use mostly aluminum-hulled craft with outboard motors (usually **forty-five** horsepower or below), the same boats they use in the lagoon and for river travel. The lagoon is used for fishing, but most other marine mammals are pursued in the open ocean. Other than **beluga**, marine **mammals** are not hunted from Point Lay as much as they were in the past. Point Lay is the major **harvest** site on the North **Slope** for **beluga**, however, and this major event usually takes **place** within the space of one week **early** in July.

Aside **from beluga**, the Point Lay area is not rich in marine mammal resources. Seals, walrus, and other marine mammals are harvested, but not to the degree that they are in Point Hope or **Wainwright**. Historically, few bowhead whales were ever taken out of Point Lay because the leads open up so far from the coast (although on occasion leads **will** open very close to the barrier **islands**). Most whales that were taken out of Point Lay were actually harvested by crews from Point Lay hunting off **Icy** Cape.

Wainwright

Wainwright can be compared to Point Hope *in* many of its geographical aspects. It is also a community oriented to the sea, depending primarily upon sea mammals. However, it is located on the mainland on a large coastal indentation where the sea ice is much more stable than around Point Hope. Currents are also weaker. This makes ice conditions around **Wainwright** safer, but **less** productive, than around Point Hope. **Wainwright** hunters generally have to travel further for successful harvests than do those from Point Hope. Whaling generally occurs at some distance up the coast from the community, and leads open much further from the coast than they do around Point Hope.

Wainwright people also make extensive use of **riverine** resources. Fish abound in the Kuk River system and the river is also used as a convenient way to hunt terrestrial species as **well**. As in some other villages, caribou is the most important terrestrial resource. Because the Kuk River is so large and **Wainwrighters** are not hindered by a shallow lagoon, **Wainwright** boats tend to have larger outboards than those in Point Lay. This **allows** **Wainwrighters** to **travel** longer distances in subsistence pursuits and increases the size of the vessels they can use (and the carrying capacity of that vessel).

As with the other North Slope villages, terrestrial subsistence resources are also **quite important**, especially caribou. **Wainwrighters hunt** as far south as Point Lay and **sometimes further** to the north than Barrow. The best sources for more information on these topics are Nelson 1969 and Nelson 1982.

II. GENERAL HISTORY OF THE NORTH SLOPE REGION

The **history** of the North **Slope** can, and has been, described in a number of different ways, depending in part on the analytic focus of the author and in part by the fact that any decision on dates of historical periods are somewhat arbitrary. There are, of **course**, no abrupt starts and stops to historical periods over a region as vast as the North **Slope**. The issue of what constitute historically significant periods on the North Slope is raised in the regional chapter of this document. Here the discussion centers on four periods: **Precontact** to the Whaling **Period**; Reindeer Herding and Fur Trapping and **Trading**; Post-World War **II** Era - Oil Exploration and the DEW Line; and, The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act and the North Slope Borough.

Precontact to the Whaling Period

Prior to contact with non-Native Alaskans, the **Inupiat** of the North Slope were hunters and gatherers, dependent upon the availability of large terrestrial and marine mammals for subsistence. It is impossible to know the population of the North Slope region during that time but estimates range into the thousands. However, it is certain that variation in the human population occurred with some frequency according to the migrations and population fluctuations of their food resources.

Contact occurred in different parts of the North Slope at different times. The earliest population figures are from 1850 when only Point Hope and Barrow were year-round settlements. Point Hope's population was 854 and Barrow's was about 398. The mid to late 1800s through the early 1900s marked the commercial whaling era which was a time of rapid population growth in the coastal communities. Trading posts were erected, missions established, and the presence of non-Natives became a permanent element of the North Slope. **Wainwright** was established as a permanent village in 1904.

While the coastal communities were booming during the whaling era, those living in the interior region were experiencing severe declines in food resources, primarily caribou. **Starvation** was common and many family groups were forced to migrate to the coast, depopulating the interior.

In addition to migration, diseases introduced by white explorers, traders, and whalers (to which the Natives were not immune) had important influences on population size and structure. High mortality rates and **social** disruption caused by widespread exposure to tuberculosis, measles, **smallpox**, influenza, and whooping cough contributed to the decline of Native population and culture. Point Hope lost as much as **12%** of its population in one year. And in 1900, more than 200 **Nunamiut** died following contact with a whaling ship. Barrow lost **100** Natives to a measles epidemic as well (Chance **1966:15**). As late as the mid 1950s, 10% of Eskimo children died before their first birthday and **90%** of Alaska's deaths from tuberculosis occurred among the Eskimo (Alaska Health Survey **1954:32**, cited from Chance **1966:17**).

Reindeer Herding and Fur Trapping and Trading

In the late 1800s and early 1900s reindeer from the Siberian **Chukchi** were imported to the North **Slope** by the United States Bureau of Education. This was done to replace uncertain supplies of game and relieve economic instability resulting from the decline of commercial whaling which finally ended in 1915. Overlapping this period was the growth of the fur trapping and trading industry. While Natives had previously only supplemented their income with trapping, beginning in the 1920s it was providing many Natives with a crucial source **of cash**. An **annual** income of \$3,000 or \$4,000 **to as** much **as** \$7,000 was not unusual (Chance 1966:16). However, following the depression in 1929, furs lost their **value** and reindeer herding became an increasingly important means of subsistence for many families in the 1930s and **1940s**. **By** then the herds that had been brought in 30 years earlier had grown to about 600,000 **head**. Coinciding with” the crash of the fur market was an increase in caribou populations in the inland region. Consequently, many Nunamiut were **able** to repopulate their original lands in the interior of the North **Slope** and **live** a traditional subsistence lifestyle. These **people** were to later establish **Anaktuvuk** Pass as a permanent settlement in the 1950s.

Also during this period, schools, air strips, missions, and trading posts were established throughout the region. In many cases the introduction of one of these into a settlement area proved to be a catalyst for establishing a permanent village. Such was the case **in** Point Lay which became a permanent village primarily as a **result** of the creation of a school in 1939. **Anaktuvuk** Pass was to become a year-round community in the early 1950s following the construction of a trading post in the area.

Post-World War II Era - Oil Exploration and the DEW Line

In 1944 the United States Navy initiated **oil** exploration in the Barrow area, providing economic opportunities to Natives from across the region. The Naval Petroleum Reserve Number 4 (PET-4) was responsible for significant growth in Barrow. Interestingly, Wainwright’s population decreased noticeably, from 314 to 227, due to out-migration to Barrow for employment.

Another development that affected the growth of villages on the North **Slope** was the decision by the federal government, and other allied countries, to construct radar stations across the Arctic to serve as a military distant early warning system following World War II. The construction of these enormous radar structures between 1953-1957 significantly affected, though in different ways, the communities in which they were located. In Point Lay, for example, the construction of the Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line station in 1950 was, from many current residents’ point of view, the reason that the village was abandoned. (Others claim that the closing of the **school** was the more immediate cause of Point Lay’s dissolution.) The DEW Line station that was chosen by the federal government to be in the vicinity of Kaktovik was built literally on top of the village, forcing residents to rebuild adjacent to their traditional homesites. In addition, the residents of Kaktovik were **displaced** twice subsequently due to decisions made by DEW Line administrators. Nevertheless, the construction of the DEW Line **in Kaktovik** spurred its growth. “In 1962, over half of the Eskimo men at **Kaktovik** were earning salaries of \$600 or more a month at the Barter Island site” (Chance 1966:17). The DEW Line built in the vicinity of Barrow was important in stabilizing its population until the 1960s but has since ceased to be a major influence.

The **Alaska** Native Claims Settlement Act (**ANCSA**) and the North Slope Borough (**NSB**)

Perhaps the greatest overall changes in recent years affecting population size and structure on the North Slope were brought about by the passage of **ANCSA** and the incorporation of the **NSB**. **ANCSA** provided for the establishment of Native Corporations throughout Alaska and endowed them with the ownership of land. Most important in terms of population growth, however, was the wealth that **the** **NSB** accumulated from taxes levied upon the developers of North Slope crude oil. This money was **funnelled** into each of the eight villages, leading to a variety of changes on the **local level**. These impacts can be distinguished in three general areas. First, there were changes made to the physical village in terms of infrastructure development and capital improvements. Every village was equipped with a school, a health clinic, a Utilities and School District Combined Facility (**USDW**), water, electric power, an equipment maintenance building, and road and housing improvements were made. **Second**, public services were instituted in each community which seemed to attract and retain local populations. **Services** organized by the borough that are now locally available include **health** care, education (through high school and, to a limited degree, beyond), public safety, **fire** fighting, search and rescue, seniors programs, day care (in some **communities**), housing programs, and energy assistance programs. Increased employment opportunities, the third area of impacts followed naturally from the above two changes. The vast majority of employment in each of the villages is provided either directly through the borough or is borough-related. Most of these changes to some extent entailed the migration of non-Natives to the North Slope, changing dramatically the ethnic composition as well as the size of village populations, particularly in Barrow. Capital improvements probably had the most far-reaching effects in this respect. Both Native and non-Native individuals were drawn to **NSB** villages to participate in **construction** projects, especially in the **early** 1980s. However, even though Capital Improvements Program (**CIP**) spending has **decreased**, employment opportunities created by the **NSB** **continue** to support many individuals. A significant number of positions now include infrastructure maintenance, small-scale construction, and **service-oriented** positions.

An additional consequence of the passage of **ANCSA** and the incorporation of the **NSB** was the resettlement of the traditional village of Point Lay and **fishing** sites of **Atkasuk** and **Nuiqsut** under an aggressive **NSB** resettlement program. The sudden and deliberate migration of such large numbers of **Inupiat** to these three villages was unprecedented in recent history.

III. THE COMMUNITIES TODAY

The North Slope Borough is clearly the dominant entity on the North Slope in terms of government and economy. This also appears to be the case ideologically and culturally, at least in a regional sense. Each village still maintains an identity **very** much its own, but because of the centralization imposed by the form of the **NSB** there is an almost inevitable process of cultural homogenization. Most decisions that affect more than single individuals are made at the **NSB level** (in Barrow or perhaps even off-Slope in Anchorage, Fairbanks, or Juneau). There is no purpose in speaking of separate “cash” and “subsistence” economies on the North Slope, as virtually all **Inupiat** people incorporate both wage activity and subsistence pursuits into their **daily** lives. While each village has a different resource base to draw upon, there is good evidence to suggest that increased wage activity (higher earnings combined with more time constraints) has resulted in a simplified subsistence yearly round that is more similar **from** village to village than was true in

the past. After a brief description of the similarities among the outer villages (primarily in terms of their relations with Barrow and the NSB) we will look briefly at what makes each of the villages different or contributes to its identity as an independent community.

The Villages and the North **Slope** Borough

All four of the main topical areas of concern (population, economy, formal institutions, and cultural issues and informal institutions) demonstrate a **clear** difference between Barrow on the one hand and the other seven **NSB** Native communities on the other. This is not to deny that there are differences among the outer villages, but these are dwarfed by the gulf between the outer villages and Barrow. Because of the unique (at least in terms of the United States) political organization of the North **Slope**, the standard regional model of a hub city with outlying “villages” is not really appropriate. Rather, the NSB **is** functionally a united municipality where only Barrow has effective formal representation in the decision-making process.

In terms of population, the outer villages have very large Native majorities while Barrow is 39% non-Native. Fifty-nine percent of the **total** NSB population lives in Barrow. Forty-nine percent of the total Native **NSB** population lives in Barrow, whereas **82%** of the total non-Native NSB population lives in Barrow. There are few non-Native children in the outer villages, whereas Barrow now has a significant number of non-Native children. This is commonly interpreted as meaning that non-Native families are now taking up at least short-term residence in Barrow whereas this is **still** very rare in the outer villages. There are few minorities, other than whites, in the outer villages, whereas Barrow has significant populations of Blacks, Filipinos, and Hispanics. Barrow is clearly much larger than the other villages and differs markedly in other population characteristics. Residents of the outer villages readily perceive these differences.

In terms of **formal** institutions, with the exception of religion, **all** are centered in Barrow and many limit their sphere of effective service to Barrow. Those that are not effectively limited to Barrow often are **still** often characterized as unresponsive to **local** (outer village) needs. Barrow is the seat of the NSB government and, so, **is** the headquarters for **all** NSB functions -- government, schools, public safety, fire protection, municipal services, and so on. All of **course** have a presence in each of the villages, with some degree of freedom of action. In **all** cases, however, all resources and policy ultimately derives from the administration in Barrow. Only to the degree that it is pragmatically necessary, and even then not **all** the time, do the local representatives of NSB institutions have freedom **of** action. Programs for which the NSB is only partially responsible, such as health care, exhibit even more of a contrast. In terms of facilities, which the NSB funded through its CIP program, the villages would be more than adequately served by their clinics (which **fall** just short of the facilities at the hospital in Barrow) if they were visited more frequently by specialists in various areas of medicine. This is not to say that there are not frequent visits by numerous specialists at present. In any given month -- except for the Summer months when subsistence activities significantly alter other activities in the villages -- a wide variety of trained **medical** personnel visit each village, providing a very broad scope of services. Among the staff - that **routinely** visit the villages are: Veterinarians/Public Health Officers, **Public** Health Nurses, **Maternal-Child** Health Nurse Practitioner, Dentists, Psychologist/Mental Health Clinicians, Substance Abuse Counselors, Optometrist, Health Education Specialist, and Dietitians. Each village is visited by approximately three to four programs each month, and these professionals offer

in-service training to the clinic staff and conduct prevention activities in the schools during their visits in addition to providing direct **patient/client services**. Physicians visit the villages at a minimum of once per quarter, with the larger villages receiving more frequent visits. Physicians are **also in daily** contact with the **Health Aides/Practitioners** in each village for telephone consultations. Even given these programmatic efforts, however, the continual access to various specialty providers in Barrow makes that community much different in its **health** care environment than the other villages. This is, in part, mitigated by a regional emergency response team. Much like other areas of Alaska, emergency medical response capability on the North Slope far exceeds the capability of most similar sized communities in the lower 48. The Borough supports a highly qualified **medevac** team through its Search and Rescue Department, and this team works with village-based emergency medical **service** personnel when there is an emergency that exceeds the capacity of the locally available resources. Again, however, there are unavoidable logistical challenges built into such a system on the North Slope, such as response time to geographically **dispersed** communities and weather conditions that not infrequently make even emergency flights problematic. For services where the **NSB** has no **formal** responsibility, such as **child** welfare, food stamps, and other social programs, the disparity between the **level** of service available in Barrow and in the outer villages is especially great. The NSB has **built** a facility in **Browerville** for abused women and children, so that they may live for a time outside of the abusive environment. No such facilities exist in the outer villages except for “safe houses” which are seldom used.

The North Slope economy is also dominated by Barrow, at least in terms of cash flow. There is a dual nature to the labor force on the North Slope that, while it is obvious, is little remarked upon. Most of the people working in the extractive industries, the productive foundation of practically all non-subsistence economic activity on the North Slope, are non-Native transients. To all intents and purposes they form part of an “invisible economy” as far as North Slope residents are concerned. Practically all **Inupiat** who work for wages (and unemployment is low on the North Slope -- see the discussion of labor force participation in Section II B of the NSB Region chapter for elaborations and qualifications of this statement) are in the **service** sector and are in some way paid with money from the NSB derived from taxes on oil production facilities. There is practically no private sector economic activity in the outer villages (confined for the most part to a few **small-scale** retail stores). Barrow does now support a growing private sector, but mainly in the service areas -- **retail** stores, a gas station, engine repair shops, restaurants, “real” hotels, and so on. In the summer, several Barrow businesses cater to tourists. While **Kaktovik** and **Anaktuvuk** Pass also receive summer visitors, it is nowhere near the scale of Barrow’s traffic.

In terms of cultural issues and informal institutions, the NSB is also taking a high-profile role in promoting and funding such celebratory cultural gatherings as the newly revived Messenger Feast and periodic Elders’ Conferences. The **NSB** Commission on Language, Culture, and History is an integral part of the **NSB** Planning Department and has representation from each of the villages. The NSB also reinforces many “traditional” **Inupiat** values through official NSB policy and program statements. For example, Elders have priority for most new housing. The NSB pays for people to assist Elders with housekeeping and other tasks. At the same time- these programs manifest an official endorsement of **Inupiat** values, they also may be subtly undermining them. Fewer **non-kinsmen** now volunteer to do such tasks without being paid (although it should be stated that information bearing on this topic exists for only a few of the villages -- **Nuiqsut**, **Point Hope**, **Point Lay**, and to a limited degree, **Barrow**). In general, tasks in the past that were performed as part of a “web of mutual obligations” are now seen as appropriate labor-for-cash transactions (such as

sewing a whaling boat cover, or fitting and lashing the sewn skins on the boat). At the same time, kinship and sharing are still the fundamental values **of Inupiat** life. Their behavioral manifestations are constantly changing but use these values as their most common referents.

Each **of** the seven outer villages has unique characteristics relating to historic and environmental factors. Point Hope and Barrow are older villages. Point Hope is characterized as the most traditional whaling village, whereas Barrow has become a much larger and diversified hub community. **Wainwright also** maintains a whaling identity and a commitment to the **value** system implicit in hunting whales, but does so using explicitly “non-traditional” equipment. A somewhat smaller population and a more difficult whaling site are used to partially explain this. Kaktovik is a fairly isolated community which whales in the **fall** and has always (since permanent settlement) been associated with non-Native institutions (trading post, DEW Line, **NSB**). **Nuiqsut** also whales in the **fall**, but is a “new” community, refounded after the formation of the NSB. It is surrounded by oil development and has a mixed terrestrial/sea orientation. **Atqasuk** and Point Lay are also refounded communities. **Atqasuk is** in many ways an extension of Barrow, as it is not very far away by either **snowmachine** or **plane**. Point Lay is the only coastal non-whaling community (it is too small) and is the village closest to having its labor force fully engaged in wage employment. Point Lay has a mixed terrestrial/sea subsistence orientation, but because **of** environmental conditions spends much more time on the land than the sea. Point Lay is the prime location for the harvest **of beluga** on the North **Slope**, however, so that this one marine resource is, in terms of weight harvested, the single most important species. Since the **harvest** occurs within a span of about a week, the **beluga** harvest is understandably important **in** Point Lay. **Anaktuvuk** Pass is the only village with an almost exclusive terrestrial orientation.

The Individual Nature of **the Communities**

Anaktuvuk Pass

Anaktuvuk Pass is the only truly interior village on the North Slope. They are oriented primarily to terrestrial resources, more specifically caribou. It is the caribou from which the name of the village is derived (“place of caribou droppings”) and which refers to the fact that caribou migrate through the pass by the thousands on their way onto the arctic slope from the mountains and vice versa. Indeed, it is the caribou that supported a substantial human population in an area that **would** otherwise have been incapable of doing so. Sheep and wolves are also hunted in significant numbers, and **fishing** is a common activity. The environment of **Anaktuvuk** Pass is one of the mountains rather than the coastal plain. Settled as a permanent community in the early 1950s, the **site** of the contemporary village **was** the **site** of seasonal settlements before that.

Atqasuk

Atqasuk is in many respects a “suburb” of Barrow. Although **Atqasuk** of course has its own mix of resources and its own history, modern innovations (**snowmachines**, planes, telecommunications) have conspired to make it and Barrow parts of the same community. They share a certain portion of their population and the **Atqasuk** land use area is for most purposes the same as the Barrow

land use area. **Atqasuk** was the community least developed in this report, and it was this question, the relationship between Barrow and **Atqasuk**, which received the most attention.

Barrow

Barrow is the hub community of the NSB. It is easily the largest community in the region, containing nearly **60%** of the region's **total** population. Furthermore, Barrow's population composition is vastly different from that of the other villages. Nearly **40%** of Barrow's population is non-Native (this is about **82%** of the total NSB non-Native population). Wage employment is more pervasive in Barrow than perhaps any other village except Point Lay, and the opportunities in Barrow are certainly the most diverse. Non-Native influence is quite obvious in Barrow, from the NSB bureaucracy to the churches to the private sector of the economy. At the same time, Barrow is **60% Inupiat** and the NSB is essentially an **Inupiat** government. Subsistence activities, and especially whaling, still dictate to a large extent the scheduling of other events. Barrow is the most diverse of the NSB villages, as there are significant segments of the population not at all connected with subsistence activities except in the most peripheral of ways.

Barrow is also the seat of power in the NSB. While Barrow may not be the engine that drives the outer villages, it is the provider of the **fuel** for those villages. Barrow is where the interests of oil development and **Inupiat** intersect and conflict, and where the resulting accommodations are most evident.

Kaktovik

Kaktovik has existed as a meeting **place** for a long time, but has a relatively recent history as a settlement. This history of settlement has centered around a non-Native nucleus, whether a trading post or school or DEW Line. This focus distinguishes Kaktovik from all the other NSB communities and goes some way to explain the integration of non-Natives into **Kaktovik** life. Kaktovik **people** also early adapted to the opportunities of the wage economy (Chance 1966). Kaktovik maintains its identity as an **Inupiat** village partly because of its unique mix of subsistence resources. They hunt whales in the **fall** (as does **Nuiqsut**) but are primarily oriented to the **riverine** and terrestrial environments. Their closeness to the mountains distinguishes them from **all** other coastal villages and while sheep are not a major resource in terms of weight, they have become the "subsistence signature" of the village (**along** with **fall** whaling).

Nuiqsut

Nuiqsut is a "new" community and a hybrid one. It is a coastal community that is located inland. **Nuiqsut** has a fall **whaling** quota of two strikes and has a fairly impressive record of whaling success. At the same time, most subsistence activity from the village exploits the surrounding **riverine** and terrestrial environments. Most of the population to repopulate **Nuiqsut** came from coastal communities, although many of these people had a **history** of using the Colville River area in times past. **Nuiqsut's** location on the river facilitates access both to the ocean and to the interior, even though the channel near the village has silted up so that it is no longer navigable.

Wage labor activity and subsistence activities coexist in **Nuiqsut** perhaps in a more **equal** balance than in any other village. The current level of economic activity, the subsistence resource base, and other idiosyncratic factors account for this.

Point Hope

Point Hope is the quintessential Native whaling village. Its physical location is **ideal** for springtime shore ice whaling using skin boats. **The** leads are close enough, and narrow enough, that the use of motors is not necessary and in fact has been much resisted. Only recently have motors been used for certain parts of the hunt (mainly going to assist other crews and to tow the dead whale to shore). Wage employment is not as much a part of established routine in Point Hope as in other villages, probably because the ratio of available **people** of working age to jobs is higher than in the other villages (except maybe for **Wainwright**). Point Hope is unusual in having at least several men who remain subsistence hunting specialists and do not look for even part-time or seasonal wage employment. Point Hope is also the village with the most active dog teams on the North Slope (most villages have few or none). Point Hope has two active Eskimo dance groups which are known throughout Alaska. Only Barrow and Wainwright on the North Slope have groups to **rival** them. While fundamental change cannot be denied, Point Hope retains the identity of a “traditional” coastal **Inupiat** whaling village.

Point Lay

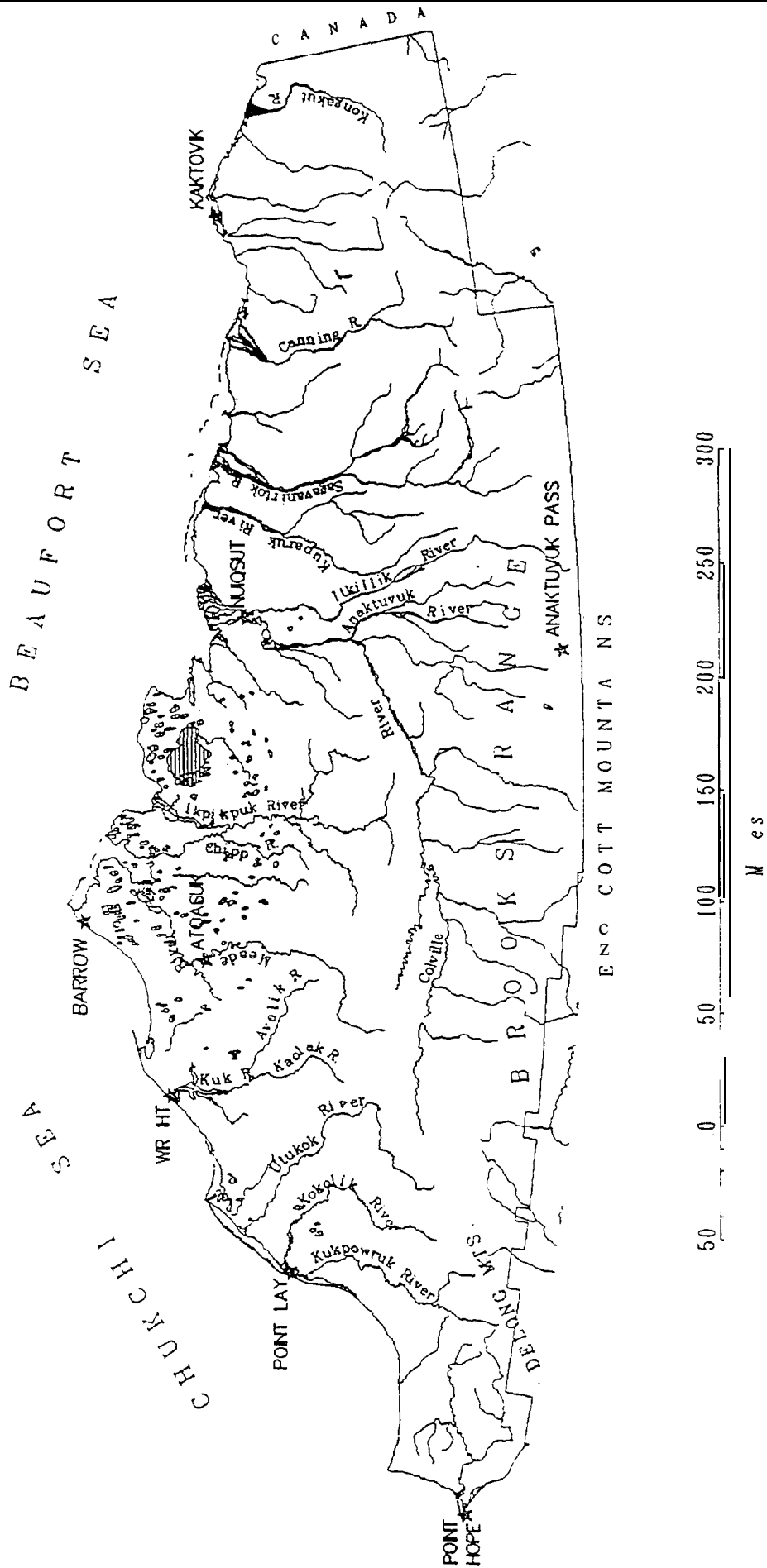
Point Lay is in many ways the antithesis of Point Hope, except that it too is **still** very much an **Inupiat** village. Point Lay has perhaps the highest ratio of people of working age to jobs, with the jobs sometimes outnumbering the people available to fill them. The village has been in its present location only since the early 1980s, and relatively few people are active subsistence resource **harvesters**. Informants attribute this to the need to work to develop and support the community, as well as the need to learn the land before one can be a **really** active hunter. **Aside** from **beluga**, Point Lay people are mostly oriented to the land. Point Lay people have started to go to other villages to whale on **crews** in those villages, and so are beginning to adopt the subsistence cycle timing of those places to some degree.

The Point Lay **Inupiat** identity is most often connected to people who made their living inland rather than on the coast from marine mammals. Present day Point Lay is the only NSB community to have a formally recognized **IRA**, which the villagers historically associate with the *reindeer herd. Point Lay has never formally incorporated as a city, so the IRA is the only local* government. This provides the village with **its identity** as a Native (and **Inupiat**) identity. In some ways, some Point Lay people consider this the **only** truly **Inupiat** identity on the North Slope, as all other groups (the NSB, city councils, corporations) take the form of foreign and imposed institutions. The Point Lay IRA is perceived as the continuation of an **Inupiat** way of doing things (even if formally recognized by a federal law giving it a **formal** structure).

Wainwright

Wainwright shares with Point Hope the reputation of being a “traditional” Inupiat community, which is in many ways surprising. **Wainwright** does not have nearly the time depth as a settlement that Point Hope does. **Wainwright** also whales with aluminum boats using outboard motors. The ethos of the hunt remains the same, however, and Wainwrighters continue to rely on subsistence resources to a higher degree than most of the other villages (in part because their resources are richer). As in Point Hope, there are more employable **people** than jobs and a few people concentrate on subsistence activities. Wainwright is also a more difficult community for a non-Native to enter and interact with than Point Hope. Both communities welcome visitors, but Point Hope has had more experience with them in the past and is more open to **them**. Wainwright’s open protectiveness can be taken as yet another example of its traditionalism.

NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH REGION



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NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH REGION

SECTION I: POPULATION SIZE AND STRUCTURE	1
A. Regional Population History	1
Precontact to the Whaling Period	1
Reindeer Herding and Fur Trapping and Trading	2
Post-World War II Era - Oil Exploration and the DEW Line	2
The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) and the North Slope Borough (NSB)	3
B. Contemporary North Slope Population	3
Resident Population	3
Population Size	4
Age of Population	4
Sex of Population	5
Ethnicity of Population	6
Industrial Population	8
C. Regional Household Information	21
Household Size	21
Seven NSB Villages (excluding Barrow)	21
Barrow(Only)	22
Household Income and Spending Information	25
NSB Region	25
Seven NSB Villages (Excluding Barrow)	26
Barrow (Only)	26
Average Income: NSB Region, the NSB Villages (Excluding Barrow), and Barrow (Only)	26
Proportion of Total Household Income Spent in Village: NSB Region, the NSB Villages (Excluding Barrow), and Barrow(Only)	27
Monthly Housing Payment: NSB Region, the NSB Villages (Excluding Barrow), and Barrow (Only)	27
Monthly Heating Costs: NSB Region, the NSB Villages (Excluding Barrow), and Barrow (Only)	31
Monthly Electricity Costs: NSB Region, the NSB Villages (Excluding Barrow), and Barrow (Only)	32
D. Population and Education	32
Inupiat Residents Only	32
College	32
Vocational/Technical School	33
High School or GED	33
Education and Controlling for Age	33

NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH REGION

Non-Inupiat Residents Only34
college34
Vocational/Technical School.. . . . 35
High School or GED35
Education and Controlling for Age 35

E. Marriage Patterns38

SECTION II: ECONOMY40

A. Historical Overview40
Sociocultural Change in the Latter Transitional Era (1880-1927) 41
Schools in the Latter Transitional Era 45
Economy in the Latter Transition Era 46
Consolidation and Dispersal: 1927-1950s 47
Renewed Economic Activity 1950s-1970 48
ANCSA, the Formation of the NSB, and the Present: 1970-1988 . . . 49

B. Population, Labor Force, and Employment Among NSB Traditional
Communities51
The Labor Force in 198051
The Labor Force in 1988 and Beyond 60
Labor Force Participation72

C. The Regional Economy and the Prudhoe-Kuparuk Industrial
Complex74
The Prudhoe-Kuparuk Industrial Complex 75
Employment at Prudhoe-Kuparuk and the Villages 75
Wage and Salary Easings77
Property Taxes, Revenues, and Regional Disbursement 79
The Tax Cap85
Regional Economic Outlook87

D. The Public Sector of the Economy87
The North Slope Borough, Jobs, and the Villages 87
The North Slope Borough and ANCSA Corporations 92

E. The Private Sector of the Economy92
Village Level92
Regional Level94

NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH REGION “

SECTION III:	FORMAL INSTITUTIONS	97
A.	Government	97
	North Slope Borough	97
	Formal Structure	97
	Regional Issues	99
	City councils	100
	Council Structure and the NSB	100
	Village Politics	101
	The Village Coordinator	102
	Native Governing Institutions	103
	Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) Organizations	105
	Local Level Native Governments: Traditional Councils	107
	Native Government Funding	110
	Governance, Jurisdiction, and Native Governments	110
B.	Native Corporations	110
	Arctic Slope Regional Corporation (ASRC)	112
	Village Corporations	112
	Corporate-Government Relationships	114
c.	Health and Social Services	115
	Overview	115
	Administration	116
	Services	119
	Hospital	119
	Village Clinics	121
	Community Mental Health	124
	Substance Abuse	125
	Arctic Women in Crisis	128
	Children and Youth Services	128
	Senior Home Health Services	129
	Traditional Native Healers	130
	Morbidity and Mortality	131
	Rates of Morbidity and Mortality	131
	Indian Health Service Statistics	132
	Clinic Visits	134
	Major Health Concerns	136
	Health Care Issues	140
	Perceptions of Health Care	140
	Agency Priorities	142
	Funding	143
	Summary and Issues	144
D.	Religious Institutions	145

NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH REGION

E. Infrastructure	147
Utilities	148
Transportation	149
Recreational Facilities	152
Infrastructure Responsibility and Maintenance.	152
F. Fire Protectionx.	155
G. Search and Rescue	155
H. Public Safety	157
I. Schools	161
History	161
Organization and Operations	162
Issues	163
SECTION IV: INFORMAL INSTITUTIONS	165
A. Patterns of Change -- Formalization with the NSB	165
B. Subsistence	166
Seasonality and the Nature of the Hunt	166
Subsistence Ideology	167
Attitudes Toward Development.	168
C. Traditional Sharing	168
D. Local Control of the Schools	171
E. Language and Language Use..	171
Orthography and a Brief History of North Slope Inupiaq Writing . .	172
The Status of Inupiaq in Alaska and Specifically on the North Slope	174
Dialect Differences in Inupiaq	178
Language Use and Sociocultural Change	180
Introduction	180
Language Use at City Council Meetings	181
Language Use and Church Services	182
Language Learning in the School	184
Language Use and Age.....	185
BIBLIOGRAPHIC SOURCES: NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH	187

List of Tables - North Slope Borough Region

Table 1-NSB 9
 Population Composition, NSB Villages -1980

Table 2a-NSB10
 Age, **Sex**, and Race Compared:
 NSB Region, 7 Villages (excluding Barrow), and Barrow -1988

Table 2b-NSB11
 Sex and Race Compared:
 NSB Region, 7 Villages (excluding Barrow), and Barrow- 1988

Table 2c-NSB 12
 Average Age Compared:
 NSB Region, 7 Villages (excluding Barrow), and Barrow- 1988

Table 3-NSB 16
 Ethnic Composition of Population -1988

Table 4-NSB23
 Age of Head of Household for Alaska Natives, Non-Natives, and All Groups- 1980

Table 5a-NSB24
 Household Size Compared:
 NSB Region, 7 Villages (excluding Barrow), and Barrow -1988

Table 5b-NSB25
 Average Household Size Compared:
 NSB Region, 7 Villages (excluding Barrow), and Barrow- 1988

Table 6a-NSB29
 Household Income and Spending Compared:
 NSB Region, 7 Villages (excluding Barrow), and Barrow- 1988

Table 6b-NSB30
 Household Income and Spending - 1988
 7 Village (excluding Barrow)

Table 7-NSB36
 Highest Level of Education Attained by Age Group, Inupiat Residents Compared
 NSB Region, 7 Villages (excluding Barrow), and Barrow- 1988

Table 8-NSB37
 Highest Level of Education Attained by Age Group, **Non-Inupiat** Residents Compared
 NSB Region, 7 Villages (excluding Barrow), and Barrow- 1988

List of Tables - North Slope Borough Region

Table **9-NSB**39
 Marital Status by Ethnicity -1988 ‘

Table 10-NSB54
 Composition of Employment by **Race and Sex:**
 NSB Villages: 1980

Table **11-NSB**55
 Composition of Employment by Age, Race, and **Sex:**
 NSB Villages: 1980

Table **12-NSB**55
 Composition of Contract Construction Sector Employment
 by Age, Race, and **Sex**, NSB Villages: 1980

Table **13-NSB**56
 Composition of Local Government Construction Sector Employment
 by Age, **Race, and Sex**, NSB Villages: 1980

Table **14-NSB**56
 Composition of Local Government Non-Construction Sector Employment
 by Age, **Race, and Sex**, NSB Villages: 1980

Table **15-NSB**57
 Composition of Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate Sector Employment
 by Age, **Race, and Sex**, NSB Villages: 1980

Table **16-NSB**57
 Composition of Mining Sector Employment
 by Age, **Race, and Sex**, NSB Villages: 1980

Table **17-NSB**58
 Composition of Federal Government Sector Employment
 by Age, Race, and **Sex**, NSB Villages: 1980

Table **18-NSB**58
 Composition of Transportation, Communications, and Public Utilities Sector Employment
 by Age, **Race, and Sex**, NSB Villages: 1980

Table **19-NSB**59
 Composition of Services Sector Employment
 by Age, **Race, and Sex**, NSB Villages: 1980

List of Tables - North Slope Borough Region

Table 20-NSB	59
Composition of Trade Sector Employment by Age, Race, and Sex, NSB Villages: 1980	
Table 21-NSB	60
Composition of State Government Sector Employment by Age, Race, and Sex, NSB Villages: 1980	
Table 22a-NSB	66
Occupation Composition of Employment by Sex and Ethnicity NSB Region- 1988	
Table 22b-NSB	67
Occupation Composition of Employment by Sex and Ethnicity 7 Villages (excluding Barrow)- 1988	
Table 22c-NSB	68
Occupation Composition of Employment by Sex and Ethnicity Barrow- 1988	
Table 23a-NSB	69
Industry Composition of Employment by Sex and Ethnicity NSB Region- 1988	
Table 23b-NSB	70
Industry Composition of Employment by Sex and Ethnicity 7 Villages (excluding Barrow) -1988	
Table 23c-NSB	71
Industry Composition of Employment by Sex and Ethnicity Barrow- 1988	
Table 24-NSB	76
Population in the NSB Region: 1970-1987	
Table 25-NSB	76
Total Employment by Major Industry Group NSB Region: 1970-1986	
Table 26-NSB	78
Total Non-Government Employment in the North Slope Borough: 1980-1987	

List of **Tables** - North Slope Borough Region

Table **27-NSB**78
 NSB Resident vs Total Earnings

Table **28-NSB**81
 Summary of **NSB** General Fund Revenues and Expenditures: 1980-1990

Table **29-NSB** 111
 Bureau of Indian Affairs, Juneau Area, Fairbanks Agency
 (NSB Region) Budget **Allotment**

Table **30-NSB** 121
 Barrow **Service** Unit Public Health **Service** and North Slope
NSB Authorized Positions, **FY 1988**

Table **31-NSB** 122
 Inpatient and Outpatient Encounters and Services Provided,
 Barrow IHS Hospital: FY 1984-1988

Table **32-NSB** 125
 Village Clinic **Visits** and Rate of Visits per 100 Residents, **FY 1987-1988**

Table **33-NSB** 127
 Substance Abuse Treatment Services: July 1 - December 31, 1988

Table **34-NSB** 129
 Semi-Annual Summary of Program Services, Arctic Women in Crisis:
 July 1-December 31,1988

Table **35-NSB** 135
 Barrow **Service** Unit Leading Causes of Hospitalization, **FY 1983 - 1987**

Table **36-NSB** 136
 Leading Causes of Outpatient First Visits, **FY 1981-1987**
 Barrow **Service** Unit

Table **37-NSB** 138
 Rates (per 1,000 persons) of First Admissions for Outpatient Care for Selected
 Diagnostic Categories and Diagnoses by Year-North Slope: 1983- 1987

Table **38-NSB** 139
 Alcohol-Related Arrests, North Slope Borough Department of **Public** Safety, 1985-1988

List of Figures - North Slope Borough Region

Figure 1-NSB13
Inupiat and Total Population - 1988

Figure 2-NSB 14
 NSB Region Population Characteristics- 1988

Figure 3-NSB 15
 Ethnic Composition Compared:
NSB Region, 7 Villages (excluding Barrow), and Barrow- 1988

Figure 4-NSB 18
 Village and Industrial Population, **NSB** Region: 1908-1987

Figure 5-NSB 19
 NSB Resident vs Total Earnings, 1969-1986

Figure 6-NSB20
 Resident and Total Per Capita Earnings, 1980-1986

Figure 7-NSB28
 Average Household Income Distribution
 North Slope Borough Villages, 1980

Figure 8a-NSB63
 Population, Labor Force, and Employment
NSB Villages, Barrow, and NSB Region

Figure 8b-NSB64
 Summary of Population, Labor Force, and **Employment**
 7 **NSB** Villages

Figure 8c-NSB65
Projected Change in **NSB** Labor Force Composition: 1988-1994

Figure 9-NSB83
 The North Slope Borough Regional Economy

Figure 10-NSB84
CIP Spending for Selected Projects
 By Village Through **Fiscal** Year-1988

Figure 11-NSB89
 Revenue Sources, FY 89\$316,034,650

List of Figures • North Slope Borough Region

Figure 12-NSB	90
North Slope Borough CIP Expenditures	
1972- 1986 Actual: 1987- 1990 Planned	
Figure 13-NSB	91
Proportional Expenditures , FY 89:\$316,034,650	
Figure 14-NSB	93
Public vs Private Sector Employment: NSB Villages , Barrow, and NSB Region	
Figure 15-NSB	96
NSB Region Land Ownership Patterns	
Figure 16-NSB	118
North Slope Borough Department of Social Services Organizational Chart	
Figure 17-NSB	133
Comparison of Leading Causes of Native Mortality for the Barrow Service Unit and the State of Alaska, 3-Year Average Crude Rates: 1983-1985	

NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH REGION

SECTION I: POPULATION SIZE AND STRUCTURE

Although there were many events that affected population size and structure on the North Slope, for purposes of analysis, we have selected certain events that mark general periods of change affecting the region as a whole. However, these periods overlap to a large extent and do not reflect truly discrete categories of time.

A. Regional Population History

1. Precontact to the Whaling Period

Prior to contact with non-Native Alaskans, the **Inupiat** of the North Slope of Alaska were transient hunters and gatherers, completely dependent upon the availability of large terrestrial and marine mammals for subsistence. It is impossible to know the population of the North Slope region during this time but estimates range into the thousands. However, it is certain that variation in the human population occurred with some frequency according to the migrations and population fluctuations of their food resources.

Contact occurred in different parts of the North Slope at different times. The earliest population figures are from 1850, when only Point Hope and Barrow were year-round settlements. Point Hope's population was 854 and Barrow's was about 398. The mid- to late-1800s through the early 1900s marked the commercial whaling era which was a time of rapid population growth in the coastal communities. Trading posts were erected, missions were established, and the presence of non-Natives became a permanent element of the North Slope. Wainwright was established as a permanent village in 1904.

While the coastal communities were booming during the whaling era, those living in the interior region were experiencing severe declines in food resources, primarily caribou. **Starvation** was common and many family groups were forced to migrate to the coast, depopulating the interior.

In addition to migration, diseases brought by white explorers, traders, and whalers (to which the local populations were not immune) had important influences on population size and structure. High mortality rates and social disruption caused by widespread exposure to tuberculosis, measles, small **pox**, influenza, and whooping cough contributed to the decline of **Inupiat** population and culture. Point Hope lost as much as 12% of its population in one year. In 1900, more than 200 **Nunamiut** died following contact with a whaling ship. Barrow lost 100 Natives to a measles epidemic as well (Chance 1966:15). As late as the mid- 1950s, 10% of **Eskimo** children died before their **first** birthday and 90% of Alaska's deaths from tuberculosis occurred among the Eskimo (Alaska Health Survey 1954:32, cited from Chance 1966:17).

2. Reindeer Herding and Fur Trapping and Trading

In the late 1800s and early 1900s reindeer from the Siberian Chukchi were imported to the North Slope by the United States Bureau of Education. This was done to replace uncertain supplies of game and relieve economic instability resulting from the decline of commercial whaling, which finally ended in 1915. Overlapping this period was the growth of the fur trapping and trading industry. While Inupiat had previously only supplemented their income with trapping, beginning in the 1920s such activities were providing a crucial source of cash. An annual income of \$3,000 or \$4,000 to as much as \$7,000 was not unusual (Chance 1966: 16). However, following the Depression in 1929, furs lost their value and reindeer herding became an increasingly important means of subsistence for many families in the 1930s and 1940s. By then the herds that had been brought in 30 years earlier had grown to about 600,000 head. Coinciding with the crash of the fur market was an increase in caribou populations in the inland region. Consequently, many Nunamiut were able to repopulate their original lands in the interior of the North Slope and live a traditional subsistence lifestyle. These people were to later establish Anaktuvuk Pass as a permanent settlement.

Also during this period schools, air strips, missions, and trading posts were established throughout the region. In many cases the introduction of one of these into a settlement area proved to be a catalyst for establishing a permanent village. Such was the case in Point Lay, which became a permanent village primarily as a result of the creation of a school in 1939. Anaktuvuk Pass was to become a year-round community in the early 1950s following the construction of a trading post in the area.

3. Post-World War II Era - Oil Exploration and the DEW Line

In 1944 the United States Navy initiated oil exploration in the Barrow area, providing economic opportunities to Natives from across the region. The Naval Petroleum Reserve Number 4 (PET-4) was responsible for significant growth in Barrow. Interestingly, Wainwright's population decreased noticeably, from 314 to 227, due to out-migration to Barrow for employment.

Another development that affected the growth of villages on the North Slope was the decision by the federal government, and other allied countries, to construct radar stations across the Arctic to serve as a military distant early warning system following World War II. The construction of these enormous radar structures between 1953-1957 significantly affected, though in different ways, the communities in which they were located. In Point Lay, for example, the construction of the DEW Line station in 1950 was, from many current residents' point of view, the reason that the village was abandoned. (Others claim that the closing of the school was the more immediate cause of Point Lay's dissolution.) The DEW Line station that was chosen by the federal government to be in the vicinity of Kaktovik was built literally on top of the village, forcing residents to rebuild adjacent to their traditional homesites. In addition, the residents of Kaktovik were displaced twice subsequently due to decisions made by DEW Line administrators. Nevertheless, the construction of the DEW Line in Kaktovik spurred its growth. "In 1962, over half of the Eskimo men at Kaktovik were earning salaries of \$600 or more a month at the Barter Island site" (Chance 1966: 17). The DEW Line built in the vicinity of Barrow was important in stabilizing its population until the 1960s but has since ceased to be a major influence.

4. The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) and the North Slope Borough (NSB)

Perhaps the greatest overall changes in recent years affecting population size and structure on the North Slope were brought about by the passage of **ANCSA** and the incorporation of the NSB. **ANCSA** provided for the establishment of Native corporations throughout Alaska and endowed them with the ownership of land. Most important in terms of population growth, however, was the wealth that the NSB accumulated from taxes levied upon the developers of North Slope crude oil. This money was **funnelled** into each of the eight NSB villages, leading to a variety of changes on the **local** level. These impacts can be distinguished in three general areas. First there were changes made to the physical village in terms of infrastructure development and capital improvements. Every village was equipped with a school, a health clinic, a Utilities and School District **Combined Facility (USDW)**, water, electric power, an equipment maintenance building, and road and housing improvements were made. Second, public services were instituted in each community which **served** to attract and retain **local** populations. **Services** organized by the NSB that are now locally available include health care, education (through high school and, to a limited degree, beyond), **public** safety, fire fighting, search and rescue, senior programs, day care (*in some communities*), housing programs, and **energy** assistance programs. Increased employment opportunities, the third area of impact, followed naturally from the above two changes. The vast majority of employment in each of the villages is provided either directly through the NSB or is **NSB-related**. Most of these changes to some extent entailed the migration of non-Natives to the North Slope, changing dramatically the ethnic composition as **well** as the size of village populations, particularly in Barrow. Capital improvements probably had the most far-reaching effects in this respect. Both Native and non-Native individuals were drawn to NSB villages to participate in construction projects, especially in the early 1980s. However, even though **CIP** spending has decreased, employment opportunities created by the NSB continue to support many individuals. A significant number of positions now include infrastructure maintenance, small-scale construction, and service-oriented positions.

An additional consequence of the passage of **ANCSA** and the incorporation of the NSB was the resettlement of the **traditional** village of 'Point Lay and fishing sites of **Atqasuk** and **Nuiqsut** under an aggressive NSB resettlement program. The sudden and deliberate migration of such large numbers of **Inupiat** to these three villages was unprecedented in recent history.

B. **Contemporary** North Slope Population

1. Resident Population

Table 1-NSB, Population Composition of North Slope Villages, 1980, displays age, **sex**, and **ethnicity** information for the population of the North Slope as a region in 1980. Tables 2a-NSB, 2b-NSB, and 2c-NSB display detailed information on the ethnic composition of the same population in 1988. Table 3-NSB displays age, **sex**, and **ethnicity** information for the population in 1988. One can see that the Native to non-Native ratio has changed over this time span. In 1980, Alaska Natives are listed as composing approximately 79.4% of the population of the NSB. By 1988, the figure of **Inupiat** residents was listed as 72.3% of the total population of the region. Controlling for the inclusion of **non-Inupiat** Alaska Natives in the 1980 census information, the Alaska Native figure for 1988 would be 73.7910. This represents a decline of **5.7%** when measured against the **non-**

Native population. In absolute terms, the population of the region has grown from **3,888** to 5,498 (including “missing cases” for which **ethnicity/age/sex** information is not available), a 41% increase. The Alaska Native (**Inupiat** plus other Alaska Native) residents of the NSB increased from 3,086 to 4,007 (see Table 3-NSB; this figure includes some “missing cases” from Table 2-NSB) persons **between** 1980 and 1988, or by approximately 30%. Non-Native residents increased from 802 to 1,416 (also from Table **3-NSB**), or by approximately 77%.

Figure **1-NSB** graphically displays the relative size of the **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** components of the regional population by age groups for the year 1988. It should be noted that while the **Inupiat** component of the population approximates a normal population curve, the **non-Inupiat** portion of the population is amplified for both the youngest ages and the prime working years, ages 26 through 55 or so. This is consistent with the data from the individual villages that suggest **non-Inupiat** come to the villages as **adults** and their migration is primarily dependent upon employment considerations and that **further** these people, when they do have children, tend to leave the villages when their children reach high **school** age. Figure 2-NSB displays similar information, but broken out by sex. Of particular interest **is** the predominance of **males** in the **non-Inupiat** employment age categories. Figure **3-NSB** graphically **displays** the ethnic composition information for the NSB population presented in tabular form in Table **3-NSB**. Of interest in this graphic is that within the **non-Inupiat** category, fully **36%** of the individuals are classified in ethnic groups other than “white.” Based on information from the **villages**, primarily Barrow, this represents a significant ethnic diversification of the population over the last decade or so.

Population Size

The **total** population of the North Slope Borough in **1988** was 5,498 persons (Table **3-NSB**). The seven villages exclusive of Barrow have a combined population of 2,275. Barrow has a population of 3,223. Put another way, Barrow alone accounts for 58.6% of the population of the entire North Slope. This fact has obvious consequences for the political economy of the region, and for the relationship of the outer villages to Barrow.

Of the 2,275 persons living outside of Barrow, 11.6% live in **Anaktuvuk** Pass, 9.6% live in **Atqasuk**, 10.0% live in **Kaktovik**, 13.8% live in **Nuiqsut**, 26.0% live in Point Hope, 6.9% live in Point Lay, and 22.1 % live in **Wainwright**. These villages range in size from 158 (Point Lay) to 591 (Point **Hope**). This range covers an absolute difference in population size of 443. In other words, Point Hope (the biggest village) is 3.7 times larger than Point Lay (the smallest village). The difference in population between these two villages is 2.8 times the total size of the smaller village, a very large proportional difference indeed. As large as these differences are, however, **all** of the NS13 **villages** outside of Barrow are dwarfed **by** Barrow itself. The **largest** of these **villages** is 18.3% the size of Barrow **while** the smallest is only **4.9%** the size of Barrow.

Age of Population

The average age of the entire population of the North Slope is 25.8 years. The average age of the population of the seven NSB villages **exclusive** of Barrow is 25.3 years; the average age for Barrow

is 26.2 years. The range of average ages in the seven villages is 5.4 years. **Kaktovik** has the highest average age at 29.2 years; Point Hope the lowest at 23.8 years.

There are significant differences in average age between male and female residents, as well as between **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** residents. **On** the average, males are older than females, and **non-Inupiat** are **older** than **Inupiat**. For the region as a whole, the average age for **males** is 26.2 years; for **females** it is 25.3 years. For the seven **NSB** villages exclusive of Barrow the average age for **males** is 26.0 years and 24.5 years for females. For Barrow itself, the average age for males is 26.4 and 25.9 for females. In **all** cases, **it** would appear that the higher average age for **males** is attributable to males outnumbering females in the work force, primarily due to **non-Inupiat** males coming to the villages for employment.

For the region as a whole, the average age difference between **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** residents **is** five years. The average age of **Inupiat** residents is 24.4 years; for **non-Inupiat** residents it is 29.4 years. For the seven **NSB** villages exclusive of Barrow, the age difference is even **larger**: the average age of **Inupiat** residents is 24.6 years; the average age of **non-Inupiat** residents is 30.9 years. For Barrow the average age of **Inupiat** residents is 24.3 years; the average age of **non-Inupiat** residents is 29.1 years. Again, in all of these cases, the differences seen between **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** average ages is primarily attributable to the **non-Inupiat** population being relatively underrepresented in the age range below prime employment years and relatively overrepresented in the “labor force” years. Although the average age of **Inupiat** is less than **non-Inupiat**, **Inupiat** far outnumber **non-Inupiat** in the older age categories, both proportionally and absolutely. Outside of Barrow, there are no **non-Inupiat** residents 66 years or **older** on the North Slope. In Barrow, **4.2%** of the **Inupiat** component of the population is 66 years or **older**; in contrast **only 0.8%** of Barrow’s **non-Inupiat** residents are in this same age group. **Non-Inupiat** individuals do not stay in the villages outside of Barrow past their employment years; very few in Barrow do, and some of those who are “past” the labor force years are, in fact, still **employed**.

Among the seven **NSB** villages exclusive of Barrow, there is a strikingly large range of variation (21.6 years) between the average ages of **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** residents. **Nuiqsut** has the largest difference between the average ages of **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** residents (22 years), with the average age of **Inupiat** residents being 23.6 years and **non-Inupiat** residents being 45.6 years. Point Hope has the smallest average age difference between **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** residents (0.4 years), with the average age of **Inupiat** residents being 23.8 years and **non-Inupiat** residents being 24.2 years. **Nuiqsut** is the extreme example of **non-Inupiat** coming to a village to work rather than making residency decisions based on childrearing considerations: there are no **non-Inupiat** residents in **Nuiqsut** under the age of 26. Point Hope, on the other hand, has the lowest average age for **non-Inupiat** residents with **50.7%** of the **non-Inupiat** residents under the age of 26.

Sex of Population

For the region as a whole, males comprise 52.6% of the population, females 47.4%. Another way of stating this is that there are 1.11 **males** for **every** female in the **region**. For the seven **NSB** villages **exclusive** of Barrow, the difference in proportion is even **greater**: 54.170 of the population is male and **45.9%** female (1.18:1 male: female). In Barrow, the difference between males and

females is less than in the outer villages: the Barrow population is 51.6% male and 48.4% female (1.06:1 male:female).

There is significant variability among the seven villages exclusive of Barrow. Among these villages, Anaktuvuk Pass comes the closest to having an even distribution of males and females (50.8% to 49.2% or 1.03:1 male:female). Point Lay has the largest proportional difference between males and females (55.7 to 44.3% or 1.261 male:female).

The **numerical** predominance of males in the total population in several of the communities is due in large measure to the **numerical** predominance of **males** in the **non-Inupiat** component of the population. For the region as a **whole**, the **Inupiat** component of the population is 50.5% male and 49.5% female, the non-Inupiat component of the population is 58.2% male and 41.8% female. For the seven **NSB** villages exclusive of Barrow, the **Inupiat** component of the population is 52.7% male and 47.3% female; the **non-Inupiat** component of the population is 64.1% male and 35.9% female. For Barrow, the **Inupiat** component of the population is 48.1% male and 51.9% female; the **non-Inupiat** component of the population is 57.0% male and 43.0% female. The **Inupiat** component of Barrow's population is the only **Inupiat** or **non-Inupiat** component of any of the villages on the North Slope where females outnumber males, with a **single** exception (Anaktuvuk Pass).

Among the seven NSB exclusive of Barrow, there is a good **deal** of variability in sex distributions by **ethnicity**. Among the **Inupiat** component of the population, Anaktuvuk Pass is the only village where females outnumber **males** (**males** are 48.4% of the **Inupiat** component of the population, females 51.6%). Kaktovik, Nuiqsut, Point Hope, and Wainwright are all remarkably close in the sex distribution in the **Inupiat** component of their population, with **males** ranging between 52.8% and 53.0%. Atqasuk falls between these villages and Point Lay, which is at the opposite end of the range from Anaktuvuk Pass. In Point Lay, **Inupiat** males outnumber females 56.4 to 43.6%, or, in other words there are 1.30 **Inupiat males** to every **Inupiat** female in the village.

In the seven NSB villages exclusive of Barrow, **non-Inupiat** population components also vary in their sex distribution. Point Lay has the closest sex balance among its **non-Inupiat** population component with 52% male to 48% female. For the villages of Anaktuvuk Pass, Atqasuk, Kaktovik, Nuiqsut, and Point Hope, **males** make up between 60.0 and 64.9% of the **non-Inupiat** component of the population in each community. Wainwright is the village that is least balanced in sex distribution among its **non-Inupiat** residents: **males** outnumber females 79.1 to 20.9% (there are 3.7 **non-Inupiat males** for every **non-Inupiat** female).

Ethnicity of Population

Excluding the 329 missing cases from the North Slope census of 1988 for which information on ethnicity does not exist, the population of the North Slope Borough is 5,169. Of this figure, 3,739 identified themselves as **Inupiat**, 1,430 as **non-Inupiat**. **Inupiat** residents are more-or-less divided evenly by residence in Barrow or the outer villages combined: Barrow has 1,822 **Inupiat** residents, representing 48.7% of the **Inupiat** residents of the North Slope; the seven NSB villages excluding Barrow have 1,917 **Inupiat** residents (combined), representing 51.3% of the **Inupiat** of the NSB. The **non-Inupiat** residents of the North Slope are distributed quite differently. Barrow has 1,179

non-Inupiat residents, representing **82.4%** of all non-Inupiat residents on the North Slope; the seven NSB villages excluding Barrow have 251 non-Inupiat residents (combined), representing 17.6% of the non-Inupiat of the Slope.

For the region as a whole, the population is 72.3% Inupiat and 27.7% non-Inupiat. For the seven NSB villages excluding Barrow, the population is 88.4% Inupiat and 11.6% non-Inupiat; for Barrow these figures are 60.7 and **39.3%** respectively. Among the seven NSB villages outside of Barrow, Kaktovik has the highest proportion of non-Inupiat residents (20%) and Nuiqsut has the lowest (7%); Barrow is by far and away the most "non-Inupiat" of all of the communities on the North Slope.

It **should** be noted, however, that there is considerable variation within the non-Inupiat segments of the population in several of the villages. In **Kaktovik, Nuiqsut, Point Lay, and Wainwright**, the non-Inupiat segment of the population is predominantly "white." For these four villages, whites represent only **between** 6.1 and **18.9%** of the total village population, but they represent between 90.7 and **95.0%** of the non-Inupiat population segments of these villages. No other ethnic group represents more than 1.3% of the population of any of these villages (and in fact with one exception, none represent even 1% of the population of any of these villages). For the villages of **Anaktuvuk Pass** and **Atqasuk**, whites represent 11.0 and **9.6%** of the total populations respectively. Whites comprise 76.3% of the non-Inupiat segment of the Anaktuvuk Pass population and 80.8% of the non-Inupiat segment of the **Atqasuk** population. In Anaktuvuk Pass, two other ethnic groups represent 1.1 and **2.3%** of the total population; in **Atqasuk** no other ethnic group represents more than **0.9%** of the total population.

Point Hope has easily the most diverse non-Inupiat population segment of any of the seven NSB villages, exclusive of Barrow. Whites comprise **6.4%** of the total village population; they represent only **49.3%** of the non-Inupiat population segment of the community. Representatives of four other identified ethnic groups (other Alaska Native, American Indian, Hispanic, and Black) were enumerated in the village, but the largest category outside of white was "other" (**26.0%** of the non-Inupiat portion of the population). The category "other" is problematic for purposes of analysis because of its size and lack of definition, but based on field experience it is safe to say that Point Hope has more ethnic groups represented in its population than the other communities in the region outside of Barrow. This is most **likely** attributable to a combination of factors, including the fact that Point Hope is the largest of these communities, it is the **oldest** of these communities and has had a long history of interaction with individuals from a variety of ethnic groups, and, based on **field** research, its **adult Inupiat** residents have **all** lived for a period of time outside of the village (and thus have had the opportunity to bring non-Inupiat with them when they return to the village).

Barrow has the most ethnically diverse non-Inupiat population component, when measured by the number of ethnic groups represented. **All** of the ethnic groups noted for Point Hope are found in Barrow, along with two others: Filipino and Oriental. **While** whites make up fully **25.2%** of the total population of Barrow (the highest percentage of any village on the North Slope), they make up **64.8%** of the non-Inupiat population segment (the lowest percentage of any NSB village, except for Point Hope). Unlike Point Hope, the category of "other" in Barrow is not seriously problematic for analysis, as it makes up a relatively small **6.7%** of the non-Inupiat component of the village population.

Another important consideration in the interpretation of ethnic diversity found in Barrow is the overall size of the village. The relatively large size of Barrow means that, unlike other NSB villages, **small** population percentages **translate** to more than a handful of individuals. For example, there are several ethnic groups such as Filipinos, Hispanics, and Orientals that make up relatively **small** proportions of the overall village population (4.9, 1.0, and 0.8% respectively). In absolute numbers, there are 155, 31, and 24 residents of these **ethnicities** respectively. (To contrast this with the demographic **numbers** found in the other villages, it **is** interesting to note that although Hispanics make up **only** 1.0% of the population of Barrow, there are more Hispanics in Barrow than there are whites in four of the seven **NSB** villages excluding Barrow where, like in Barrow, whites are by far and away the numerically dominant **non-Inupiat** ethnic group.) In behavioral terms, **there** are enough **residents** of each of these ethnic groups (Filipinos, Hispanics, and Orientals) to enable the formation and maintenance of ethnically based quasi-self-contained social groups in Barrow, something that is not found in the other villages. For each of these **groups** in Barrow, there are active kin relations between significant numbers of individuals of these groups. Migration and residency decisions are based, to a large extent, on kinship relationships and considerations. Individuals of these **ethnicities** also form active economic and **social** groups. There are enterprises in Barrow associated with each **ethnicity** (in terms of ownership, management, and staffing and/or products), and in addition to association dictated by kin and economic relations, individuals in these ethnic categories often socialize together, as friendship ties overlap with kinship, **ethnicity**, and workplace ties.

2. Industrial Population

To this point, we have been discussing the resident population of the North **Slope** Borough, but there is another population in this region. This is the “industrial population” composed of individuals working and residing in the industrial enclaves outside of the villages in the region. To a great degree, this is a “hidden population” on the North Slope, for several reasons.

Figure 4-NSB, entitled “**Village** and Industrial Population: 1980- 1987,” presents data on the relative size of the village and industrial populations on the North **Slope**. Of significant interest are the years 1980 and **1986**. Prior to 1980, the village population of the NSB exceeded the industrial population. During the years 1980 through 1986, however, the industrial population exceeded the combined total population of **all** villages on the North Slope. After 1986, the village population was again **larger** than the industrial population.

One of the reasons the industrial population is a hidden one is that, for the most part, these individuals are not residents of the region in the sense of the region being a **primary** residence. Instead, for these individuals the North **Slope** is a work site, and their residence is elsewhere. Presumably, these individuals show up in population statistics at their primary place of **residence**.

Table 1-NSB

Population Composition *
North **Slope** Borough Villages
1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Under 5 years	183	188	371	20	32	52	203	220	423
5-9	145	146	291	2	3	2	168	168	336
10-14	156	182	338	23	14	37	179	1%	375
15-19	219	223	442	21	25	46	240	248	488
20-24	199	162	361	50	38	88	249	200	449
25-29	171	139	310	111	66	177	282	205	487
30-34	108	85	193	86	47	133	194	132	326
35 - 39	87	63	150	42	24	66	129	87	216
40-44	79	58	137	40	15	55	119	73	192
45-49	76	47	123	35	11	46	111	58	169
50 - 54	61	51	112	16	15	31	77	66	143
55-59	34	36	70	9	2	11	43	38	81
60-64	27	24	51	6	3	9	33	27	60
65-69	34	36	70	1	2	3	35	38	73
70-74	18	12	30	2	0	2	20	12	32
75 and over	25	12	37	1	0	1	26	12	38
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>1,622</u>	<u>1,464</u>	<u>3,086</u>	<u>486</u>	<u>316</u>	<u>802</u>	<u>2,108</u>	<u>1,780</u>	<u>3,888</u>
<u>Median Age</u>	<u>22.6</u>	<u>19.8</u>	<u>21.2</u>	<u>29.7</u>	<u>27.2</u>	<u>28.7</u>	<u>25.3</u>	21.2	<u>23.7</u>

*Figures exclude a total of 254 persons (57 Alaska native males, 43 Alaska Native females, 116 non-Native males and 38 non-Native females) for whom no age information was provided. Thus, a total of 4,142 persons in the North Slope Borough was surveyed by Alaska Consultants, Inc.

Source Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 2a-NSB

Age, Sex, and Race Compared:
NSB Region, 7 Villages (excluding Barrow), and Barrow -1988

NSB REGION

	<u>Inupiat</u>			<u>Non-Inupiat</u>			<u>Total</u>			<u>% Total</u>
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>	
Under 4	243	241	484	66	43	109	309	284	593	11.5%
4-8	287	273	560	62	48	110	349	321	670	13.0%
9-15	215	250	465	72	56	128	287	306	593	11.5%
16-17	59	59	118	16	15	31	75	74	149	2.9%
18-25	284	252	536	66	68	134	350	320	670	13.0%
26-39	385	410	795	308	204	512	693	614	1307	25.3%
40-59	302	244	546	219	153	372	521	397	918	17.8%
60-65	48	38	86	18	7	25	66	45	111	2.1%
66+	64	85	149	6	3	9	70	88	158	3.1%
TOTAL	1887	1852	3739	833	597	1430	2720	2449	5169	100.0%
TOTAL %	36.5%	35.8%	72.3%	16.1%	11.5%	27.7%	52.6%	47.4%	100.0%	
Number of Missing Observations										329
Total Population										5498

7 NSB VILLAGES (adding Barrow)

Under 4	116	110	226	7	6	13	123	116	239	11.0%
4-8	161	142	303	17	12	29	178	154	332	15.3%
9-15	112	137	249	12	9	21	124	146	270	12.5%
16-17	28	24	52	0	3	3	28	27	55	2.5%
18-25	157	126	283	10	4	14	167	130	297	13.7%
26-39	204	185	389	66	24	90	270	209	479	22.1%
40-59	178	124	302	42	32	74	220	156	376	17.3%
60-65	23	18	41	7	0	7	30	18	48	2.2%
66+	32	40	72	0	0	0	32	40	72	3.3%
TOTAL	1011	906	1917	161	90	251	1172	996	2168	100.0%
TOTAL %	46.6%	41.8%	88.4%	7.4%	4.1%	11.6%	54.1%	45.9%	100.0%	
Number of Missing Observations										107
Total Population										2275

BARROW

Under 4	127	131	258	59	37	96	186	168	354	11.8%
4-8	126	131	257	45	36	81	171	167	338	11.3%
9-15	103	113	216	60	47	107	163	160	323	10.8%
16-17	31	35	66	16	12	28	47	47	94	3.1%
18-25	127	126	253	56	64	120	183	190	373	12.4%
26-39	181	225	406	242	180	422	423	405	828	27.6%
40-59	124	120	244	177	121	298	301	241	542	18.1%
60-65	25	20	45	11	7	18	36	27	63	2.1%
66+	32	48	80	6	3	9	38	48	86	2.9%
TOTAL	876	946	1822	672	507	1179	1848	1453	3001	100.0%
TOTAL %	29.2%	31.5%	60.7%	22.4%	16.9%	39.3%	51.6%	48.4%	100.0%	
Number of Missing Observations										222
Total Population										3223

Source: Adapted from the NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Table 2b-NSB

Sex and Race Compared:
NSB Region, 7 Villages (excluding M-row), and Barrow
 1988

	Inupiat			Non-Inupiat			Total			% Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
NSB REGION	1887	1852	3739	833	597	1430	2720	2449	5169	100.070
7 NSB VILLAGES	1011	906	1917	161	90	251	1172	996	2168	41.9%
Anaktuvuk Pass	108	115	223	24	13	37	132	128	260	5.0%
Atqasuk	99	82	181	12	8	20	111	90	201	3.9%
Kaktovik	89	79	168	27	15	42	116	94	210	4.1%
Nuiqsut	150	133	283	12	7	19	162	140	302	5.8%
Point Hope	258	231	489	39	26	65	297	257	554	10.770
Point Lay	70	54	124	13	12	25	83	66	149	2.9%
Wainwright	237	212	449	34	9	43	271	221	492	9.5%
BARROW	876	946	1822	672	507	1179	1548	1453	3001	58.1%
Missing Observations									329	
Total Population									54984	

Source Adapted from the NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Table 2c-NSB

Average Age Compared:
NSB Region, 7 Villages (excluding Barrow), and Barrow
 1988

	<u>NSB REGION</u>	<u>7 NSB VILLAGES</u>	<u>Anaktuvuk Pass</u>	<u>Atkasuk</u>	<u>Kaktovik</u>	<u>Nuiqsut</u>	<u>Point Hope</u>	<u>Point Lay</u>	<u>Wainwright</u>	<u>BARROW</u>
Entire Population	25.8	25.3	24.4	24.8	29.2	25.0	23.8	25.5	26.1	26.2
Male	26.2	26.0	25.3	24.6	31.1	25.3	23.2	26.2	28.1	26.4
Female	25.3	24.5	23.6	25.2	26.8	24.7	24.6	24.6	23.7	25.9
Inupiat	24.4	24.6	23.0	24.3	27.8	23.6	23.8	23.5	26.0	24.3
Non-Inupiat	29.4	30.9	33.0	29.8	34.6	45.6	24.2	35.7	26.8	29.1

Source Adapted from the NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Figure 1-NSB

Inupiat and Total Population in 1988
NSB Region

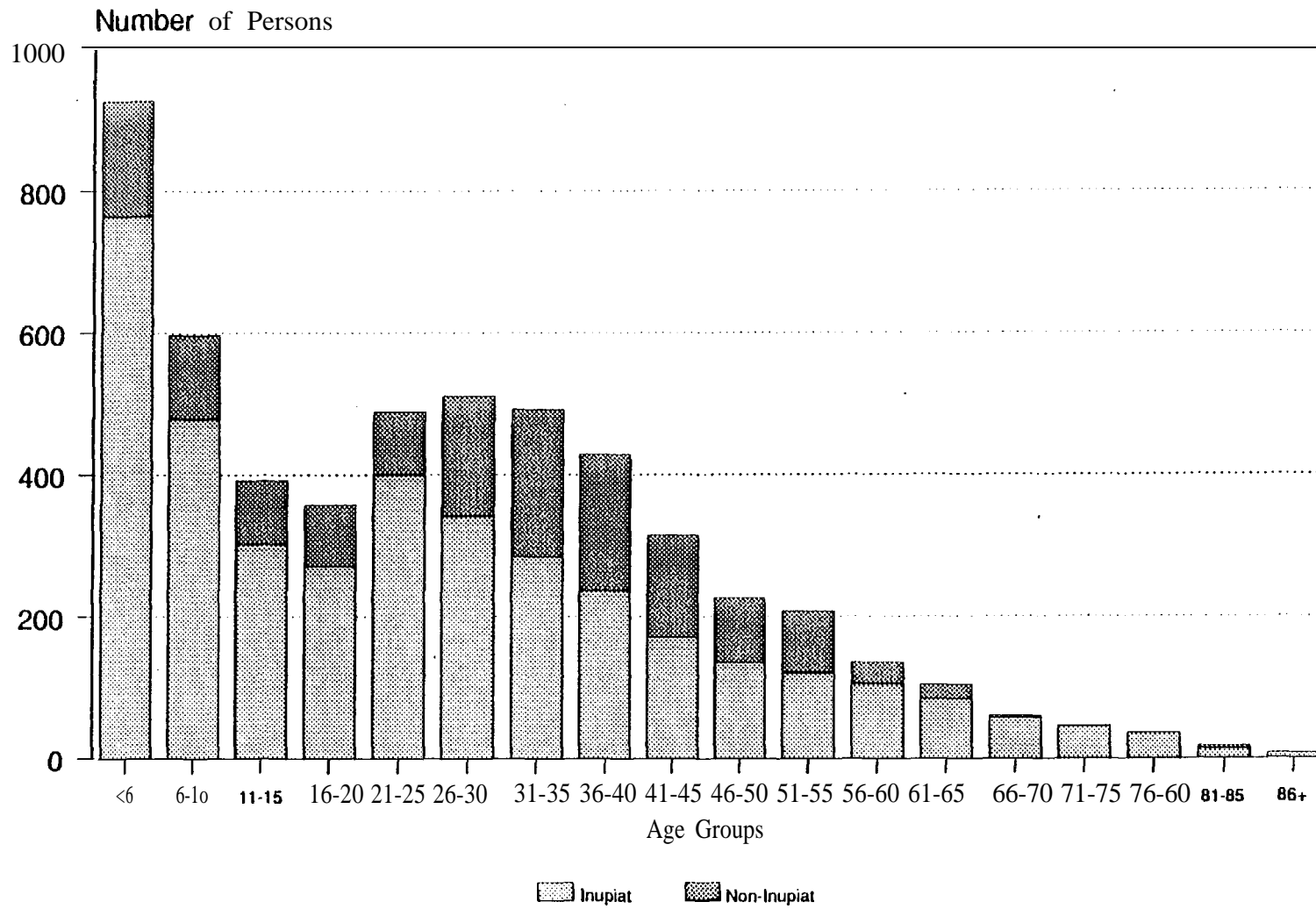


Figure 2-NSB

NSB Region Population Characteristics -1988

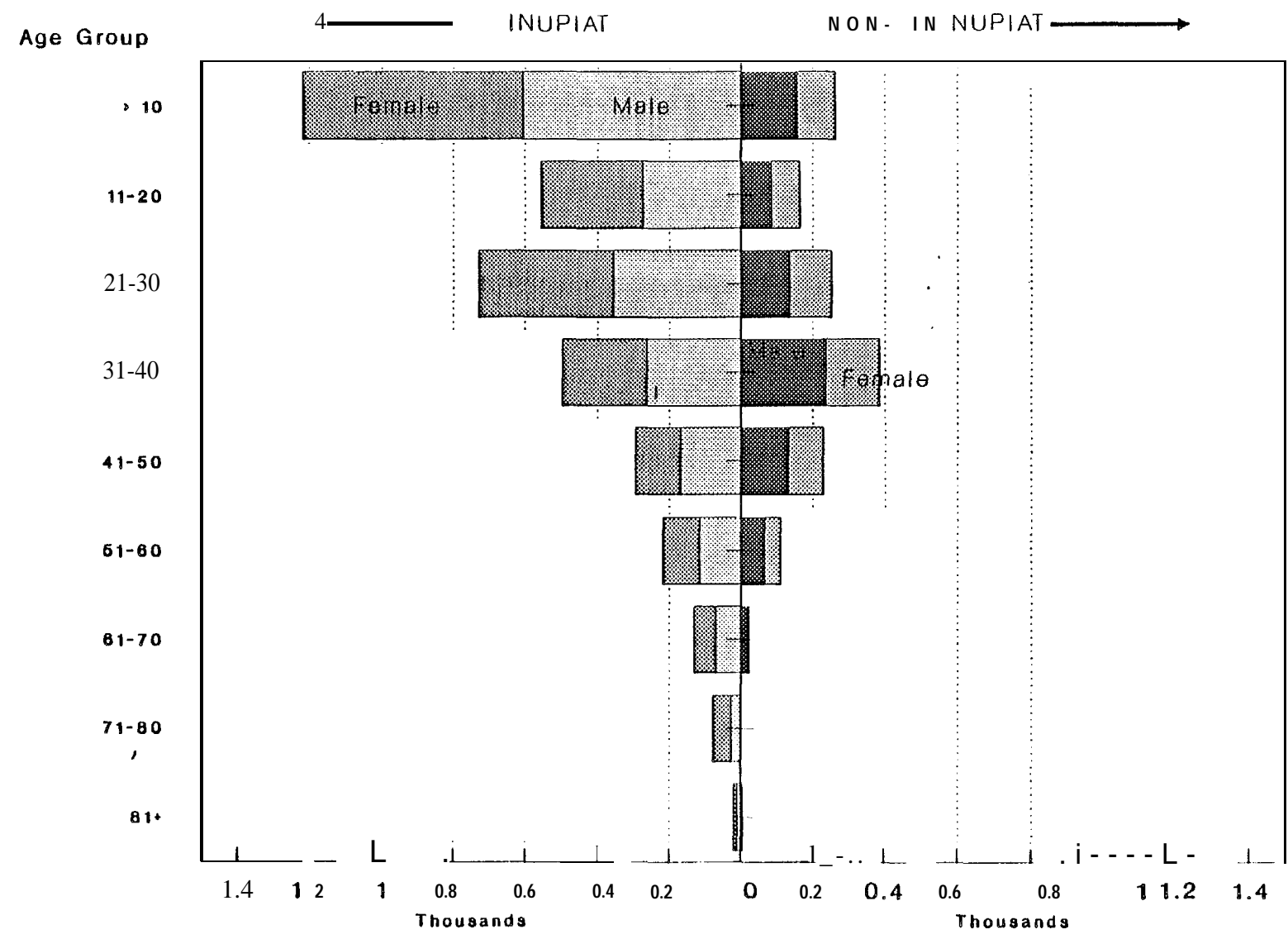


Figure 3-NSB

Ethnic Composition Compared:

NSB Region, 7 Villages (excluding Barrow), and Barrow - 1988

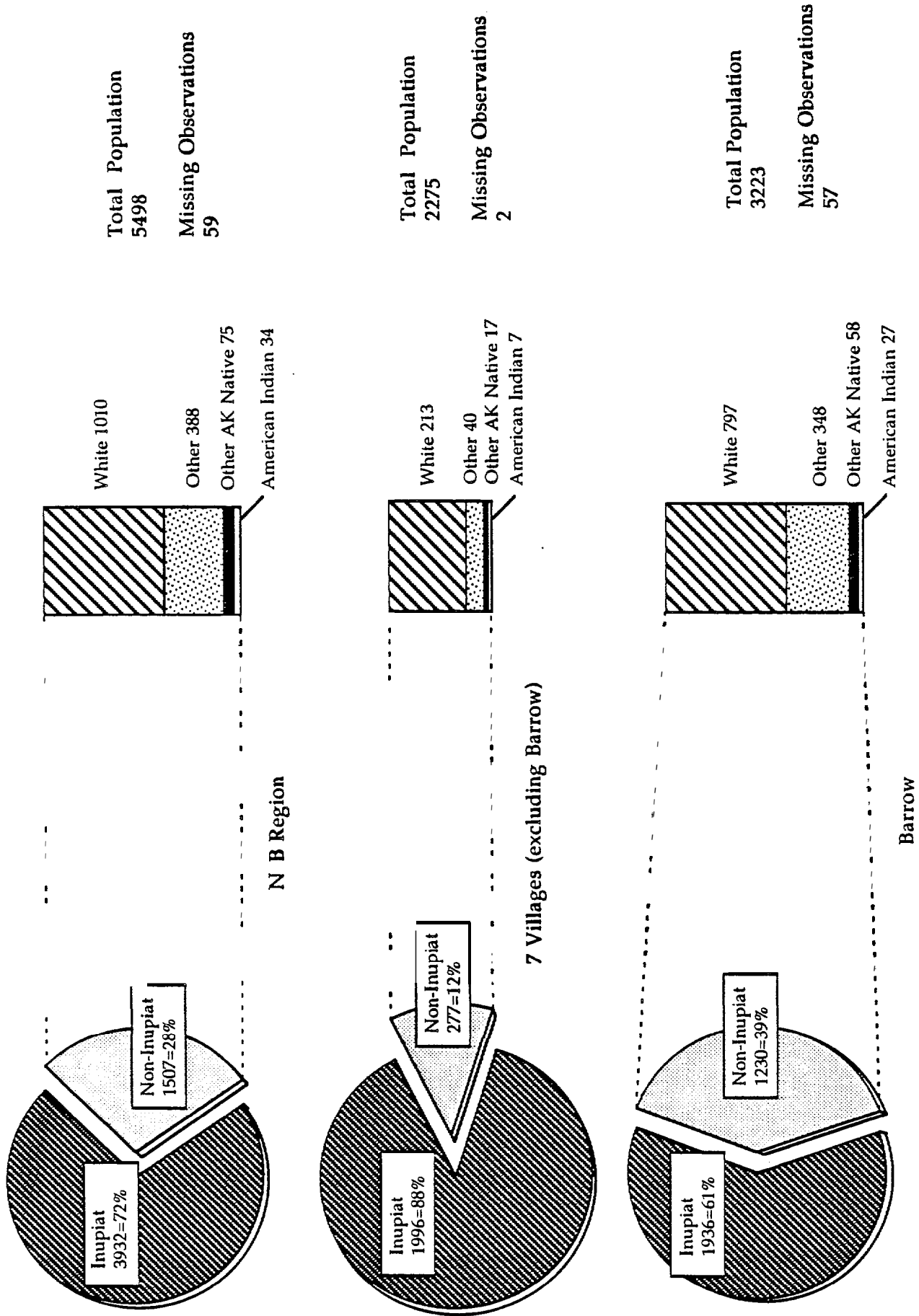


Table 3-NSB

Ethnic Composition of Population - 1988
NSB Region

ETHNIC CATEGORY	TOTAL POPULATION			% OF TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	
INUPIAT	2002	1930	3932	72.3%
OTHER AK NATWE	37	38	75	1.4%
WHITE	612	398	1010	18.6%
AMERICAN INDIAN	22	12	34	0.6%
HISPANIC	25	17	38	0.7%
FILIPINO	77	81	158	2.9%
ORIENTAL	8	16	24	0.4%
BLACK	31	18	49	0.9%
OTHER	59	44	103	1.9%
NOT ASCERTAINED	11	5	16	0.3%
TOTAL	2880	2559	5439	100.0%
%	53.0%	47.0%	100.0%	
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS			59	
TOTAL POPULATION			5496	

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Another reason for the invisibility of this population is the fact that they work and live (while on the North Slope) in industrial enclaves, isolated from the rest of the population of the NSB. **These** individuals do not interact with permanent residents of the NSB (other than with those few permanent residents who work in the enclaves), they do not marry residents of the region, and they do not take part in the subsistence lifestyle of the region.

A third reason for their invisibility is the fact that this population does not participate in the political processes on the North Slope. **While** they (and through them, their companies) are the primary source of government revenues on the North Slope they are, due to the nature of their work environment, not a part of the governmental process. They are not eligible to vote on the North Slope.

This population is also distinct by virtue of its internal composition. Overwhelmingly **non-Inupiat**, the individuals who compose this population do not approach a **normal** population curve on age and sex indices, nor do they come **close** to the **non-Inupiat** village population. The vast majority of the industrial population is male, and **all** fall within the labor force age parameters.

Figure 5-NSB, entitled "NSB Resident Vs. Total Earnings, 1979-1986" displays data on earnings by North Slope residents contrasted to total earnings on the North Slope by both residents and non-residents. There are two points of primary significance to be made regarding these data. First is the division of the span of years covered into two periods: pre-1974 and post-1974. The difference in **total** earnings between these two periods is enormous, with **total** income increasing sharply beginning in 1974. Although there have been steady declines in total earnings since 1983, the total still remains far in excess of the **levels** seen before the **oil** development years. The level of total earnings in the highest year before 1974 is approximately 7% of that of the highest year after 1974.

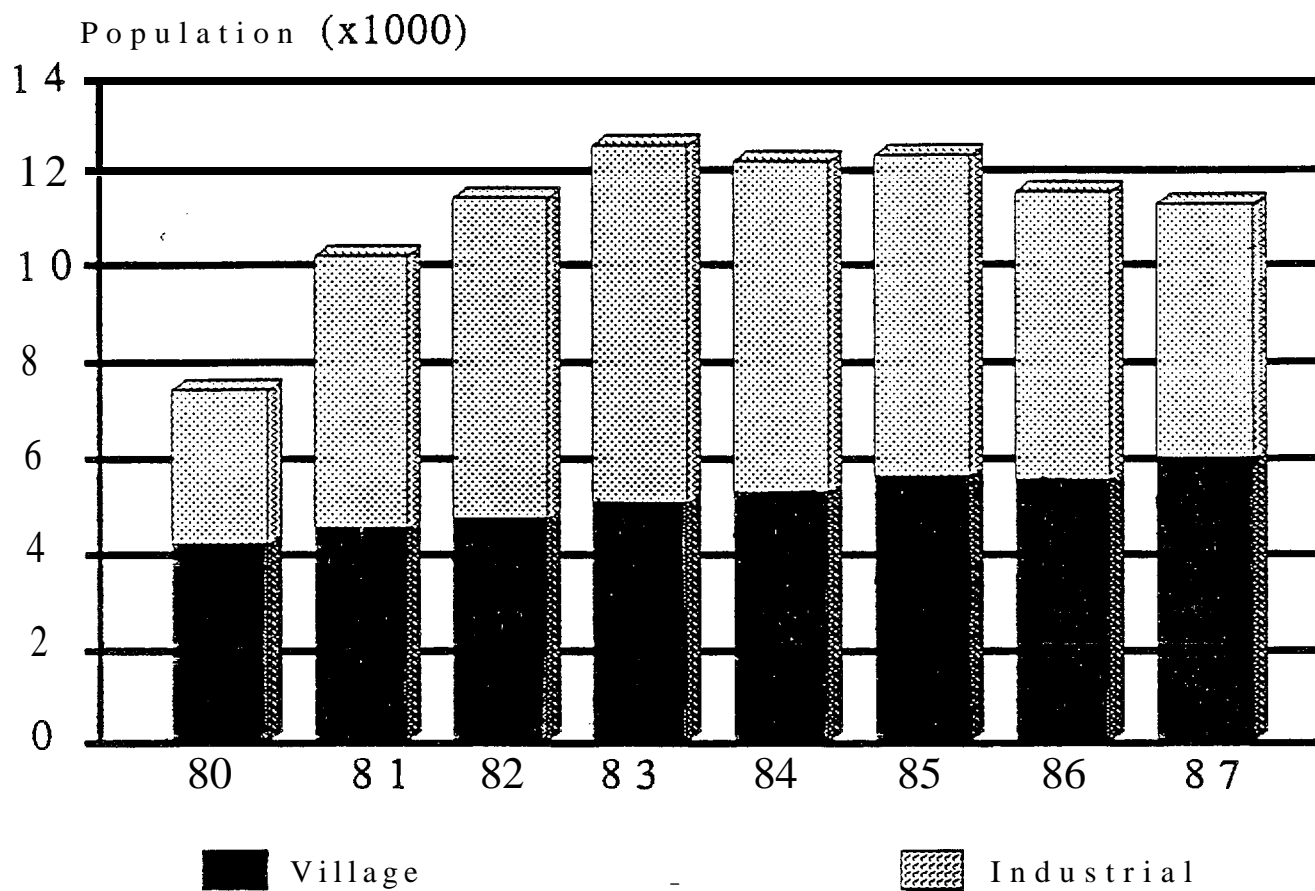
The second major point to be gleaned from these data is the disparity between the earnings of residents in comparison to total earnings. Realizing that total earnings is composed of resident and non-resident earnings, total earnings exceeded resident earnings by more than 700% at the peak in 1983, and remained well over 400% higher at the end of the period in 1986. In other words, the hidden or industrial population of the North Slope earns far in excess of the village population.

Figure 6-NSB displays resident and total per capita earnings for the years 1980 through 1986. In 1982, per capita earnings for the total population (which includes the enclave populations at **Deadhorse**) exceeded the per capita earnings for the resident population by nearly a factor of three. At the end of the period, 1986, the difference between total and residential population per capita earnings had lessened, but per capita income for the total population still exceeded the per capita income of the resident population by more than 200%.

It is important to note that the difference in per capita earnings between non-residents and residents is greater than the difference between total population and resident population, as the total population represents both resident and non-resident populations. Part of this difference may be accounted for by the fact that the non-resident or industrial population is composed virtually exclusively of wage earners, whereas the resident population is composed of individuals in **all** age categories (including persons too young or too **old** to be wage earners) and includes unemployed individuals. Individuals in the industrial population do not remain on the North Slope if they lose their jobs.

Figure 4-NSB

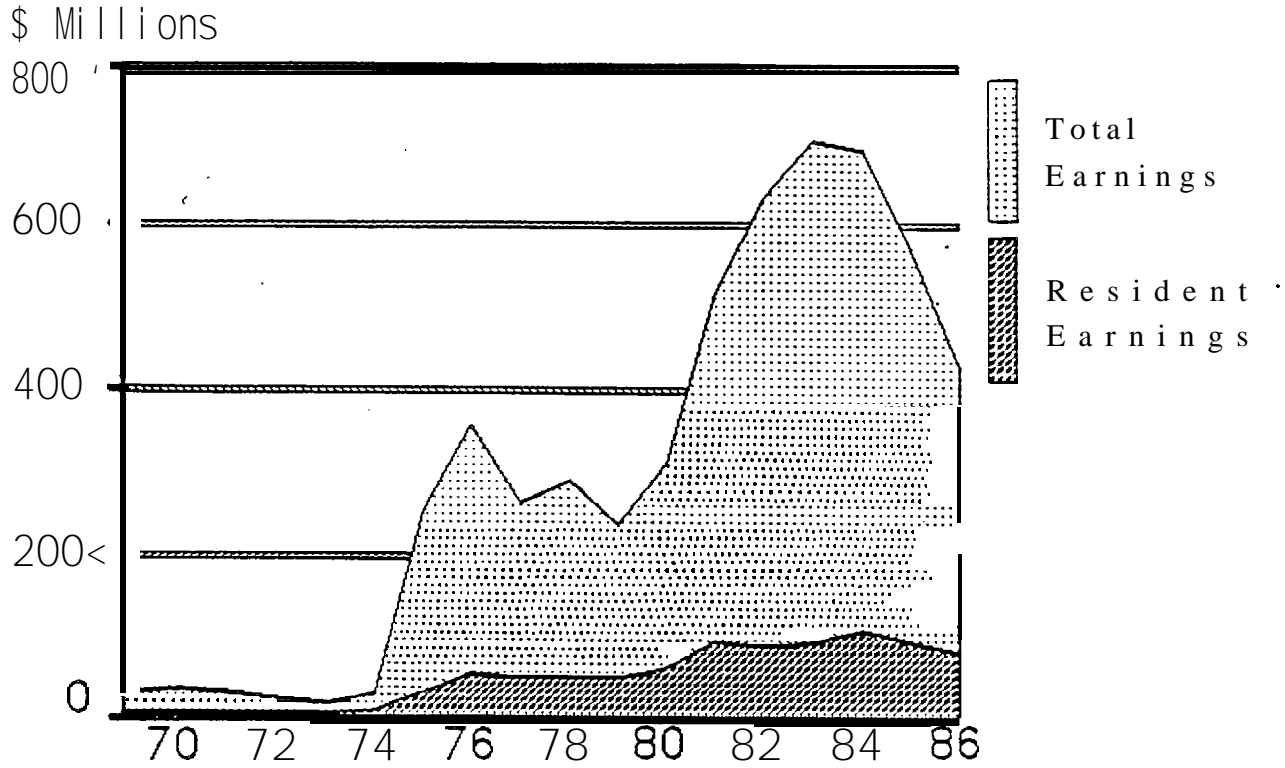
Village and Industrial Population
NSB Region: 1980-1987



Source: Alaska Department Of Labor

Figure 5-NSB

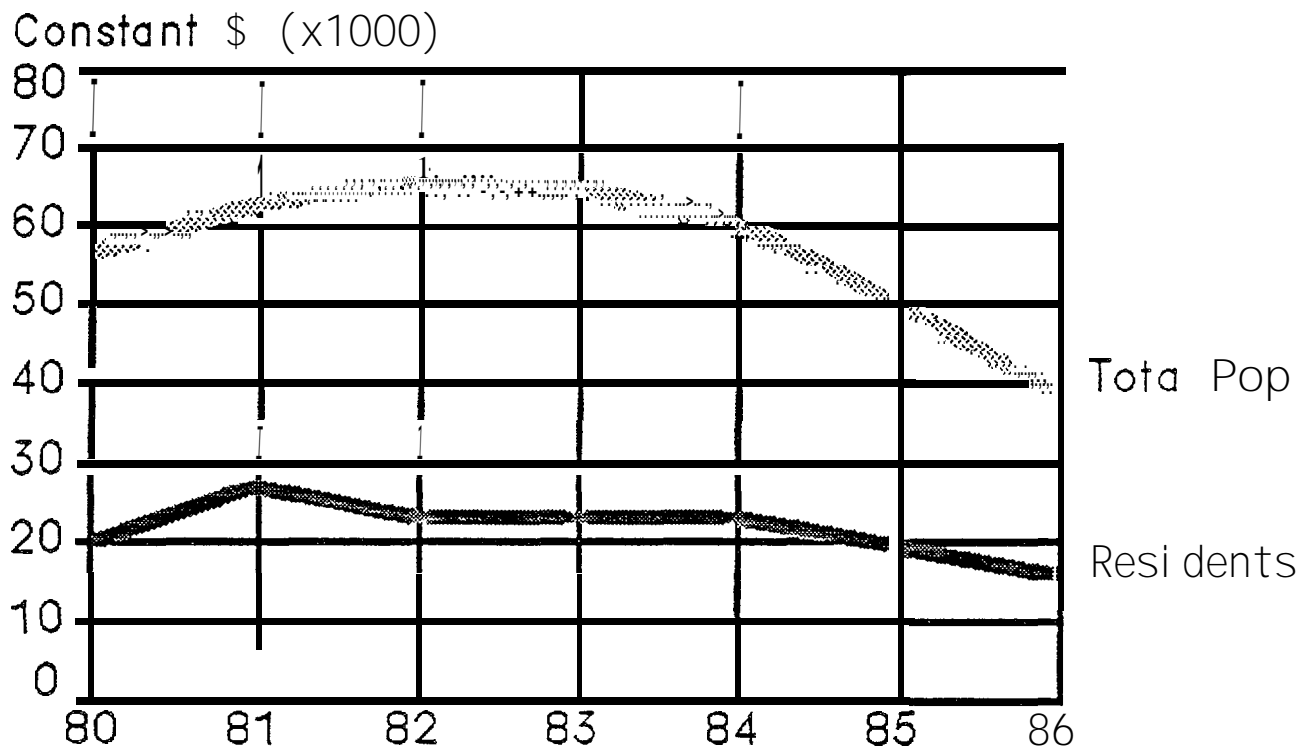
NSB Resident Vs **Total** Earnings
1969-1986



Source: U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis

Figure 6-NSB

Resident and Total Per Capita Earnings
1980-1986



Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis and Alaska Dept of Labor

C. Regional Household Information

1. Household Size

Table 4-NSB displays information on household size in the North Slope Borough in 1980 by age of head of household and by whether the head of household was a Native or non-Native. (All of the information in this section applies only to the eight traditional villages of the North Slope -- data from the industrial enclaves are not included.) Of particular importance is the difference in size **between** Native and non-Native households, with non-Native households being much smaller on the average. Average household size for the borough is 4.0 for **Inupiat** households, 2.5 for **non-Inupiat** households, and 3.3 for **all** households. **Non-Inupiat** households are heavily biased towards one- and two-person households. The bulk of non-Native households are composed of one- and two-person households, approximately half again as many are three- and four-person households, and the number of households drops off sharply at five or more members. Native households, on the other hand, are larger and display a much stronger showing in the larger household categories. This same pattern is seen in Tables 5a-NSB and 5b-NSB, which display similar information on household totals for 1988. This pattern is consistent with data from the villages that show **non-Inupiat households** are generally composed of only adult wage earners, or adult wage earners with young children. As **non-Inupiat** children grow older and approach high school age (and the possibility of having multiple younger siblings increases), **non-Inupiat** families tend to move away from the North Slope.

If one examines the household size difference between Native households in 1980 and **Inupiat** households in 1988, it is apparent that housing programs between these years have not made a dramatic difference in household size. There is no strong tendency either way toward larger or smaller households across the household categories, with the relative minor exception of the largest households. If one examines households of 10 or more **members**, these households composed 3.2% of the total in 1980, whereas in 1988 they composed only 1.1% of the **total**. One interpretation of the absence of a drop in household size in spite of the construction of many new housing units in the villages is that in most of the villages, at least some of the older units are either no longer in use, or they are used as structures for purposes other than housing. This is **observationally** true in most villages -- Point Hope, Point Lay, **Nuiqsut**, and **Kaktovik** to a strong degree; and Barrow in a less direct and more **complex** manner as befits the largest and least homogeneous NSB community. Good information on the other three villages is lacking in this regard. There is no good information on the birth rate (either as a static absolute measure at one point in time or as time series information indicating whether the rate is changing) or on migration. These are additional factors which **could** be affecting household size, but it appears that a strong preference for newer housing to older housing is one factor maintaining current household size. Another factor, of course, is that most households are composed of what are basically nuclear families (a couple or a single parent with children). It is unlikely that average **household** size would decline much **below** that of the average family size.

Seven NSB Villages (adding Barrow)

Average household size for the group is 4.1 for **Inupiat** households, 2.4 for **non-Inupiat** households, and 3.8 for all households. That is to say, in the outer villages **Inupiat** households are slightly larger

than for the region overall and Barrow alike, and **non-Inupiat** households are slightly smaller, but the overall average household size is significantly larger than either the region as a whole or Barrow **alone**. This is due to the relatively **small** percentage of **non-Inupiat households** in the villages. That is to say, in the outer villages where **non-Inupiat** households account for only 14% of the total number of households, village average household size approaches the higher **Inupiat** average household size figure. This is in spite of the fact that **non-Inupiat** households in these villages are very small indeed. Seventy-one percent of all **non-Inupiat** households in these villages are one- or two-person households. If one totals the **non-Inupiat** households of three to five persons, less than three households per village fall within this range. For the **non-Inupiat** household size of six or above range, there is an average of **only** 0.7 households per community and, in fact, three of the five households of this range are found in a single community. (Further, at least two of these “households” are not “true” households **but**, rather, are commercial lodging enterprises.)

Within the seven village group there is variation in average household size worth noting. For **Inupiat** households, there is a range of 0.8 persons. **Atqasuk** and Point Hope are at the high end of the range with an average size of 4.4 persons; **Kaktovik** has the lowest average **Inupiat** household size with 3.6 persons. For **non-Inupiat** households the range is 2.5 persons. **Nuiqsut** has the lowest average size of 1.8; Wainwright has the largest with 4.3. The very high **Wainwright** figure can be accounted for by the presence of three **very** large (by North Slope **non-Inupiat** standards) households of seven, nine, and ten persons each. It is apparent that two of these “households” are not **households** in the everyday sense of the word. Only the smallest of the three was an **actual** household, the others were the hotel and a temporary construction camp. When these two “households” are deleted to make the figures comparable to those from other villages, the average **non-Inupiat** household size for Wainwright drops to 2.7 persons. When this correction is taken into account, Kaktovik has the largest average **non-Inupiat household** size with 2.9 persons, and the range of **non-Inupiat** average household size is reduced from 2.5 to 1.1. (As an informational note, we do not use the U.S. census category of “congregate housing” because the data are derived from the NSB census and they did not use this as a separate category. Their decision was no doubt based on the very few such cases which exist on the North Slope, and especially within the villages. Where we are familiar enough with the village in question to know of such cases we have made modifications in the data.)

Barrow (Only)

Average household size for Barrow is 3.9 for **Inupiat** households, 2.5 for **non-Inupiat households**, and 3.2 for all households. It is important to note that the overall average household size is midway between the average size of **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** households because in Barrow **non-Inupiat** households comprise fully 47% of the **households** in the community. This is significantly different from the situation in the other villages of the North Slope.

Table 4-NSB

Age of **Head** of Household* ** ***
 For Alaska Natives, Non-Natives, and **All** Groups
 North Slope Borough Villages, 1980

Household Size	<u>14-24</u>			<u>25-34</u>			<u>35-44</u>			<u>45-64</u>			<u>65+</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Native	non-Native	Total	Native	non-Native	Total	Native	non-Native	Total	Native	non-Native	Total	Native	non-Native	Total	Native	non-Native	Total
1 person	21	11	32	32	36	68	8	18	26	17	19	36	18	4	22	96	88	184
2 persons	23	10	33	40	47	87	17	15	32	18	19	37	12	0	12	110	91	201
3 persons	26	5	31	33	18	51	13	9	22	28	10	38	21	0	21	121	42	163
4 persons	5	4	9	62	18	80	26	13	39	26	6	32	2	0	2	139	41	180
5 persons	1	2	3	29	7	36	39	6	45	22	3	25	9	0	9	100	18	118
6 persons	0	0	0	10	3	13	24	3	27	34	0	34	4	0	4	72	6	78
7 persons	0	1	1	5	0	5	17	1	18	30	0	30	7	0	7	59	2	61
8 persons	1	0	1	1	0	1	6	1	7	15	0	15	2	0	2	25	1	26
9 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	11	1	12	1	0	1	14	1	15
10 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	8	0	8	2	0	2	12	0	12
11 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	2	1	0	1	4	0	4
12 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	5	0	0	0	5	0	5
13 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	2
14 persons	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	2
TOTAL	77	33	110	212	130	342	156	66	222	218	58	276	97	4	101	760	291	1,051

* For purposes of the housing survey, the adult Alaska Native in combination Alaska Native/non-Native households was always designated head of household.
 ** Figures exclude 64 heads of household (27 Alaska Natives and 37 non-Natives) for whom no age information was obtained.
 *** Excludes three occupied units without permanent residents and one bunkhouse with 27 occupants. Includes 13 units used as group quarters.

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980,

Male **5a-NSB**

Household **Size** Compared:
NSB Region, 7 Villages (excluding Barrow), and Barrow
1988

No. <u>persons</u>	NSB Region				7 Villages (excluding Barrow)				Barrow			
	<u>Inupiat</u>	<u>Non- Inupiat</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% Total</u>	<u>Inupiat</u>	<u>Non- Inupiat</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% Total</u>	<u>Inupiat</u>	<u>Non- Inupiat</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% Total</u>
1	135	186	321	20.3%	69	26	95	16.0%	66	160	226	22.9%
2	158	153	311	19.7%	78	33	111	18.7%	80	120	200	20.2%
3	158	80	238	15.1%	67	9	76	12.8%	91	71	162	16.4%
4	189	65	254	16.1%	94	7	101	17.0%	95	58	153	15.5%
5	161	35	196	12.4%	78	3	81	13.7%	83	32	115	11.6%
6	112	16	128	8.1%	57	1	58	9.8%	55	15	70	7.1%
7	63	6	69	4.4%	28	1	29	4.9%	35	5	40	4.0%
8	27	3	30	1.9%	20	1	21	3.5%	7	2	9	0.9%
9	19	3	22	1.4%	13	1	14	2.4%	6	2	8	0.8%
10	5	1	6	0.4%	3	1	4	0.7%	2	0	2	0.2%
11	4	0	4	0.3%	2	0	2	0.3%	2	0	2	0.2%
12	2	0	2	0.1%	1	0	1	0.1%	1	0	1	0.1%
TOTAL OCCUPIED HH	1033	548	1481	100.0%	510	83	593	100.0%	523	456	988	100.0%

Source NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Table 5b-NSB

Average Household Size **Compared:**
NSB Region, 7 Villages (excluding Barrow), and Barrow
 1988

	Inupiat	Non-Inupiat	Total
NSB REGION	4.0	2.5	3.3
7 VILLAGES	4.1	2.4	3.8
Anaktuvuk Pass	4.1	1.9	3.6
Atqasuk	4.4	2.2	4.0
Kaktovik	3.6	2.9	3.4
Nuiqsut	4.1	1.8	3.9
Point Hope	4.4	2.3	4.1
Point Lay	3.7	2.2	3.4
Wainwright	3.9	4.3	3.9
BARROW	3.9	2.5	3.2

Source Adapted from the NSB Census of Population and Economy

2. Household Income and Spending Information

Figure 7-NSB displays average household income levels for the North Slope villages in 1980. This information is arranged by household size and by ethnicity of head of household. Two patterns are of note. First, the mean income for non-Native households exceeds that of Native households by almost 45%, \$38,481 to \$26,591 respectively. Second, non-Native households tend to be smaller than Native households. This means that the higher average income is distributed among fewer individuals. Further, based on field observations in the villages, this money is less likely to leave the non-Native households and go to other households in the villages, due to the lack of non-Native household participation in whatever sharing networks may exist.

NSB Region

In the region as a whole, Inupiat and non-Inupiat households are distributed by income in quite different ways. For Inupiat households, 28.5% fall in the under-\$20,000 range and 29.8% fall in the \$20,000 to \$40,000 range, with progressively smaller percentages falling in the successively higher income categories (Tables 6a-NSB, 6b-NSB). For non-Inupiat households, the number of households grows with each higher income category. Approximately 6% of non-Inupiat households are in the \$20,004) and under income category; over 53% are in the \$60,000 and above category. In contrast, only 19% of Inupiat households have an income of \$60,000 and above. While only accounting for 35% of the households in the region, non-Inupiat households outnumber Inupiat households in the highest income category by 1.5:1. Fifty-eight percent of Inupiat households have

an income of \$40,000 or less. Seventy-eight percent of” **non-Inupiat** households have an income of \$40,000 or more.

Seven NSB Villages (Excluding Barrow)

For Inupiat households, 32.5% fall in the lowest income range and 38.1% fall into the \$20,000 to \$40,000 income category, with progressively (and sharply) smaller percentages in each higher income category. For **non-Inupiat households**, fully 49% fall in the highest income range (\$60,000 and above), and the number of households in each successive lower income category drops off dramatically, with less than 9% of **non-Inupiat households** falling in the under-\$20,000 range. Although **non-Inupiat** households account for **only** 13.7% of all households in these villages, more **non-Inupiat** than **Inupiat** households fall into the highest income range. Less than 7% of **Inupiat** households fall into the \$60,000 or above income category. Seventy-one percent of **Inupiat households** have an income of \$40,000 or less; 76% of **all non-Inupiat** households have an income of \$40,000 or more.

Barrow (Only)

When examining the distribution of income across households by **ethnicity**, it is apparent that Barrow follows a different pattern than the rest of the region. For **Inupiat** households, there are more households in the lowest income category than the next higher bracket, but from the range \$20,000 to \$40,000 and up, there are progressively more **Inupiat households** in each higher income category; over **31%** of Barrow **Inupiat** households fall into the highest income range. This is an entirely different picture than is seen when examining the seven other **NSB** villages as a group. In Barrow, **like** the region as a whole, few **non-Inupiat** households are found in the lower income ranges and more are found in each successively higher income category. Fewer than 6% of **non-Inupiat households** in Barrow fall into the under-\$20,000 income range while **nearly** 54% fall in the \$60,000 and above range. Unlike the other villages, a majority (54.4%) of Barrow **Inupiat** households fall in the \$40,000 and over income range. Like other villages, however, a much higher percentage of **non-Inupiat** than **Inupiat** households fall in this range (77.8%).

Average Income: NSB Region, the NSB Villages (Excluding Barrow), and Barrow (Only)

When all village households are examined, there are important differences between Barrow on the one hand and the other villages in the region on the other. Average household income, for the region as a **whole**, is **\$52,343**. The average household income in Barrow is \$61,959. The average household income in the other NSB villages is \$36,201, which is 58% of the Barrow figure. One way to account for this difference is the fact that employment on the North Slope is overwhelmingly related to NSB employment either directly or indirectly, and Barrow is the seat of the NSB.

Among the seven villages outside of Barrow, there is a considerable difference (\$16,798) in the average household incomes. **Kaktovik** has the highest average household income among these villages with \$47,593 and Wainwright has the **lowest** with \$30,795 (less than 65% of the Kaktovik figure). Kaktovik is an **outlier** in this range. **All** six of the other villages fall within \$10,500 of each

other (from \$30,795 to \$41,136). The Kaktovik average income is nearly \$6,500 higher than the next highest village. This is likely due in large measure to the fact that in the region as a whole **non-Inupiat** household income is higher than **Inupiat** household income and Kaktovik has the highest non-Inupiat population of these seven villages.

Proportion of Total Household Income Spent in Village: NSB Region, the NSB Villages (Excluding Barrow), and Barrow (Only)

The proportion of income retained in the community, as measured by the proportion of total household income spent in the village, varies markedly from village to village. This is an important figure because money earned by persons in the village (normally from employers based outside” of the village, most frequently the **NSB**) and then spent in the village means additional vitality for the village economy in the form of retail **sales** and employment. It is this money that can, among other things, **help** support whatever private enterprise exists in the village. **For** the region as a **whole**, 53.6% of household income is spent in the village. Among the seven villages excluding Barrow, this average figure is 62.0%. For Barrow (only) this figure is 48.4%. In other words, in the villages outside of Barrow, where average household income is much lower than in Barrow, households spend a higher portion of their income (13.6%) for food, “clothing, and other household goods in the village. One reasonable interpretation of this difference is the higher portion of long-term transient (**non-Inupiat**) residents in Barrow. These households are more likely to bank or invest their earnings outside of the community than are permanent residents.

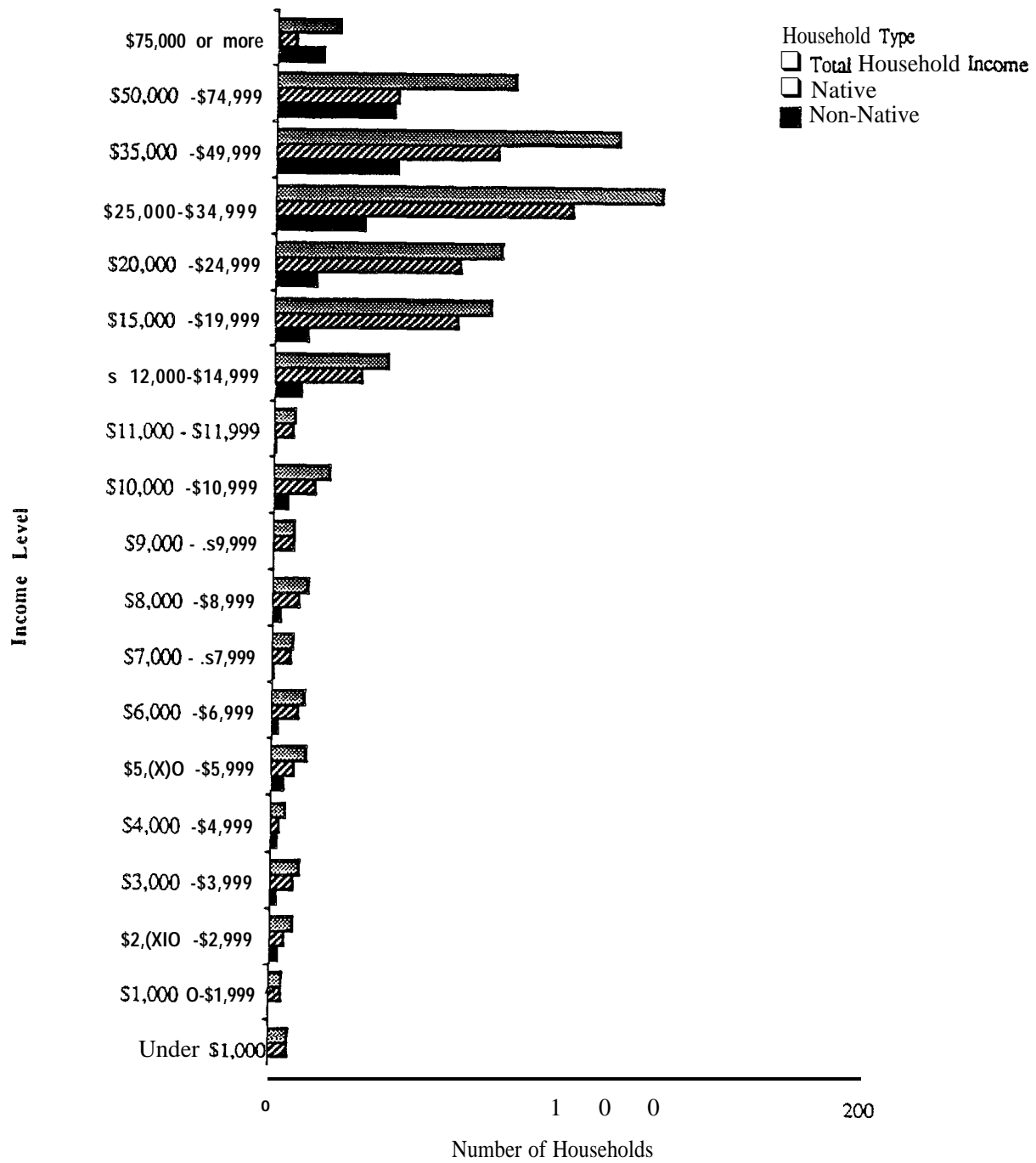
This is not to say that there are not significant differences between the North Slope villages outside of Barrow. In fact, there is a range of 24% between the villages with the highest and the lowest retention rates: in **Atkasuk**, fully 71.0% of household income is spent within the village; in Point Lay, only **47.0%** of household income is spent within the village.

Monthly Housing Payment: NSB Region, the NSB Villages (Excluding Barrow), and Barrow (Only)

The average monthly housing payment (including rent and mortgage) in the region as a whole is **\$447**. For the seven NSB villages excluding Barrow, this figure is \$201; for Barrow this figure is \$593. In this case, average figures are quite misleading as to the true picture of the cost of housing to the “average” family. In the villages outside of Barrow, there is a sharp difference in housing expenses for **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** households. **Inupiat** families overwhelmingly live in **NSB**-subsidized housing and pay mortgage payments of approximately \$ **100** per month. (The median monthly housing payments in five of the seven villages is \$ **100**; in another it is \$114.) **Non-Inupiat** families overwhelmingly live in **NSB**-owned housing and pay rent that is substantially higher than **NSB** housing mortgages, to the extent that the housing expenses of the few **non-Inupiat** families virtually double the overall village average. **NSB** housing in the outer villages is never sold to **non-Inupiat** residents; when **NSB** housing is rented to **Inupiat** residents these residents typically **qualify** for **NSB** housing subsidies and rent payments are a fraction of that charged to **non-Inupiat** long-term transient residents.

Figure 7-NSB

Average Household Income Distribution*
North Slope Borough Villages, 1980



* Figures exclude 471 households (326 Alaska Native and 145 non-Native) for whom no income information was obtained.

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey.
Prepared for the North Slope Borough Public Works Department, Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 6a-NSB

Household Income and Spending Compared:
NSB Region, 7 Villages (excluding Barrow), and Barrow
 1988

HH Inc. Category	NSB Region				7 Villages (excluding Barrow)				Barrow			
	<u>Inupiat</u>	<u>Non- Inupiat</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% Total</u>	<u>Inupiat</u>	<u>Non- Inupiat</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% Total</u>	<u>Inupiat</u>	<u>Non- Inupiat</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% Total</u>
Under \$20,000	236	28	264	20.6%	137	6	143	29.2%	99	22	121	15.3%
\$20,000-\$40,000	247	73	320	25.0%	161	10	171	35.0%	86	63	149	18.9%
\$40,000-\$60,000	189	110	299	23.4%	%	18	114	23.3%	93	92	185	23.4%
\$60,000 & Above	156	240	3%	31.0%	28	33	61	12.5%	128	207	335	42.4%
Total	828	451	1279	100.0%	422	67	489	100.0%	406	384	790	100.0%
Number of Missing Observations			302				104				198	
Total Occupied Households			1581				593				988	
			Median	Average			Median	Average			Median	Average
Household Income			\$45,195	\$52,343			n/a	\$36,201			\$52,500	\$61,959
Proportion of Total HH Income Spent in Village (1)			56.2%	53.6%			n/a	62%			50%	48.4%
Monthly Housing Payment (2)			\$425	\$447			n/a	\$201			\$614	\$593
Monthly Heating Costs			\$123	\$155			n/a	\$249			\$60	\$98
Monthly Electricity Costs			\$52	\$83			n/a	\$88			\$50	\$81

Notes: (1) For fed, clothing, and other household goods.
 (2) Includes rent and mortgage.
 Source: Adapted from the NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Table 6b-NSB

Household **Income and** Spending -1988
7 Villages (excluding Barrow)

	<u>Anaktuvuk Pass</u>	<u>Atkasuk</u>	<u>Kaktovik</u>	<u>Nuiqsut</u>	<u>Mitt Hope</u>	<u>Point Lay</u>	<u>Wainwright</u>	<u>7 v i (excl. Barrow)</u>
HH Income	\$32,500	\$35,057	\$47,593	\$41,136	\$36,705	\$33,603	\$30,795	\$36,201
Proportion of Total HH Income Spent in Village	58.0%	71.0%	62.0%	53.4%	66.0%	47.0%	68.0%	62.0%
Monthly Housing Payment (1)	\$187	\$185	\$227	\$183	\$212	\$346	\$159	\$201
Monthly Heating Costs	\$198	\$307	\$292	\$215	\$252	\$230	\$262	\$249
Monthly Electricity Costs	\$98	\$107	\$75	\$114	\$96	\$44	\$69	\$88

Notes: (1) For food, clothing, and other household goods.

(2) Includes rent and mortgage.

Source Adapted from the NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

The housing situation in Barrow is significantly different from that found in the outer villages. In the seven NSB villages excluding Barrow, the NSB has constructed enough houses that demand is nearly if not completely filled for both housing for purchase by resident **Inupiat** families and **rental** housing for NSB **non-Inupiat** employees. In some of the villages, these **NSB-built** homes are nearly the only types of housing available in the community. In Barrow there is both a shortage of **NSB-built** houses and more housing options available due to the history of construction in the community. Barrow housing more closely approximates a supply and demand type of housing market, and the cost of housing is, on the average, higher than in the other villages. It should be recalled that average household income is significantly higher in Barrow than in the other communities as well. It is the case, however, that Barrow residents **still** spend a higher percentage of their income on housing when figured on an annual basis, 11.5% of Barrow household income goes toward housing payments; an average 6.7% of household income is spent on housing payments in the other seven NSB villages.

Within the seven **villages** outside of Barrow, there is a \$159 range in the average monthly housing payment. **Anaktuvuk** Pass has the lowest average monthly housing payment at \$187; Point Lay has the highest at \$346, which is 1.8 times the Anaktuvuk Pass figure. The highest of the village averages is **still** only **58%** of the Barrow average.

Monthly Heating Costs: NSB Region, the NSB Wages (Excluding Barrow), and Barrow (Only)

Monthly heating **costs** for the region as a whole are \$155. For the seven villages outside of Barrow, this figure is \$249; for Barrow the figure is \$98. Although the cost in the seven outer villages is a good deal higher than the Barrow figure (**254%** higher), it is important to note that this is still a subsidized figure well below what the market cost of heating in the villages would be. Nearly all homes heat with diesel fuel, and this is supplied to the villages by the NSB. The NSB buys fuel in bulk and pays the cost of shipping the **fuel** to the villages. The **fuel** is stored in the villages in tank farms built by the NSB. In each village, the local Native corporation acts a fuel distributor. The understanding between the NSB and the **local** corporations is that the corporation **will** sell fuel to residential customers at a price that **will** cover the cost and overhead associated with fuel **delivery**, and it is up to the local corporation to set this price. In other words, the residents of the village do not pay for either the fuel or the cost of getting the **fuel** to the village, they pay only for the cost of distributing the fuel once it is in the storage tanks in the village. **While** the corporations are supposed to **sell** this **fuel** only to residential customers, there are known cases where this fuel was **sold** to contractors operating in the villages. In these **cases**, the local corporation inflated the price **of** the fuel and earned extra income for the corporation **while** providing a convenient service for the contractor, and as long as the corporation does not abuse this arrangement the NSB chooses not to create difficulties over it.

Within the seven **NSB** villages excluding Barrow, there is a range of \$109 between the highest and lowest average heating payments. **Atqasuk** has the highest average with \$307 per month; Anaktuvuk Pass has the lowest with \$198. While these costs are low on an absolute scale, given the arctic environment and the costs of transportation, the lowest of these is more than twice as high as Barrow, and the range between the lowest and highest is greater than the cost in Barrow.

The fact that Barrow residents **only** pay \$1,176 per year per household for heating so far north of the Arctic Circle is attributable to the gas fields near the community. The low cost of heating in Barrow provided the political impetus for the fuel subsidization program to the villages. The NSB government created the free **diesel** program in order to make living expenses more equitable between Barrow and the other North Slope villages.

Monthly Electricity Costs: NSB Region, the NSB Villages (Excluding Barrow), and Barrow (Only)

Monthly electricity costs in the region do not vary nearly as much as heating costs. For the region as a whole, households spend an average of \$83 per month. For Barrow, this figure is \$81; for the seven villages exclusive of Barrow the figure is \$88. Within the seven villages, there is a range of \$70 in monthly heating costs. Point Lay households, on the average, pay the least for electricity (\$44 per month); Nuiqsut households pay the most (\$114 per month).

D. Population and Education

Information on educational attainment in the North Slope region is found in Tables 7-NSB and 8-NSB. The first of these displays educational attainment for **Inupiat** residents of the region, the second for **non-Inupiat** residents. **Non-Inupiat** residents display much higher levels of attainment than do **Inupiat** residents, however, it must be borne in mind that the vast majority of **non-Inupiat** who move to the North Slope do so for job opportunities that require some degree of formal education or training. One circumstance that has changed in recent years is that education is available in the villages through high school and beyond. How this will change educational attainment patterns over the long run remains to be seen. Beyond educational attainment, the availability of education in the villages has influenced population dynamics in a number of other ways. It has allowed the high school-aged population cohort to remain in the village. Although there are no firm data to quantify the fact, a number of residents in the villages detailed how following education outside of the community, a significant number of individuals delay their return to the community, for several months to several years, as a result of opportunities and exposure gained while on the ‘outside.’ There is no information what percentage of these individuals do eventually return to their village of origin, as we were only able to talk to those who had returned, and they would not venture a guess. No one keeps track of this statistic, although the NSBSD is beginning to take an interest in doing so.

1. Inupiat Residents Only

College

On the regional level, 1.6% of the **Inupiat** population has completed college, and 4.7% have attended some college. There is a sharp difference between **Inupiat** residents of Barrow and the villages outside of Barrow in level of college experience. For the seven NSB villages outside of Barrow, 0.5% of the **Inupiat** residents have completed college and 2.7% of the **Inupiat** residents have some college education. For Barrow, 2.6% of the **Inupiat** residents have completed college; 6.8% have some college.

There are pronounced differences for college experience among age groups, and few **Inupiat** in the oldest age groups have attended college. For the region as a whole, only three **Inupiat** residents age 60 or older have completed college, which represents 1.3% of this population segment. All of these individuals live in Barrow. If one adds the individuals 60 and over who have some college, a total of six individuals in the region have some exposure to, or have completed college. Five of these six live in Barrow.

Vocational/Technical School

For the region as a whole, 0.8% of the **Inupiat** population has completed vocational or technical school. For the seven NSB villages exclusive of Barrow, this figure is 0.6%; for Barrow it is 1.1 %. Stated another way, nearly three-quarters of all **Inupiat** vocational or technical school graduates on the North Slope are residents of Barrow.

High School or GED

For the region as a whole, 24.5% of **Inupiat** residents have a high school diploma or a GED as their highest level of education attained. For the seven NSB villages excluding Barrow, this figure is **25.9%**; for Barrow- **itself** this figure is 23.0%. This does not imply that the non-Barrow population is more highly educated overall; this proportion is higher for the villages because it represents the **highest** level achieved. To look at overall achievement another way, if one sums the residents who have finished high school or have a GED with vocational or technical school graduates and with residents who have college experience, in the region as a whole 31.6% of **Inupiat** residents have a high school/GED education or more. In the seven NSB villages outside of Barrow this figure is 29.7%; for Barrow it is 33.6%. If one looks at the figures for individuals with **more than** a high school education (college experience or vocational/technical graduates), 7.1% of the **Inupiat** residents of the region fall into this **category**. For the seven NSB villages excluding Barrow, this **figure** is 3.8%; for Barrow **itself** it is 10.690.

Education and Controlling for Age

When examining highest level of education attained as a function of proportion of population for high school and above, it is more meaningful to control for age rather than examining the population as a **whole**. Excluding individuals under the age of 26, one is left with a population segment where individuals are old enough to have had time to complete high school and higher education programs, **should** they care to do so (the next younger census age grouping is 18-25 years, and so **would** include individuals still in high school). For the region as a whole, there are 1,573 **Inupiat** residents age 26 or over in the 1988 census database for whom there is educational information; this figure is 803 for the seven NSB villages exclusive of Barrow and 770 for Barrow itself.

In the region as a **whole**, 3.4% of **Inupiat** residents, age 26 and above, have completed college and/or have some education beyond that mark. For the seven NSB villages **exclusive** of Barrow,

this figure is 1.1%; for Barrow it is 5.7%, a **very** large difference indeed. In this same age group, 8.8% of the **Inupiat** residents of the region have had some college. For the seven NSB villages exclusive of Barrow this figure is 5.0%; for Barrow it is **12.7%**. Vocational or technical school graduates are not numerous, but again Barrow residents far outdistance the residents of the other villages in their completion rates: 1.5% of the Inupiat residents of the region, age 26 or older, have completed **vocational/technical** training this figure is 1.1% for the seven NSB villages outside of Barrow and 1.9% for the residents of Barrow.

Again, for the age category of age 26 and above, 39.2% of the **Inupiat** residents of the region have completion of high school or **GED** as their highest level of educational attainment. For the seven NSB villages **exclusive** of Barrow, this figure is 42.1%; for Barrow **itself** the figure is 36.1%. **Forty-two** percent of **Inupiat** residents, age 26 and above, of the region as a **whole** did not complete high school. For the seven **NSB** villages outside of Barrow this figure is **44.8%**; for Barrow it is **38.4%**.

If one groups high **school/GED** completion with higher education, 52.9% of **Inupiat** residents age 26 or older in the region as a whole have completed high **school/GED** or gone on to higher education. For the seven NSB villages outside of Barrow, this figure is **49.3%**; for Barrow itself it is **56.4%**.

If one separates out higher education by **itself** (combining vocational or technical **school** graduation with college attendance or completion) for Inupiat residents, the difference in level of educational achievement between the residents of Barrow and the seven other villages is even more pronounced. For the region as a whole, 13.7% of **Inupiat** residents age 26 and older have some form of higher education. For the seven **NSB** villages exclusive of Barrow, this figure is 7.2%; for Barrow it is 20.3%. **In** other words, of the **215 Inupiat** residents of the North **Slope** who (according to the NSB **1988** census) have some form of higher education, **157 (73%)** live in the single community of Barrow. This is attributable, to a very large degree if not entirely, to the fact that Barrow is the seat of the NSB government. The NSB government, directly and indirectly, provides the vast majority of employment in the region, and its central bureaucracy and various departments (also centered in Barrow) account for nearly all of the upper administrative (and other) positions in the region presently filled by **Inupiat** that require some form of higher education.

2. Non-Inupiat Residents Only

College

For the region as a whole, **28.3%** of the **non-Inupiat** residents of the North **Slope** have completed college and an additional **18.5%** have some **college experience**. For **non-Inupiat** residents of the seven **NSB** villages excluding Barrow, these figures are 31.6 and 13.2% respectively; for Barrow they are 27.6 and **19.6%**. In a reversal of the pattern seen among **Inupiat** residents of the North Slope, the **non-Inupiat** segment of the population of the outer villages has more formal education than the **non-Inupiat** population segment of Barrow. This is attributable to the fact that in the outer villages, **non-Inupiat** employment is strongly biased toward professional positions; in Barrow there is a much wider range of employment available to **non-Inupiat** residents in both the public and private sectors.

Vocational/Technical School

For the region as a whole, **2.2%** of the **non-Inupiat** population are vocational or technical school graduates. For the seven NSB villages exclusive of Barrow this figure is 2.0%; for Barrow it is **2.3%**. When the absolute numbers are considered, **27** of the **32 non-Inupiat** vocational/technical school graduates living on the North Slope reside in Barrow. This is **consistent** with the fact that Barrow has a more diverse employment market than the outer villages, offering **non-Inupiat** other than professional employment opportunities.

High School or GED

For the region as a whole, **19.6%** of **non-Inupiat** residents list completion of high school or **GED** as their highest level of educational achievement. For the seven NSB villages outside of Barrow, this figure is 20.0%; for Barrow itself, 19.6%.

For the region as a whole, **4.0%** of **non-Inupiat** residents report that they did not finish high school. This compares with 3.6% of **non-Inupiat** individuals in the outer villages and 4.1% in Barrow itself.

If one examines the percentages of **non-Inupiat** residents who have a high school diploma/GED or more formal education, this figure is **68.6%** for the region as a whole. For the seven NSB villages exclusive of Barrow, it is **68.0%**; for Barrow, it is **69.0%**.

Education and Controlling for Age

Excluding individuals who are under 26 years of age, there are 919 **non-Inupiat** residents of the North Slope for whom educational data are available. For the seven NSB villages exclusive of Barrow, this figure is 170. For Barrow itself it is 749.

Considering only those persons 26 years of age and older, for the region as a whole **42.8%** of **non-Inupiat** residents are college graduates, and **23.4%** have at least some college. For the seven NSB villages exclusive of Barrow, **46.5%** are college graduates and **15.3%** have some college. For Barrow itself, these figures are 41.9 and 25.2% respectively.

In the region as a whole, **only 2.8%** of **non-Inupiat** residents age 26 and older are graduates of vocational/technical **schools**. For the *seven* NSB villages outside of Barrow, this figure is **2.9%**. For Barrow, it is **2.8%**.

For the region as a whole, **24.7%** of **non-Inupiat** residents age 26 and over list a high school diploma or GED as their highest level of education attained. For the seven NSB villages outside of Barrow, this figure is 25.9%; for Barrow it is 24.4%. **Only 4.5%** of **non-Inupiat** residents age 26 or over in the region as a whole did not finish high school. For the seven NSB villages outside of Barrow this figure is 4.1%. For Barrow, it is **4.5%**.

Table 7-NSB

Highest Level of Education Attained by Age Group
Inupiat Residents Compared:
 NSB Region, 7 Villages (excluding Barrow), and Barrow - 1988

NSB Region									
	<u>College+</u>	<u>Some College</u>	<u>Voc. Tech Grad</u>	<u>Hi. Sch or GED</u>	<u>Not Finish High Sch</u>	<u>Still in School</u>	<u>Not in sch. Yet</u>	<u>Not Ascertained</u>	<u>Total</u>
Under 4	0	0	0	0	0	68	398	16	482
4-8	0	0	0	0	0	527	30	2	559
9-15	0	0	0	0	7	456	1	1	456
16-17	0	0	0	3	20	91	0	1	115
18-25	5	38	7	293	150	32	3	4	532
26-39	31	87	9	459	192	1	2	15	7%
44-59	19	48	15	149	280	0	3	29	543
60-65	0	2	0	3	72	0	1	7	85
66+	3	1	0	5	112	0	4	24	149
Total	58	176	31	912	833	1175	442	99	3726
% Total	1.6%	4.7%	0.8%	245%	22.4%	315%	11.9%	2.7%	100.0%
Number of Missing Observations									2-43
Total Population (Inupiat)									3%9
7 v i (excluding Barrow)									
Under 4	0	0	0	0	0	35	176	15	226
4-8	0	0	0	0	0	290	11	2	303
9-15	0	0	0	0	3	245	0	1	249
16-17	0	0	0	2	5	44	0	1	52
18-25	1	12	2	156	86	21	0	3	2s1
26-39	4	26	3	248	100	0	0	9	390
40-59	5	13	6	85	174	0	0	18	301
60-65	0	0	0	2	32	0	0	6	40
66+	0	1	0	3	54	0	0	14	72
Total	10	52	11	4 %	454	635	185	69	1914
% Total	0.5%	2.7%	0.6%	25.9%	23.7%	33.2%	9s%	3.6%	100.0%
Number of Missing Observations									106
Total Population (Inupiat)									2020
Barrow									
Under 4	0	0	0	0	0	33	222	1	256
4-8	0	0	0	0	0	237	19	0	256
9-15	0	0	0	0	4	211	1	0	216
16-17	0	0	0	1	15	47	0	0	63
18-25	4	26	5	137	64	11	3	1	251
26-39	27	61	6	211	92	1	2	6	406
40-59	14	35	9	64	106	0	3	11	242
60-65	0	2	0	1	40	0	1	1	45
66i-	3	1	0	2	58	0	4	10	77
Total	4s	124	20	416	379	540	255	30	1812
% Total	2.6%	6.8%	1.1%	23.0%	20.9%	29.8%	14.1%	1.7%	100.0%
Number of Missing Observations									137
Total Population (Inupiat)									1949

Source: Adapted from the NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Table 8-NSB

Highest **Level** of Education Attained by Age Group
Non-Inupiat Residents Compared:
 NSB Region, 7 Villages (excluding Barrow), and Barrow - 1988

NSB Region									
	<u>College+</u>	<u>Some College</u>	<u>Voc. Tech Grad</u>	<u>Hi. Sch or GED</u>	<u>Not Finish High Sch</u>	<u>Still in School</u>	<u>Not in sch. Yet</u>	<u>Not Ascertained</u>	<u>Total</u>
Under 4	0	0	0	0	0	17	88	7	112
4-8	0	0	0	0	0	103	6	2	111
9-15	0	0	0	0	5	117	4	2	12s
16-17	0	1	0	1	7	22	0	1	32
18-25	13	49	6	54	5	5	1	1	134
26-39	187	143	16	138	18	1	1	11	515
40-59	195	67	10	78	16	0	1	3	370
60-65	.9	4	0	9	3	0	0	0	25
66+	2	1	0	2	4	0	0	0	9
Total	406	26s	32	2s2	58	265	101	27	1436
% Total	28.3%	1s5%	2.2%	19.6%	4.0%	185%	7.0%	1.9%	100.0%
Number of Missing Observations									93
Total Population (Non-Inupiat)									1529
7 - (excluding Barrow)									
Under 4	0	0	0	0	0	2	10	1	13
4-8	0	0	0	0	0	29	0	0	29
9-15	0	0	0	0	1	20	0	0	21
16-17	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	3
18-25	0	7	0	6	0	0	0	1	14
26-39	26	17	2	33	5	0	0	7	90
40-59	49	8	3	10	1	0	0	2	73
60-65	4	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	7
66+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	79	33	5	50	9	53	10	11	250
% Total	31.6%	13.2%	2.0%	20.0%	3.6%	21.2%	4.0%	4.4%	100.0%
Number of Missing Observations									5
Total Population (Non-Inupiat)									255
Barrow									
Under 4	0	0	0	0	0	15	78	6	99
4-8	0	0	0	0	0	74	6	2	82
9-15	0	0	0	0	4	97	4	2	107
16-17	0	1	0	1	6	20	0	1	29
18-25	13	42	6	48	5	5	1	0	120
26-39	161	126	14	105	13	1	1	4	425
40-59	146	59	7	68	15	0	1	1	297
60-65	5	3	0	8	2	0	0	0	18
66+	2	1	0	2	4	0	0	0	9
Total	327	232	27	232	49	212	91	16	1186
% Total	27.6%	19.6%	2.3%	19.6%	4.1%	17.9%	7.7%	13%	100.0%
Number of Missing Observations									88
Total Population (Non-Inupiat)									1274

Source Adapted from the NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Combining the various levels of educational achievement, 93.7% of **non-Inupiat** residents, age 26 or older, of the North Slope region have completed high school/GED and/or have gone on to post-secondary education. For the villages outside of Barrow, this figure is 90.6%; for Barrow itself the figure is 94.3%. For the region as a whole, 69.0% of **non-Inupiat** residents have at least some post-secondary education. For the seven **NSB** villages outside of Barrow, this figure is 64.7%; for Barrow itself it is 69.9%.

E. Marriage Patterns

Table 9-NSB displays marital status by ethnicity for the North Slope Borough in 1988. These data are for individuals aged 16 and above (which is the same lower threshold definition used for labor force calculations). Again, major differences are seen between the **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** portions of the population. Within the **Inupiat** portion of the population, 55.9% fall in the not married category (composed of widowed, divorced, separated, and never married subcategories). Within the **non-Inupiat** portion of the population, on the other hand, a strong majority of the population (58.3%) is married. For **Inupiat**, “never married” persons are slightly more numerous than married persons; for **non-Inupiat**, married persons outnumber “never married” persons by more than two to one. **Non-Inupiat** individuals, however, are much more likely to be divorced (12.9%) than are **Inupiat** individuals (4.7%).

Table 9-NSB

Marital Status by **Ethnicity** -1988
NSB Region

<u>MARITAL CATEGORY</u>	<u>INUPIAT</u>			<u>NON-INUPIAT</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>% OF</u>
	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>VILLAGE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
NOW MARRIED	454	519	973	364	260	624	1597	48.7%
WIDOWED	31	65	116	1	8	9	125	3.8%
DIVORCED	49	56	105	73	65	138	243	7.4%
SEPARATED	17	21	38	12	7	19	57	1.7%
NEVER MARRIED	579	396	975	177	104	281	1256	38.3%
TOTAL	1130	1077	2207	627	444	1071	3278	100.0%
%	34.5%	32.9%	67.3%	19.1%	13.5%	32.7%	100.0%	
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS							34	
TOTAL POPULATION (age 16+)							3312	

Note: Figures include persons age 16 and above.

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
 Census of Population and Economy, 1969

SECTION II: ECONOMY

The availability of jobs in the village as a result of the effects of the Formation of the NSB, the passage of ANCSA, and the development of oil on the North Slope has significantly influenced population dynamics on the North Slope. Some of these changes are highlighted in the following section on the regional economy.

A. Historical Overview

The **precontact** economic history of people on the North Slope is known only in general, and is open to a good deal of speculation. Certainly there is no detailed consensus, and **local** differences which existed before contact with non-Natives cannot be discussed because of **lack** of data (Oswalt 1977; Dumas 1984). A review of the available information has been developed for the Point Lay Case Study (in draft), and the interested reader is referred there (and to its sources) for more information. The focus of this report is primarily on the development of, and similarities and differences between, the communities of the North Slope in the historical period.

After contact, it is possible to discuss general processes and site-specific differences. The regional economy which resulted, of which each village was and is only a component, combined traditional patterns with an increasing dependence on the availability of cash. The **postcontact** factors that affected **local** population dynamics are also ones that fundamentally influenced the local economy. These are whaling, fur trading, reindeer herding, oil development, transfer payments, ANCSA, and the development of the NSB. Each figured predominately in a relatively short period of time, but these periods overlap somewhat. The whalers were the first non-Natives who had a significant effect on the **Inupiat**, in the 1880s (explorers and missionaries had contacted the **Inupiat** somewhat earlier). Charles Brewer founded Cape Smythe Whaling and Trading Company in Barrow in 1886. John B. Driggs established the school in Point Hope in 1890. The school was established in Barrow in the same year as well. Whaling ceased as an economically **viable** activity in the early 1900s. Reindeer herding began around the turn of the century, but did not develop as an industry until later, and after herds increased to a substantial level in teens and twenties, declined on the North Slope in the 1930s, and disappeared in the early 1940s. Fur trading overlapped the decline of whaling and the rise of reindeer herding (perhaps coexisting for a time with the latter) in the 1920s.

The 1940s and 1950s were a period when there were few jobs in most of the North Slope communities and many of the smaller and more marginal locations (Point Lay, the Meade River area, the **Colville** River area, Anaktuvuk Pass, and Kaktovik, to a degree) experienced a period of depopulation. The construction of the DEW Line in the 1950s helped stabilize Wainwright, Barrow, and Kaktovik, and provided important employment opportunities for Point Hope residents. Point Lay seems to have benefited in the short term from the DEW Line, but vanished as a community around 1958, **until** it was refounded as part of the NSB in 1972. Exploration for **oil** also provided jobs for **local** Natives and stabilized populations in the coastal communities. **Atkasuk** remained as an area used only seasonally. Anaktuvuk Pass was the focus of a small number of families, but was apparently increasing in size as a community even before the formation of the NSB. Clearly, without the formation of the NSB, Anaktuvuk Pass would not be nearly as large as it is today.

Oil development, ANCSA, the formation of the NSB, and the establishment of various transfer payment programs have shaped the present political economy of the North Slope. Most of these will be developed at least in brief form below.

1. Sociocultural Change in the Latter Transitional Era (1880-1927)

The **first** significant modern ethnography of a north Alaska Native group was produced more than a century after **contact**. Given the scarcity of relevant documentary **ethnohistorical** evidence, it is not surprising that there is substantial disagreement about the nature and timing of **acculturative** change among the Eskimo. Some authors argue that despite whatever persistent traits in Eskimo culture may seem to both predate and postdate contact, few features of **postcontact** Eskimo society were unaffected by the contact experience. Other authors, taking a far more conservative standpoint argue that Eskimo culture remained fundamentally unaffected by the initial contact experience, and only after much more extensive contact, the spread of epidemic disease, and the increased administrative subjugation of Natives to non-Native governmental and religious authority, was there any significant change in Eskimo culture. Other authors argue that the core of Eskimo society remained fundamentally unaffected during most of the **postcontact** period, and that only recently have any changes been occurring. It can be very difficult to gauge just what the significant processes of change were, when they occurred, and whether changes in one aspect or area were indicative of other concurrent significant changes. Different aspects of culture are affected differently during the course of the **acculturational** process. Much change is at the **microlevel**, or is long-term, or is **oscillatory**, or takes place without being documented. Thankfully, we only have to be aware of this problem, and not discuss it at length, as the specific charge of this project was to examine institutions, rather than other aspects of culture or behavior.

It must be reemphasized that whatever period we might choose to term “traditional” is itself a period of dynamic **cultural** change and alteration, no matter what dates that period is supposed to have. The cultural practices that might seem to exist in the timeless ethnographic present actually were in a complex context of change and reformulation. In that sense, it could be said that we do not have any knowledge about Eskimo culture from any period when it was not undergoing some sort of reformulation.

Without question, the period of **first** contact in the 1850s introduced the north Alaska **Eskimo** to the technology of **Euro-American** whaling. This technology was significantly more effective at killing whales and other sea mammals than aboriginal Eskimo technology, and after an initial period of resistance, was widely adopted. Since **Eskimo** economy was firmly based on the exploitation of resources, a change in resource exploitation abilities, **unless** equably distributed throughout the Eskimo area, **would** have **given** some individuals or groups an improved success rate while reducing the importance of other groups. It is this **potential** for imbalance success rates and the implications such an imbalance has for the preexistent aboriginal system of mutual dependencies that may have been the most significant feature of **early acculturative** change among the Eskimo. Chance (1966:2-3) says:

As explorers, whalers, and other whites moved north, the Eskimo world changed dramatically. The introduction of the rifle, iron and steel implements, drugs and medicines, and other items of Western manufacture resolved many of the earlier technological problems of the Eskimo; this in turn, stimulated changes in other spheres of their life. Although the use of the rifle made hunting easier, it reduced the need for sharing and cooperation among kin groups, lessened the prestige of the hunter, and brought into question the validity of the traditional religion by raising doubts about the importance of certain rituals and taboos associated with hunting. The questioning of religion affected the traditional means of social **control** in that the threat of supernatural punishment for deviation from Eskimo practices lost much of its force.

Some scholars take issue with Chance, **while** others mostly support his position. We have no interest in propping up Chance's interpretation, nor in writing revisionary **ethnography**. Chance's interpretation does **find** support in the similar responses to contact and to the technological and economic changes of the post-contact situation that have been widely reported throughout the rest of Native North America (Wolf 1982, Washburn 1988, **Cronon** and White 1988, **Yerbury** 1986, **Walens n.d.**). It also cannot be denied that with the introduction of new technology, begun at contact but continuing today with snow machine and jet-unit outboard motors, that the individual can do more for himself. Even whaling crews have decreased in size as technology has reduced the absolute number of people to man a boat to three and as the time pressures of alternative activities has increased. At the same time that the absolute need for cooperation in subsistence pursuits has decreased, we would argue that the ideological need **remains** the same or perhaps has assumed even more importance. Subsistence is the core of **Inupiat** identity, and in a fundamental way governs how **Inupiat** interact not only with the natural **world**, but also how **Inupiat** interact with each other. The study of "value systems" is notoriously difficult, while a focus on behavior is often quite sterile. Many of the difficulties of the topic of subsistence, and especially changes in the pattern of subsistence, **would** seem to be a result of the muddling of these two different approaches.

Chance (1966:62-63) argues that although dramatic **social** changes occurred in the early 1900s, traditional patterns of leadership began to reemerge in the period between 1930-45, when economic necessity required a partial return to a primary subsistence orientation. Chance further maintains (1966, 1984) that most sociopolitical (institutional) groups in contemporary Eskimo society are instigated and organized by non-Natives. Throughout his 1966 **book**, Chance delineates a pattern, starting at the beginning of the **twentieth** century, of decreasing group interdependency and increasing individualism, **isolation**, and alienation, which he ties to changes in the economic situation the **Inupiat** faced. He feels that even subtle and seemingly temporary historical events, such as the brief period during the 1920s and 1930s when fox trapping altered winter patterns of family interaction, have had lasting psychological effects on **Inupiat social** patterns.

In contrast to Chance, Hughes (1971:399) feels that technological innovations may not have dramatically affected labor and social patterns at the start of the contact period. Seals were still hunted individually, and not communally as in central Canada; nor did the use of the **rifle lessen**

the importance for Eskimo of the interior of hunting caribou in a communal fashion. Eventually, of course, caribou hunting did become a more individual activity, and cooperative caribou drives lessened in frequency and centrality.

VanStone (1984:153) emphasizes the difference between the situation of the southwestern Alaskan Natives, who by the middle of the nineteenth century had been “brought within the orbit of various coastal and interior trading posts,” and the Natives of northwestern Alaska, where despite the several coastal explorations the interior areas were to remain unexplored until the beginning of the twentieth century. VanStone also feels that even the extensive and well-outfitted search for the Franklin expedition (1848-1852) affected the North Alaskan Eskimo population **only** slightly (1977:153).

Even before the advent of direct and extended contact with whites in the mid-nineteenth century, the existing north Alaskan **Eskimo** trade network permitted the widespread diffusion of Euro-American artifacts. This trade was an essential part of the **survival** of both **inland** and coastal peoples because it functioned to distribute **local** foods and manufactures across a wide region and to mitigate the effect of shortages in one or another item. The entire north Alaska area was linked together in a network of trade relations that also connected to the Siberian Eskimo, and to the Bering Sea Eskimo and **Aleuts** to the south. Although authors disagree on the **direct** effects of contact on the traditional trade networks, it seems most likely that with the advent of whalers, beginning in 1848, the patterns of precontact trade relations were overturned more or less suddenly. As long as outside goods had been obtainable **only** intermittently, traditional trade interdependencies would have remained useful. Yet, once there was a dependable annual source of Euro-American goods, coastal Eskimo **could** obtain goods directly from the whalers, and their trade linkages to the inland Eskimo evaporated. Many inlanders, no longer able to obtain the trade goods they needed from their former partners among the coastal Eskimo, abandoned their territories and resettled along the coast themselves.

At first, the Euro-American whalers arrived annually and left before the formation of the pack ice in the **fall**. The goods they exchanged in return for meat, whalebone, and furs included such items such as rifles and ammunition, liquor, flour, tobacco, matches, lead, and molasses (VanStone 1984:155). Even though these whalers were present only on a seasonal and intermittent basis, the amount of influence they had on **Eskimo** society should not be underestimated. Evidence from the northwest coast (**Walens, n.d.**), where ships’ logbooks and sailors’ journals have been more fully researched, shows that long before the arrival of missionaries, members of the ships’ crews actively promulgated Christian doctrines to the Indians. Furthermore, northwest coast Indians made significant alterations in the political organization of their society in a manner that was in concordance with white political structure, in order that they might better exploit their newfound economic opportunities. The records for whaling in Hudson Bay have been similarly discussed in detail by Ross (1971, 1975, 1979). It would be reasonable to expect that many of his conclusions about the social effects of Euro-American whaling upon the **Inuit** of the eastern Arctic would probably also hold true in the western Arctic, given the cultural and historical similarities between the two areas.

A significant difference in the amount of contact between whites and Eskimos occurred when steam vessels were introduced into Arctic whaling in the 1880s. These ships, which earned crews of as many as several hundred men, could **overwinter** in the Arctic and the amount of contact

between whites and Eskimos increased. In 1897, for example, 275 men on an **icelocked** whaling ship were marooned for the winter in Barrow, where they were housed and fed by the **local** Native population. Whaling and trading stations were set up in several areas and Eskimos worked as deckhands and guides on the ships or were put to work provisioning the whalers, by hunting or making caribou clothing. Eventually some Eskimos set themselves up as whalers, in competition with the Euro-Americans and their Native allies, paying wages to other Eskimos (Chance 1966: 14). A season's wages would be enough for a man to buy supplies to last through the winter. It is generally believed that whatever and however serious the effects of the first several decades of contact may have been, the effects of this second portion of contact experience were severely disruptive to Eskimo society. Lawless sailors, whiskey, disease, and depletion of game were significant new problems for the Eskimo peoples (Hughes 1971 :396). **Burch** feels that the effects that accompanied and resulted from this increased contact, especially the virtual elimination of whales and walrus from nearby waters, were so great that the onset of year-round Euro-American presence marks the end of what he calls the "traditional **period**" of north Alaska Eskimo history (**Burch 1981:16**, 23). VanStone **argues** to the contrary (1984:159), saying that the adoption of a mixed subsistence-wage economy was a relatively easy step for the northwestern Alaskan Eskimo to take.

The effect of epidemic diseases was an extremely serious one in the Arctic, as it was elsewhere in North America. Native Americans seem to have had **little** resistance to disease organisms that were endemic in the Euro-American population. **As Cronon** and White state (1988:422):

Wherever Indians encountered Europeans for any extended period of time, disease and depopulation were the eventual results Mortality rates varied with the specific disease organism, population density, the season of the year, a community's historical immunity, and so forth, but at their worst they could range as high as 80 or 90% The indirect effects of disease may have been at least as important as direct ones in bringing environmental change to North American Indian habitats. The strain placed on economic subsistence practices, hierarchies of political power, and ritual **belief** systems in societies drastically reduced must have been quite extraordinary **Villagers** were forced to move into new alliances with each other, shuffling the decks of kin networks and political alliances to accommodate their altered circumstances. These **changes**, like depopulation itself, were bound to have significant effects on the ways Indians used the **plants** and animals around them.

By the time whaling on the north **Alaska** coast ended, at the beginning of World War I, its direct and indirect effects had dramatically changed Eskimo cultural patterns. A traditional subsistence lifestyle was no longer possible. The spread of diseases brought about serious depopulation, promoting resettlement of the remaining population to a handful of coastal communities. The introduction of **alcohol** brought a set of social problems of its own. There were the beginnings of administrative takeover of Native governance by non-Native entities, both governmental and

non-governmental. Moreover, there had been the development of a mixed subsistence and commodity-production market economy that significantly altered the economic principles that directed Eskimo **economic** choices and alternatives (Hughes 1971:398). Comparable conditions were manifested among the Eskimo cultures of the eastern Arctic (Ross 1971, 1975, 1979).

On a regional level, the historical and economic processes at work had some general patterning. Contact initiated by whalers, with the accompanying change vectors of disease, alcohol, and other Western goods, tended to concentrate **Inupiat** population in coastal communities. The increased death rates among **coastal** (contact) populations **would** have left these productive regions underpopulated, had not **Inupiat** from the interior moved to the coast. Interior peoples were motivated to move because of the greater access to both subsistence and Euro-American resources on the coast. This dynamic essentially depopulated the interior, especially when combined with the effects of disease on interior populations. **In** any event, Barrow, Point Hope, and **Wainwright** were the main settlements during this period. Few **people** lived east of Barrow **until** Thomas Gordon established a trading post in **Kaktovik** in 1923, and even after that” date the **Colville River** area had only a few steady inhabitants (the area east of Barrow was, however, used for reindeer herding for a time). The **Prudhoe** Bay area had a few seasonal users, but no permanent population. Until the **mid-1940s** and 1950s other parts of the coast between Barrow and Point Hope contained populations, however, who were not drawn into the more settled communities because of other economic opportunities (reindeer, trapping) or the lack of economic opportunities elsewhere. The reindeer herd stationed for a time at Icy Cape and then in the Point Lay region is one **example**. There were also people who used subsistence sites **between** Point Hope and Wainwright on a regular, seasonal basis but did not live permanently in those areas. A few people also maintained an “old style” life by living mainly off the land in a nomadic way.

2. Schools in the Latter Transitional Era

One very important step in the process of Eskimo history began during the 1890s, when schools were erected in various North Slope villages. At first, the schools were associated directly with church missions, but later they were administered by the United States government. See Beaver 1984, especially p. 432, for a discussion of the distribution of Protestant missions in Alaska; and **Dorais** and **D’Anglure**, 1984 for a discussion of Roman Catholic missions in the Arctic. Those villages that were selected to have schools, notably Point Hope, Wainwright, and Barrow, benefited significantly from that fact, and those that did not obtain schools suffered concomitantly. The presence of a **school** and its non-Native personnel gave a village status and recognition (both **among** the Natives themselves and among the non-Natives off-slope), as well as providing a source of goods, subsidies, and wage income. This in large part **explains** the rise and fall of the **Inupiat** population at Icy Cape and Point Lay (and the smaller communities in that immediate area) during this time. When schools were open, population rose. When schools closed, or were moved from one community to another (Icy Cape to Point Lay), populations moved as well. Medical and non-medical missionaries arrived in north Alaskan communities at about the same time, giving an additional institutional basis to **village** identity. One adjunct of the economic and administrative benefits that accrued to the limited number of **villages** where schools and missions were founded was that such **villages** would have presented a more attractive **living** situation than those **villages** which did not. Thus, **Inupiat** from outlying areas **would** have been induced directly or indirectly to resettle in such magnet **villages**. Again, comparable processes in reaction to the formation of

schools and missions can be found among the peoples of the northwest coast (**Walens n.d.**) and elsewhere.

3. Economy in the Latter Transition Era

The end of the whaling era required some significant economic adjustments on the part of the **Inupiat** population, as they desired continued access to Euro-American goods that had been made available through their work for the whalers (whether this work was on the ships, supplying meat, or some **other** task). The **whalers** were undeniably responsible for sharp declines in the bowhead whale and walrus populations, and are thought to be the prime cause for the local extinction of muskoxen on the North Slope. The **role** of non-Natives in the ultimate decline of the caribou population is less certain, as the natural cyclical variations in caribou population are not well understood. In any event, it would have been **very** difficult for **Inupiat** to return to a subsistence lifestyle similar to that of his ancestors because of a reduction in the availability of subsistence resources. Fish were probably **still** abundant and readily available, but big game was for a number of reasons more difficult to obtain. That was, in **fact**, one of the stated reasons for the introduction of reindeer. Second, the Eskimo had become fairly dependent on Western goods, which could be obtained only in trade (Chance 1966:16-18, 42-43). The loss of the wages and other cash income that the whaling industry had provided forced the **Eskimo** to seek other sources of cash. This search took several **general** forms, most notably reindeer herding, fur trapping, and, by the 1930s, subsidies. Cash subsidies, such as pensions, **relief** aid for dependent children, unemployment compensation and other government subsidies, and wage employment in governmental and other institutional programs, remain an **essential** source of income even today (Chance 1966:17).

The introduction of reindeer to resolve the problem of the depletion of game was begun by Sheldon Jackson, who in 1882 moved to Alaska to seine both as Presbyterian superintendent of missions and territorial superintendent of education (Beaver 1984:455). He was active in fostering missions throughout Alaska. His use of reindeer herds established at missions and mission schools had both a humanitarian and a proselytizing aspect to it, providing food and income for Eskimo entrepreneurs while at the same time requiring them to become more familiar with and even more committed to Christianity. For **several** decades, this plan was phenomenally successful. The herd at Wainwright expanded from **2,300** to 22,000 between 1918 and 1934. However, within a few years after this there was a sharp decline in the reindeer population throughout the entire region. Chance (1966:15-16) estimates that the 1,250 reindeer that had been imported from Siberia between 1892 and 1902 increased to more than 600,000 by 1932, that by 1940 only 200,000 remained, and by 1950 fewer than 25,000. The herds in Barrow experienced a similar history. The Point Lay herd apparently was dissipated even earlier, as informants say reindeer herding ended in the Point Lay area by 1940. While the reindeer industry did give some **Inupiat** economic opportunities, it never did seem to provide the large scale economic support that had been hoped for. **The** decline of the herds and lack of economic success of the enterprise do not appear to have a clear cause. Various reasons have **been** suggested, including overgrazing, concentration of ownership, non-Native competition in the industry, lack of motivation to live away from villages in order to herd reindeer, and lack of proper marketing. Whatever the cause(s), the reindeer **industry** was essentially a one (or two) generation affair which temporarily affected settlement and economic patterns.

For a short time from the 1920s onward, fox trapping became important as a source of cash income for north Alaska **Eskimo** (Chance 1966: 16). While there was little technological change involved in fox trapping, the changeover in the emphasis on trapping had some important and persistent **social** effects. First, traditionally hunting had been a cooperative endeavor, but trapping was a more individualistic activity (Chance 1966:16). Similar patterns are widely documented for the Indians of the Subarctic (**Yerbury** 1986). Also, fox trapping took place in the winter, and thus seriously affected the pattern of friendly socialization, cooperation, and communality that had dominated the wintertime in traditional times. Once fox trapping became an essential source of cash income, wintertime became a season of loneliness and isolation, with individual families staying in their own winter fox-trapping territories rather than returning to winter communities.

On a pragmatic **level**, running a trap line requires at least a semi-exclusive use area and thus a dispersed population. This fostered a continued use of areas where there was no permanent population (**Colville-Prudhoe** area, **Anaktuvuk** Pass and the mountains, areas between **Barrow** and Point Hope) so that knowledge of these areas and their resources was maintained. This would prove beneficial in the 1970s when these areas were resettled after the passage of **ANCSA** and the formation of the **NSB**.

After 1929, when the price of fox **pelts** declined, there was some return to traditional subsistence activities. Sea mammal and caribou populations had risen somewhat (Chance 1966:16), at least in part because of the reduced hunting pressure during the period of reindeer herding. Still, there was not a return to prior patterns of socioeconomic existence. Village **qalgis** (ceremonial houses), which had been viewed critically by missionaries, and the social life and ceremonial activities that had been associated with them, **all** but disappeared. With the end of the **qalgi** as a center of interaction, an important force for communality in north Alaska **Eskimo** society disappeared. The development of cooperative stores changed the status of those particular Eskimo families who could gain control of the stores, **while** at the same time increasing the interdependency of Natives by reducing the control of non-Natives over the trading process (Chance 1966:16-17). The **Inupiat** population remained for the most part centered in a limited number of settlements - Point Hope, **Wainwright**, Point Lay (although this village would vanish in 1958), Barrow, and Kaktovik (although this village was not firmly established until 1951 or so).

4. Consolidation and Dispersal: 1927-1950s

There are numerous sources for this period, but perhaps the most accessible are the village oriented volumes published by the North Slope Borough (**Arundale** and Schneider 1982, Hoffman et al. 1978, Ivie and Schneider 1978, Jacobson and Wentworth 1982, **Neakok** et al. 1985, Schneider et al. 1980). For purposes of this report, the significant aspect of this period is that some communities remained as permanent settlements during this period, even gaining population, while other communities and land use areas were essentially abandoned. Point Hope, **Wainwright**, and Barrow **continued** as the main settlements, although population fluctuated. Wainwright in the only one of the three not to show constant population growth. Point Lay had a relatively complex population history, closely related to the opening and closing of area schools, but essentially reached a population peak in 1939 and then declined **until** it vanished as a community in 1958. The Anaktuvuk Pass area was essentially abandoned during this period. The Meade River area

was in use and individuals were enumerated by the U.S. Census during this period, but this population steadily declined (and was gone by 1970). The **Colville** River area was also abandoned except for seasonal use. **Kaktovik** was a center for settlement, but remained quite small. During this period there were few wage employment opportunities and most **Inupiat** returned to a subsistence resource orientation. Most did so within the context of life in a settled community, however, and so vast areas of the North **Slope** were only used seasonally. Transfer payment programs were for the first time effectively implemented on the North Slope, but little quantitative information is available on their effects. It is probable that this was one additional factor influencing people to remain in the settled villages.

5. Renewed Economic Activity: 1950s-1970

The same village-specific works cited for the preceding section also provide a good factual base for generalizations about 1950-1970. This period saw the construction of the DEW Line and the real beginning of the exploration for oil on the North Slope. These opportunities greatly increased the chances for **Inupiat** to earn money and again shifted the economic emphasis. Point Lay was the **only** settled community to be adversely affected by the DEW Line. Reportedly, the village of Point Lay was so disrupted by alcohol and other aspects of the DEW Line built nearby that by 1958 the entire population (except for one **couple** employed by the DEW Line) had moved away. The Meade River and **Colville** River use areas were still not inhabited except perhaps by a family or two, and seasonal use may have declined in this period. **Kaktovik** was the village benefiting most from this period, as the construction of a DEW Line station there attracted **Inupiat** workers and firmly established the permanency of the village. Barrow and **Wainwright** also were near new DEW Line stations which served as factors in strengthening the local economies. A DEW Line station was also built in the locality of Point Hope, but was distant enough that its effects on Point Hope were somewhat muted in terms of direct social interaction between DEW Line personnel and the villagers, however, the economic influence was indeed significant. During the construction seasons of 1951-1953, approximately thirty men from Point Hope worked on the construction of the White Alice radar station (the immediate technological predecessor of the contemporary DEW Line station) at Cape **Lisburne**, approximately fifty miles northeast of Point Hope. Beyond the immediate employment, this opportunity had a significant influence on future employment and emigration from the village for employment opportunities due to the fact that Point Hope workers were provided with their first opportunity to join unions while working at Cape **Lisburne**. According to VanStone:

Many men joined a building trades **union** at that time, a factor that has contributed greatly to their subsequent success in **obtaining** summer employment. Most Point Hope men are well aware of the advantages of union membership and try hard to keep up their monthly dues payments even during the winter months when cash is scarce. A few men have become **skilled** carpenters and a scattering of other unions are also represented in the village. By communicating with the office of the union **local** in Fairbanks, it is possible for a man to be sent directly to the location of employment.

It is not required that a man make the trip to Fairbanks to be hired “off the bench” there. (1962:61)

The data do not exist for other villages to know if this was a region-wide pattern, or if Point Hope was unique to the degree individuals took advantage of union membership opportunities offered by DEW Line construction.

Statehood, achieved in 1959, did not have any great effects on the North Slope. Point Hope, **Wainwright**, Barrow, and **Kaktovik** were incorporated as cities under state law. Social services improved at least minimally, especially in Barrow. The economic interests which were at least partially behind the statehood initiative were for the most part not resident on the North **Slope**, however, and so few benefits flowed that way. Much of the potential for the state’s economy lay under the North **Slope**, but was only potential at this time.

Exploration in the Naval Petroleum **Reserve** did begin in earnest during this period and provided employment. It is suspected that this activity may have encouraged **people** to begin returning to the Brooks Range - Anaktuvuk Pass region during this time, but the relationship between the population movements and these activities are not clear. Because of the oil exploration activities, certain minimal services were available to people living in this area that had not been available before. Employment opportunities with the exploration teams, both as laborers and guides, were also available in the area. There was still no **school** or other community facilities in the area, of course, so that no village as such can be said to have existed. Air strips and industrial/service enclaves (such as at **Umiat**) did exist.

The most important result of the oil exploration, of course, was the discovery of the Prudhoe Bay oil **field** and the decision to develop it commercially. The economic and political pressure to encourage this development and build the Alaska pipeline in large part was responsible for the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, and the formation of the North **Slope** Borough. While the two are separable events, they are so interconnected and so dominate the present North Slope polity and economy that they must be considered together. **ANCSA** is economic in form, but has **clear** ideological (political) origins, and as **ANCSA** corporations are operating on the North Slope at the present, is certainly a political as well as an economic settlement. The NSB is a political organization, but in effect gives the **Inupiat** of the North Slope much more effective control over **local** resources than would have ever been possible under **ANCSA**. The two working together contain the **potential** for the establishment of a modern **Inupiat** political economy. This is the topic of the next section.

6. **ANCSA**, the Formation of the NSB, and the Present: 1970-1988

The period since the passage of the Alaska Native **Claims** Settlement Act (here treated as roughly 1970 through the ethnographic present of 1988) is more complicated than previous periods because it is ongoing. Not only are the issues not fully resolved, but many are also not even yet fully defined. Perhaps the most accessible introduction to **ANCSA** and its effects on the people of Alaska are Arnold 1976, **Burch** 1984, and Chance 1984. **Berger** 1985 is perhaps one of the better sources for presenting Native views of **ANCSA** to a non-Native audience, as it summarizes and

discusses the testimony of Natives about **ANCSA**. **Berger** headed the commission that heard the testimony and was and is respected by all concerned for his understanding of Native issues throughout the Arctic. The work of **McBeath** (1981, 1982), Morehouse and **Leask** 1978, and Tremont 1981 deals more specifically with the North Slope region of Alaska and the how **ANCSA** has affected the political institutions of that region. More recent work by Morehouse (1987,1988) addresses the more general political effects that **ANCSA** has had on Alaskan Natives.

Once **local Inupiat** realized the scale of the likely **oil** development in **Prudhoe Bay**, and that other strikes were likely, they realized that unless they had a strong and unified local polity that they would be overwhelmed. North **Slope Inupiat** also realized that the taxing authority of such a polity would allow them, working in conjunction with the corporations formed under **ANCSA**, to provide many of the services which until that time **Inupiat** on the North **Slope** had to do without. Included in this agenda was the reestablishment of villages at Point Lay, **Atqasuk**, and **Nuiqsut**. There were advantages under **ANCSA** in the refounding of such villages. Each such village increased the total amount of land available to be selected for use by **Inupiat**. **The** location of these villages ensured an **Inupiat** presence near anticipated industrial development (for oil, coal, or other resources) and left no part of the North Slope without an **Inupiat** settlement. The refounding of these villages also reasserted the **Inupiat** claim to historical land use of the entire North **Slope** which, although extinguished by **ANCSA** in exchange for title to a limited amount of land and a monetary settlement, established a moral legitimacy to their **claims**. The three “new” villages also allowed people who had (or whose parents had) historically used these areas to return to them.

ANCSA and incorporation of the NSB generally has had the effect of stabilizing populations by providing income to **local** residents. Capital Improvement Programs and local wage **labor** opportunities have resulted in increased housing supplies, better community **services**, and other incentives to remain in the community. At the same time, most of the economic opportunities available in **Wainwright** are channeled through the NSB and do not attract **non-Inupiat** to the village to any great extent. Thus, **Wainwright** has not experienced any difficulty in maintaining its identity as an **Inupiat** village. In this it is **typical** of all the NSB villages other than Barrow. Barrow has become the political and population center of the NSB, and is now **40% non-Inupiat**. The outer villages are at risk of seeing their interests, where they differ from those of the population of **Barrow**, sacrificed to those of Barrow because of the structural arrangements of centralized planning. All NSB departments are centered in Barrow. The NSB Assembly meets in Barrow and **all** but one or two members of the assembly live in **Barrow**. The professional staff that prepares the information for policy makers **all** live in Barrow. Because of the differences in size and composition between the population of Barrow and the outer villages, and the difference in influence that those populations have in affecting policy decisions, the outer villages are well aware that many NSB **policies** and programs are more appropriate for Barrow than for the other Native communities of the **NSB**. This is one reason that relations between the NSB and the outer villages can be **cool** at times, even though the NSB is absolutely essential to the day-to-day operation of all NSB communities. The relationship is one that is often characterized by tension and wariness.

Ideally, we **would** wish that the reader at this point be familiar with the political and economic structure of the NSB. The contemporary economy is so entangled with **ANCSA** corporations, village and regional government, and subsistence ideology that many of the important issues are very difficult to understand even with a firm grasp of the North Slope context. However, a written report is necessarily linear and can only address one topic at a time. We have chosen at this

juncture to describe certain aspects of the contemporary economy. A full treatment of formal institutional structure will be found in that section.

B. Population, Labor **Force**, and Employment Among NSB Traditional Communities

Population, labor force, and employment are important indicators of economic activity. Population is a measure of the size of the total economy. Over the eight-year period from 1980 to 1988 total population among **all** eight NSB communities increased from 4,142 to 5,498 according to U.S. Census and **NSB** census figures respectively. This represents a strong, 3.6% average annual rate of growth, and is among the highest of any region in Alaska for this eight-year time period.

The labor force represents the supply of labor in a community. It includes employed and unemployed persons age 16 to 65 that are eligible and willing to work. Persons not counted in the labor force include the young and aged, the disabled, and those with family commitments that prevent them from entering the job market. The labor force is not **fixed**. It depends on the age composition of population as well as other factors like the educational background and technical **skills** of those participating in the job market. Labor force participation also depends on the kinds of jobs available to the community. Addressing the needs of the **NSB** village labor force is among the most important targets of the **CIP** planning process.

1. The Labor Force in 1980

The 1980 labor force in each of the villages has been described using information from the 1980 NSB census. In this section we will discuss borough-wide information **from** this same census. As might be expected, Barrow figures overwhelm those of the outer villages, but most trends among the **Inupiat** population are **still** fairly representative of all NSB villages. Even most of the trends (although not the absolute numbers or comparisons to the **Inupiat** work force) for the **non-Inupiat** population are fairly **generalizable**.

Table 10-NSB is a **total** summary table of NSB employment by sector broken out by sex and ethnicity. Most of the following discussion **will** be based on **Tables 11-NSB** through **21-NSB**, which are actually portions of **Table 10-NSB** further broken out by age. Most of this discussion **could** have been based on **Table 10-NSB**, but it is sometimes difficult to abstract so much information from such a dense information source. Also, while the age information may not be explicitly used here, readers may find it useful for their own purposes.

Table 11-NSB is a breakout of all employed persons on the North Slope by age category, **sex**, and ethnicity. It is interesting in several regards. For every 100 Natives who are employed, there are over 70 non-Natives who also are employed. This is for a general population where for every 100 **Inupiat** there are only 39 **non-Inupiat**. Ethnic regional employment patterns are clearly different. About one-third of employed **Inupiat** are women, roughly equivalent to the 30% of employed non-Natives who are women. Employed **Inupiat** are concentrated into the 20-29 age groups, whereas **non-Inupiat** are concentrated in the 25-34 age groups. Most of those for whom age information is missing are **non-Inupiat**, which certainly supports the view that **non-Inupiat** are more likely to be transient workers about whom little is known, while **Inupiat** workers are more permanent. For

males aged 25-44 there are nearly as many **non-Inupiat** as **Inupiat** employed, while for women this is true only for those aged 24-34. If those **non-Inupiat** for whom no ages are known are factored in, **non-Inupiat** employees probably outnumber **Inupiat** employees in these age groups. The majority of these **non-Inupiat** employees work in Barrow, and it rapidly becomes clear that the **non-Inupiat** population has a much higher rate of employment than does the **Inupiat** population. This is verified by an examination of **Table 22a-NSB**.

Contract construction sector employment is detailed by age, **sex**, and **ethnicity** in **Table 12-NSB**. Non-Natives outnumber **Inupiat** by about **five to three**. **Males vastly outnumber** females. **Workers** are concentrated in the lower age groups, although a large number of non-Native workers' ages are unknown.

Table 13-NSB concentrates on those employed in the construction sector by local governments. **Males** greatly outnumber females (six to one overall) and **Inupiat** greatly outnumber **non-Inupiat** (about five to one). Clearly, **local** hire is practiced by most **local** governments on the North Slope, and it **would** seem that most **non-Inupiat** are either single or, if married, are on the slope **only** to work and have a home and a family elsewhere. The young age of the **non-Inupiat** employees, especially compared to the **full** range of ages for the **Inupiat** employees, would tend to support this conclusion.

Table 14-NSB details the non-construction employment of **local** governments by age, sex, and **ethnicity**. The total number of people employed is somewhat less than twice the number in the construction sector (**Table 13-NSB**). Local governments employ more people, both **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat**, in this sector than in the construction sector. Since **Inupiat** only outnumber **non-Inupiat** by about 1.3 to 1, however, it is **clear** that **non-Natives** are much more **likely** to be employed in the non-construction sector than in construction. It is also apparent, looking at the ratio of **males** to females for both ethnic groups, that women are preferentially employed in the non-construction sector. The age distribution of employees for **non-Inupiat** is much wider in the non-construction sector than in the construction sector, so that one is inclined to think that these jobs are perhaps administrative, or at least more permanent, in nature. It is suspected that **Inupiat** jobs in the non-construction, local government sector are service or support staff positions such as secretaries, **clerks**, and **so** on.

Table 15-NSB details the finance sector by age, **sex**, and **ethnicity**. The numbers are too small to have much meaning and it is not clear what positions exist in **Barrow** that fit into this **category**. Non-Native positions are almost evenly split between the sexes, while male **Inupiat** outnumber **female non-Inupiat**. **Inupiat employed** in this sector outnumber **non-Inupiat** by more than two to one.

Table 16-NSB provides similar information on the mining sector. This is presumed to be mostly employment in the **oil industry**. There is **no** non-Native employment in this sector. This makes some sense in that non-Natives working in the **oil fields** who are recruited from off-slope are not enumerated as residents of the North **Slope**. Presumably, no **non-Inupiat** "residents" of the North Slope are hired by the **oil** companies, either by coincidence or as a matter of policy. Only thirty **Inupiat** were employed in this sector in 1980, which generally agrees with most informants reports that employment in the oil industry for **Inupiat** is low. **Of** these thirty, twenty four (87%) are males.

Federal government employment is detailed by age, **sex**, and ethnicity in Table 17-NSB. About 100 people are employed in this sector, making it about the same size as the financial sector. However, about 71% of federal employees are **non-Inupiat**, and they are predominantly male. **Inupiat** federal employees are evenly split in terms of sex. Ages are widely distributed except that **non-Inupiat** cluster in the 25-34 age group, with a large number of cases with ages unknown.

The transportation, communications, and **public** utilities sector is about the same size as the federal employment sector (Table 18-NSB). This sector is also more **non-Inupiat** (56910) than **Inupiat** (44%). **Males** outnumber females (five to one for **non-Inupiat**, three to one for **Inupiat**). Ages for **Inupiat** again tend to be widely distributed while for **non-Inupiat** they are concentrated in the 25-34 age groups.

Table 19-NSB provides information on service sector employment. It is a relatively small sector, as most services are provided by the NSB and are enumerated elsewhere. Most of these jobs are in Barrow and many would be with **BUECI**, the privately run cooperative utility. Employment in this sector is split *evenly* between non-Native and Native. Males outnumber females overall, but female Native employees outnumber male Native employees. Employees tend to cluster in the 25-29 year age group.

The trade sector (Table 20-NSB) is also small, and is evenly split between non-Native and Native employees. Males outnumber **females** among non-Natives, but are about even for Natives. People in this sector tend to be young, and there are a good number for whom ages are unknown.

Employment by the state government on the North **Slope** is very low. Somewhat more **Inupiat** than **non-Inupiat** are employed by the state, and more females than **males**. The numbers are so low, however, that any general statements are probably more misleading than they are useful.

Table 10-NSB

Composition of Employment **by Race and Sex** * **
 North **Slope** Borough Villages
July 1980

<u>Employment Sector</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>			
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Mining	26	4	30	0	0	0	2	6	4	30
Contract Construction	71	5	76	118	7	125	189	12	201	
Transportation, Communication, and Public Utilities	36	11	47	50	10	60	86	21	107	
Trade	18	17	35	23	11	34	41	28	69	
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	47	29	76	17	14	31	64	43	107	
Services	15	20	35	27	9	36	42	29	71	
Government										
Federal	16	13	29	45	26	71	61	39	100	
State	3	4	7	1	4	5	4	8	12	
Local	428	225	653	211	128	339	639	353	992	
Construction	(249)	(43)	(292)	(51)	(7)	(58)	(300)	(50)	(350)	
Non-Construction	(179)	(182)	(361)	(160)	(121)	(281)	(339)	(303)	(642)	
TOTAL	660	328	988	492	209	701	1,152	537	1,689	

* Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

** Employment figures exclude 121 Alaska Natives (59 males and 62 females) and 1 non-Native who listed various forms of assistance, primarily Social Security, as their major source of income. Employment figures also exclude 947 Alaska Natives (400 males and 547 females) and 100 non-Natives (32 males and 68 females) aged 16 and over for whom no employment information was provided or who claimed to be unemployed.

Source Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 11-NSB

Composition of Employment by **Age, Race,** and Sex * **
North **Slope** Borough Villages, 1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15-19	37	43	80	14	10	24	51	53	104
20-24	119	61	180	42	28	70	161	89	250
25-29	116	65	181	107	48	155	223	113	336
30-34	78	39	117	80	39	119	158	78	236
35-39	65	37	102	41	21	62	106	58	164
40-44	57	29	86	40	13	53	97	42	139
45-49	58	16	74	31	7	38	89	23	112
50-54	45	17	62	16	14	30	61	31	92
55-59	25	8	33	8	2	10	33	10	43
60-64	17	5	22	6	2	8	23	7	30
65-69	6	1	7	1	1	2	7	2	9
70-74	5	0	5	1	0	1	6	0	6
75 and over	3	0	3	1	0	1	4	0	4
Age unknown	29	7	36	104	24	128	133	31	164
TOTAL	660	328	988	492	209	701	1,152	537	1,689

● Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Source Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 12-NSB

Composition of Contract Construction Sector
Employment by **Age, Race,** and Sex *
North Slope Borough Villages, 1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15-19	1	0	1	2	0	2	3	0	3
20-24	15	2	17	3	3	6	18	5	23
25-29	13	0	13	17	2	19	30	2	32
30 - 34	8	0	8	12	0	12	20	0	20
35-39	9	1	10	7	1	8	11	1	12
40-44	5	1	6	8	0	8	13	1	14
45-49	4	0	4	7	1	8	11	1	12
50-54	8	1	9	3	0	3	11	1	12
55-59	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
60-64	1	0	1	2	0	2	3	0	3
65-69	1	0	1	1	0	1	2	0	2
70-74	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
75 and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Age unknown	5	0	5	56	0	56	61	0	61
TOTAL	71	5	76	118	7	125	189	12	201

● Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Source Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 13-NSB

Composition of **Local** Government Construction Sector Employment
by **Age, Race, and Sex***
North Slope Borough Villages, 1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>Total</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15-19	17	7	24	4	1	5	21	8	28
20-24	58	7	65	19	5	24	77	12	89
25-29	41	10	51	13	1	14	54	11	65
30-34	27	4	31	2	0	2	29	4	33
35-39	21	4	25	0	0	0	21	4	25
40-44	2	4	5	2	0	2	26	5	31
45-49	21	2	23	3	0	3	24	2	26
50-54	11	3	14	0	0	0	11	3	14
55-59	11	1	12	2	0	2	13	1	14
60-64	4	0	4	0	0	0	4	0	4
65-69	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	2
70-74	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
75 and over	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Age unknown	10	0	10	6	0	6	16	0	16
TOTAL	249	43	292	51	7	58	300	50	350

*Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 14-NSB

Composition of **Local** Government Non-Construction Sector Employment
by **Age, Race, and Sex***
North Slope Borough Villages, 1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15-19	8	14	22	1	2	3	9	16	25
20-24	2	2	4	11	13	24	33	39	72
25-29	34	41	75	34	29	63	68	70	138
30-34	29	28	57	41	30	71	70	58	128
35-39	19	27	46	16	13	29	35	40	75
40-44	18	15	33	19	11	30	37	26	63
45-49	13	11	24	11	3	14	24	14	38
50-54	12	8	20	6	7	13	18	15	33
55-59	7	4	11	4	1	5	11	5	16
60-64	7	3	10	1	0	1	8	3	11
65-69	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
70-74	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	2
75 and over	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
Age unknown	7	5	12	15	12	27	22	17	39
TOTAL	179	182	361	160	121	281	339	303	642

*Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 15-NSB

Composition of **Finance, Insurance and Real Estate**
Sector Employment by **Age, Race, and Sex** •
North **Slope** Borough **Villages, 1980**

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15-19	0	2	2	0	3	3	0	5	5
20-24	6	11	17	1	0	1	7	11	18
25-29	10	6	16	3	3	6	13	9	22
30-34	7	4	11	2	1	3	9	5	14
35-39	7	0	7	3	1	4	10	1	11
40-44	1	2	3	1	0	1	2	2	4
45-49	4	1	5	2	0	2	6	1	7
50-54	5	1	6	2	2	4	7	3	10
55-59	2	0	2	0	1	1	2	1	3
60-64	2	0	2	1	1	2	3	1	4
65-69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70 - 74	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
75 and wer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Age unknown	2	2	4	2	2	4	4	4	8
TOTAL	47	29	76	17	14	31	64	43	107

● Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Source Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 16-NSB

Composition of Mining Sector Employment by **Age, Race, and Sex** *
North Slope Borough Villages, 1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15-19	2	1	3	0	0	0	2	1	3
20 - 24	9	1	10	0	0	0	9	1	10
25-29	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	2
30-34	2	1	3	0	0	0	2	1	3
35-39	3	1	4	0	0	0	3	1	4
40-44	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
45-49	4	0	4	0	0	0	4	0	4
50-54	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	2
55-59	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
60-64	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
65-69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70-74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 and wer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Age unknown	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
TOTAL	26	4	30	0	0	0	26	4	30

*Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Source Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 17-NSB

**Composition of Federal Government Sector Employment
by Age, Race, and Sex *
North Slope Borough Villages, 1980**

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1s -19	1	3	4	0	0	0	1	3	4
20 - 24	3	1	4	3	3	6	6	4	10
25-29	0	1	1	8	4	12	8	5	13
30-34	0	1	1	7	2	9	7	3	10
35-39	4	2	6	5	2	7	9	4	13
40-44	1	1	2	5	1	6	6	2	8
45-49	2	2	4	1	2	3	3	4	7
.50 -54	1	1	2	2	1	3	3	2	5
55-59	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	2
60-64	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
65-69	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	2
70-74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Age unknown	1	0	1	14	10	24	15	10	25
TOTAL	16	13	29	45	26	71	61	39	100

*Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Table 18-NSB

**Composition of Transportation, Communications, and
Public Utilities Sector Employment by Age, Race, and Sex *
North Slope Borough Villages, 1980**

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15-19	2	2	4	2	0	2	4	2	6
20 - 24	3	4	7	3	1	4	6	5	11
25 - 29	7	1	8	17	4	21	24	5	29
30-34	3	0	3	11	4	15	14	4	18
35-39	1	1	2	6	0	6	7	1	8
40-44	3	1	4	2	0	2	5	1	6
45-49	7	0	7	3	0	3	10	0	10
50-54	5	2	7	1	0	1	6	2	8
55-59	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
60-64	2	0	2	0	1	1	2	1	3
65-69	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
70-74	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
75 and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Age unknown	1	0	1	4	0	4	5	0	5
TOTAL	36	11	47	50	10	60	86	21	107

*Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Source (both): Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 19-NSB

Composition of Services **Sector** Employment by **Age, Race, and Sex** •
North Slope Borough Villages, 1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15-19	3	6	9	1	1	2	4	7	11
20-24	1	4	5	2	1	3	3	5	8
25-29	5	3	8	10	3	13	15	6	21
30-34	0	0	0	4	0	4	4	0	4
35-39	1	1	2	2	2	4	3	3	6
40-44	3	1	4	2	1	3	5	2	7
45-49	0	0	0	2	0	2	2	0	2
50-54	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	3
55-59	1	1	2	2	0	2	3	1	4
60 - 64	0	2	2	1	0	1	1	2	3
65-69	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
70 - 74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Age unknown	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
TOTAL	15	20	35	27	9	36	42	29	71

• Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Source Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 20-NSB

Composition of Trade Sector Employment by **Age, Race, and Sex** *
North Slope Borough Villages, 1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15-19	3	7	10	4	3	7	7	10	17
20-24	2	4	6	0	2	2	2	6	8
25-29	2	2	4	5	0	5	7	2	9
30-34	2	1	3	1	1	2	3	2	5
35-39	0	0	0	1	2	3	1	2	3
40-44	1	3	4	1	0	1	2	3	5
45-49	2	0	2	2	1	3	4	1	5
50-54	1	0	1	1	2	3	2	2	4
55-59	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	2
60-64	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
65-69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70-74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 and over	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	2
Age unknown	1	0	1	7	0	7	8	0	8
TOTAL	18	17	35	23	11	34	41	28	69

● Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Source Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 21-NSB

Composition of State Government **Sector** Employment
by Age, Race, and Sex *
 North Slope Borough Villages, 1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15- 19	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
20-24	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
25-29	2	1	3	0	2	2	2	3	5
30 - 34	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
35-39	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
40-44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
45-49	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
so -54	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
55-59	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
60-64	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
65-69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70 - 74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Age unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	3	4	7	1	4	5	4	8	12

*Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Source Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

2. The Labor Force in 1988 and Beyond

Detailed information comparable to that for the 1980 census is not yet available. The NSB Planning Department has released information used in the following discussion of the present and projected labor force in its contributions to the NSB budgetary process. It may be that these figures will be revised in the future, but the trends will remain the same and such changes would not be expected to be large.

Between 1980 and 1988, the labor force among all eight NSB communities increased from 2,222 to 2,572. During this eight-year time period, labor force expansion lagged behind village population growth. The number of young adults that entered the labor force was relatively modest during the early and mid-1980s.

The definition of total employment used by the Borough in their census figures is simply the count of persons employed, including those classified as permanent, full-time, temporary, and part-time. Using this definition, total employment increased from 1,689 to 2,442 between 1980 and 1988. As with the population, this represents very strong growth. The gap between total employment and

total labor force represents the count of unemployed persons. Between 1980 and 1988, this unemployment gap decreased and the rate of unemployment (i.e., the number of persons unemployed divided by the total labor force) fell from 24% to 5.3% for all eight NSB traditional communities. A fuller discussion of labor force participation can be found in the next section.

The rate of unemployment is probably the single most important measure of economic success. The evidence outlined above and shown in Figures 8a-NSB, 8b-NSB, and 8c-NSB overwhelmingly suggest that from the standpoint of employment, the NSB economy experienced substantial gains during the 1980s.

Also, Figures 8a-NSB, 8b-NSB, and 8c-NSB show the number of direct NSB government employees on the payroll. The count of NSB government employees does not include indirect employment that is nevertheless tied to NSB government spending. For example, the NSB government employment figures do not include UIC or SKW construction employees that may be working on a borough-funded project. Those workers are counted elsewhere as private sector employees. As with total population and employment, NSB direct government employment registered strong gains from 642 in 1980 to 1,460 in 1988. Furthermore, NSB employment increased as a proportion of total employment. Thus, between 1980 and 1988, the NSB municipal government played an increasing role in the NSB regional economy, not counting the additional indirect, private sector employment contributions associated with NSB government funding.

In spite of these gains and the improved unemployment situation, problems associated with unemployment persist. Results from the NSB Census of Population and Economy suggest that relatively high levels of underemployment were present in NSB communities in 1988. Persons classified as underemployed worked part of the year, but were unemployed for at least one month because they could not find a job. By comparison, persons who worked part of the year and indicated other reasons for not working, such as not wanting a job, having family responsibilities, or being a student were not counted as underemployed. As shown in Figures 8a-NSB, 8b-NSB, and 8c-NSB, 16% of the labor force among all eight NSB communities in 1988 was classified as underemployed (but as pointed out in the next section on labor force participation, the bulk of these are Inupiat, who have an underemployment rate of 24.6 percent overall, compared to the non-Inupiat underemployment rate of 7.5 percent). These persons would have worked more if more jobs were available.

The levels of total population, labor force, total employment, and NSB government employment were projected for the year 1994. This projection for the entire NSB regional economy is shown in the right-hand set of bars labeled "1994" in Figure 8a-NSB. The method used to produce this was to project population, labor force, and employment separately for each NSB community and then add them together for the region as a whole. The starting point for these village projections was the 1988 results from the NSB Census of Population and Economy.

Village population was projected by assuming that population growth rates observed between 1980 and 1988 for each village would continue to 1994. We assumed that slower rates than those observed historically would prevail for population growth in Point Lay and Atqasuk. We assumed that Barrow population would grow at an annual average rate of 1.6% per year, reflecting the actual population growth rate between 1985 and 1988. Point Hope population was projected to

grow at an **annual** average rate of 1.8%, reflecting actual population growth between 1986 and 1988.

Village labor force was projected by simply advancing the population in the 10-to-15 and 60-to-65 age groups. Thus, the younger population replaces older population in the labor force. Other factors affecting village labor force participation were assumed to resemble those that prevailed in 1988. The **results** indicate that future **NSB** labor force expansion would **outpace** total population growth over the next six **years** because the current **1988** NSB population has a disproportionate concentration of young labor force entrants, as compared with labor force participants at the middle and high end of the age distribution. Village total employment was projected by asking, "How much **of** the future labor force must be employed in order to hold the overall rate of unemployment at 5%?" Finally, the level of **NSB** government employment **in** each village was projected by assuming that direct NSB government employment as a proportion of total village employment in 1988 would prevail in **1994**.

Projections made for individual villages were consolidated into the single borough-wide projection, labeled "1994" in Figure **8b-NSB**. This analysis suggests that NSB **regional** population **will** grow from a 1988 **level** of 5,498 to 6,115 in 1994. The labor force will grow to a **level** of 2,985 in **1994**. The amount **of total** employment needed to support this labor force and maintain acceptable **levels** of unemployment was projected to be 2,810 in 1994. Finally, the amount of total NSB government employment needed to support this **level** of total employment was projected to grow from **1,460** to 1,681 between 1988 and 1994. This represents a **15%** increase over the 1988 level of direct NSB government employment.

In sum, future labor force expansion and population growth are likely to' depart from patterns exhibited during the 1980s. Over the next six years the total NSB labor force will grow more rapidly than population because the disproportionately high number of young **adults** projected to enter the labor force will more than offset those persons projected to retire. Thus, the NSB labor supply **will** increase rapidly and place greater demand on NSB resources to maintain acceptable levels of employment. Furthermore, the NSB government must also address the need to reduce levels of underemployment.

The information displayed graphically in Figure **8a-NSB**, **8b-NSB**, and **8c-NSB** is presented in tabular form in Tables **22a-NSB**, **22b-NSB**, and **22c-NSB**, and **23a-NSB**, **23b-NSB**, and **23c-NSB** below. These **tables** offer specifics about the composition of employment on the North **Slope**.

Figure 8a-NSB
Population, Labor Force, and Employment
NSB Villages, Barrow, and NSB Region

■ Total Population
 □ Total Labor Force
 ▨ Total Employment
 ▩ NSB Employment

NSB Planning Department
 Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

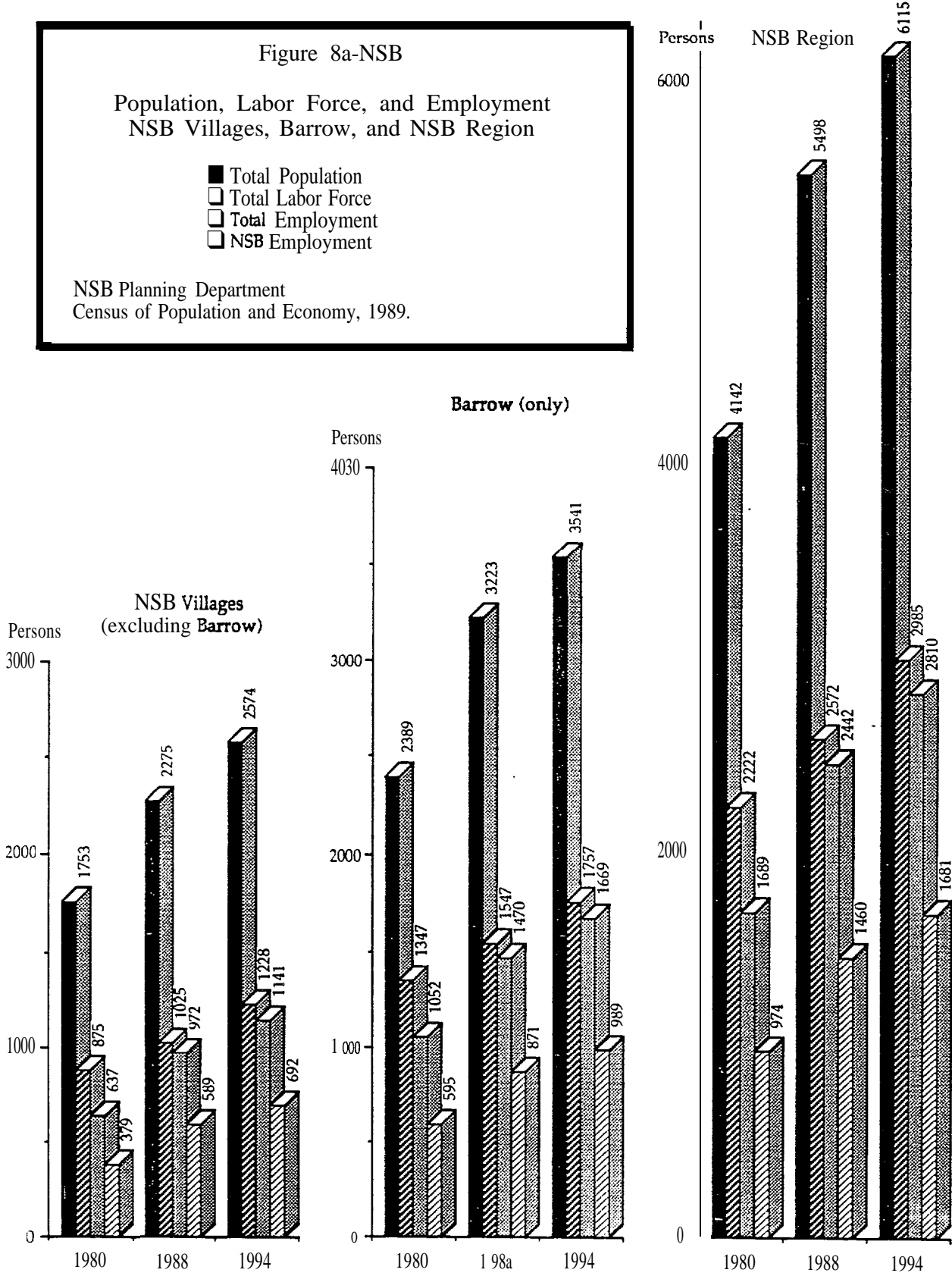
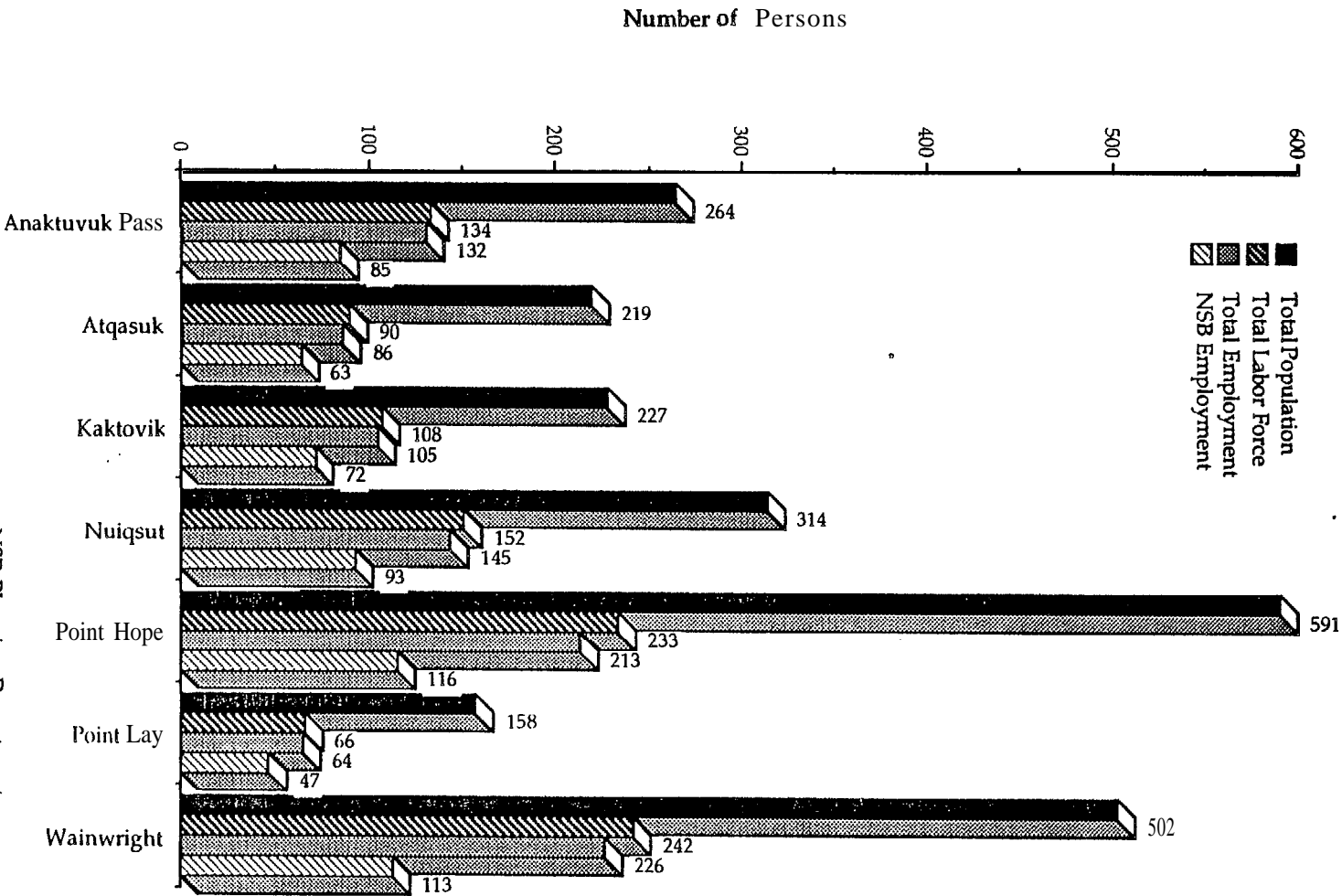


Figure 8b-NSB

Summary of Population, Labor Force, and Employment
7 NSB Villages



NSB Planning Department
Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Figure 8c-NSB

**Projected Change in NSB Labor Force Composition
1988 - 1994**

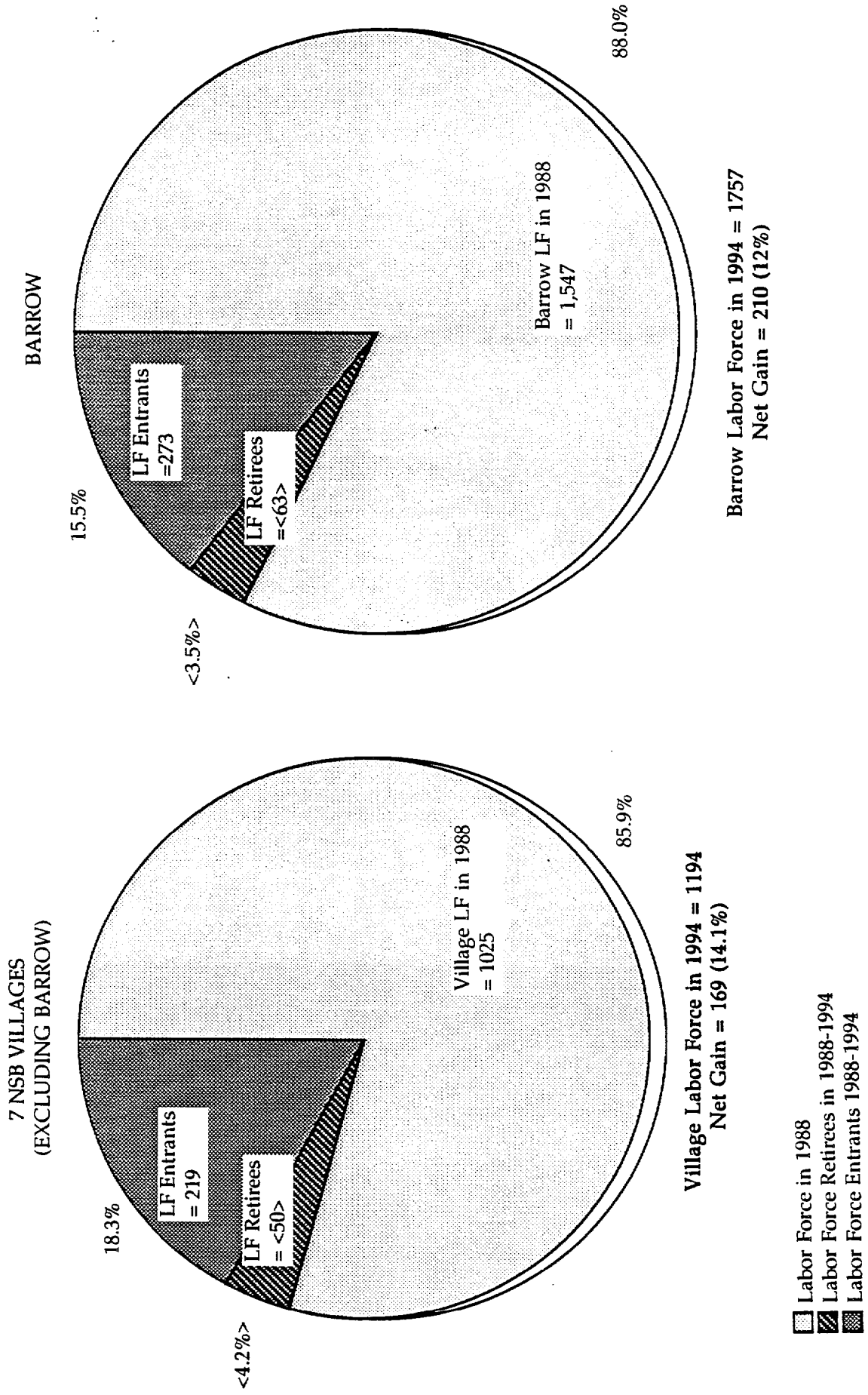


Table 22a-NSB

Occupation Composition of Employment by Sex **and Ethnicity**
NSB Region -1988

OCCUPATION GROUPS	INUPIAT			NON-INUPIAT			TOTAL VILLAGE	% OF TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL		
EXEC. ADMIN. MGR.	98	94	192	127	67	194	386	15.3%
PROFESSIONAL	1	3	4	28	27	55	59	2.3%
TEACHER	3	24	27	43	81	124	151	6.0%
TEACHER AIDE	6	48	54	1	20	21	75	3.0%
TECHNICIAN	17	48	65	29	32	61	126	5.0%
ADMIN. SUPPORT SERVICE	35	189	224	22	102	124	348	13.8%
	75	178	253	106	62	168	421	16.7%
OPERATOR/MECHANIC	236	11	247	92	4	96	343	13.6%
PILOT	1		1	9		9	10	0.4%
LABORER	180	53	233	39	2	41	274	10.9%
CRAFTSMAN	154	1	155	85	1	86	241	9.6%
ARTISAN		6	6				7	0.3%
ARMED FORCES	4		4	2		2	6	0.2%
TRAPPER/HUNTER	2		2			0	2	0.1%
OTHER	47	13	60	9	3	12	72	2.9%
TOTAL EMPLOYED	659	666	1325	593	401	994	2521	100.0%
% OF TOTAL	34.1%	26.5%	60.6%	23.5%	15.9%	38.4%	100.0%	
LABOR FORCE	931	715	1646	607	409	1016	2659	100.0%
% OF TOTAL	35.0%	26.9%	61.9%	22.7%	15.4%	38.1%	100.0%	
TOTAL UNEMPLOYED	72	47	119	11	8	19	136	
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE	7.7%	6.6%	7.2%	1.8%	2.0%	1.9%	5.2%	
TOTAL UNDER-EMPLOYED	278	127	405	57	19	76	461	
UNDER-EMPLOYMENT RATE	29.9%	17.8%	24.6%	9.4%	4.6%	7.5%	18.1%	

- Notes: (1) Total employed includes part-time, temporary, as well as full-time employment.
 (2) The occupation category "OTHER" includes underemployed persons otherwise not accounted for. Underemployment refers to persons that were unemployed because they could not find a job during part of the year.
 (3) Unemployed refers to persons out of work because they could not find a job for the entire twelve-month period.
 (4) Labor force = employed+ underemployed+ unemployed.
 (5) Unemployment rate = persons unemployed divided by the labor force,

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
Census of Population and Economy, 1969.

Table 22b-NSB

Occupation Composition of Employment by **Sex and Ethnicity**
7 Villages (excluding Barrow) -1988

Occupation Groups	INUPIAT			NON-INUPIAT			TOTAL			% of Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Exec. Admin. Mgr.	47	28	75	18	6	24	65	34	99	9.5%
Professional	0	1	1	3	2	5	3	3	6	0.5%
Teacher	1	12	13	22	29	51	23	41	64	6.1%
Teacher Aide	3	30	33	0	4	4	3	34	37	3.5%
Technician	4	27	31	6	4	10	10	31	41	3.9%
Admin. Support	22	73	95	5	10	15	27	83	110	10.5%
Service	48	107	155	27	14	41	75	121	196	18.7%
Operator/Mechanic	148	4	152	12	1	13	160	5	165	15.8%
Pilot	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
Laborer	97	43	140	4	0	4	101	43	144	13.8%
Craftsman	93	0	93	31	0	31	124	0	124	11.9%
Artisan	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	4	4	0.2%
Armed Forces	3	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	3	0.3%
Trapper/Hunter	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.1%
Other	40	8	48	4	0	4	44	8	52	5.0%
Total Employed	507	337	844	133	69	202	640	406	1046	100.0%
% of Total	48.5%	32.2%	80.7%	12.7%	6.6%	19.3%	61.2%	38.8%	100.0%	
Labor Force	541	364	905	133	69	202	674	433	1107	
% of Total	48.9%	32.9%	81.8%	12.0%	6.2%	18.2%	60.9%	39.1%	100.0%	
Tot Unemployment	34	27	61	0	0	0	34	27	61	
Unemployment Rate	6.3%	7.4%	6.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.0%	6.2%	5.5%	
Tot Under-employ	179	86	265	15	8	23	194	94	288	
Under-emp Rate	33.1%	23.6%	29.3%	11.3%	11.6%	11.4%	28.8%	21.7%	20.6%	

- Notes: (1) Total employed includes part-time, temporary, as well as full-time employment.
(2) The occupation category "OTHER" includes underemployed persons otherwise not accounted for. Underemployed refers to persons that were unemployed because they could not find a job during part of the year.
(3) Unemployed refers to persons out of work because they could not find a job for the entire twelve-month period.
(4) Labor force = employed + underemployed + unemployed.
(5) Unemployment rate = persons unemployed divided by the labor force.

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Table 22c-NSB

Occupation Composition of Employment by **Sex and Ethnicity**
Barrow - 1988

OCCUPATION GROUPS	INUPIAT			NON-INUPIAT			TOTAL VILLAGE	% OF TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL		
EXEC. ADMIN. MGR.	51	66	117	109	61	170	287	19.5%
PROFESSIONAL	1	2	3	25	25	50	53	3.6%
TEACHER	2	12	14	21	52	73	87	5.9%
TEACHER AIDE	3	18	21	1	16	17	38	2.6%
TECHNICIAN	13	21	34	23	28	51	85	5.8%
ADMIN. SUPPORT SERVICE	13	116	129	17	92	109	238	16.1%
	27	71	98	79	48	127	225	15.3%
OPERATOR/MECHANIC	88	7	95	80	3	83	178	12.1%
PILOT	1		1	9		9	10	0.7%
LABORER	83	10	93	35	2	37	130	8.8%
CRAFTSMAN	61	1	62	54	1	55	117	7.9%
ARTISAN		2	2	1		1	3	0.2%
ARMED FORCES	1		1	2		2	3	0.2%
TRAPPER/HUNTER	1		1			0	1	0.1%
OTHER	7	5	12	4	4	8	20	1.4%
TOTAL EMPLOYED:	352	331	683	460	332	792	1475	100.0%
% OF TOTAL	23.9%	22.4%	46.3%	31.2%	"22.5%"	53.7%	100.0%	
LABOR FORCE	390	351	741	471	340	811	1552	
% OF TOTAL	25.1%	22.6%	47.7%	30.3%	21.9%	52.3%	100.0%	
TOTAL UNEMPLOYED:	38	20	58	11	8	19	77	
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE	9.7%	5.7%	7.8%	2.3%	2.4%	2.3%	5.0%	
TOTAL UNDER-EMPLOYED:	99	41	140	42	11	53	193	
UNDER-EMPLOYMENT RATE	25.4%	11.7%	18.8%	8.9%	3.2%	6.5%	12.4%	

- Notes: (1) Total employed includes part-time, temporary, as well as full-time employment.
 (2) The occupation category "OTHER" includes underemployed persons otherwise not accounted for. Underemployment refers to persons that were unemployed because they could not find a job during part of the year.
 (3) Unemployed refers to persons out of work because they could not find a job for the entire twelve-month period.
 (4) Labor force = employed + underemployed + unemployed.
 (5) Unemployment rate = persons unemployed divided by the labor force.

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Table 23a-NSB

**Industry Composition of Employment by Sex and Ethnicity
NSB Region -1988**

INDUSTRY GROUP	INUPIAT			NON-INUPIAT			TOTAL	% OF
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	VILLAGE	TOTAL
PRIVATE SECTOR								
FISHERIES	1		1	3	1	4	5	
MINING	31	8	39	7		7	46	
CONSTRUCTION	56	6	62	28	3	31	95	
TRANSP/COMM/PUBLIC UTIL	17	26	43	61	18	79	127	
TRADE	13	13	26	22	21	43	69	
FINANCE/INSUR/REAL EST	1	2	3	2	8	10	13	
BUSINESS/REPAIR SERV	10	5	15	16	8	24	39	
ENTERTMT/REC/TOURIST SER	2	4	6	7	7	14	20	
HEALTH, SOCIAL, & EDUC SER	2	6	8	8	9	17	25	
SELF-EMPLOYED	3	12	15	13	10	23	36	
NATIVE CORP & AFFILIATE	163	93	256	46	9	55	311	
OTHER	9	6	15	18	10	28	43	
SUBTOTAL	310	181	491	231	104	335	626	33.0%
NSB GOVERNMENT								
HEALTH	18	102	120	31	71	102	222	
PUBLIC SAFETY	4	2	6	40	8	46	54	
MUNICIPAL SERV	212	28	240	66	13	81	321	
FIRE DEPT	6	2	8	4		4	12	
SEARCH & RESCUE	5	3	8	7	1	8	16	
HOUSING	52	19	71	24	7	31	102	
WILDLIFE MGT	7	1	8	6	3	9	17	
RELI & MJP	66	66	132	6	7	13	166	
LAW OFFICE			0	2	4	6	6	
ADMIN & FINAWE	5	39	44	9	12	21	65	
PLANNING	5	17	22	9	5	14	36	
INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT	1	2	3	1	1	2	5	
HIGHER EDUCATION CENTER	1	3	4	2	4	6	10	
MAYOR'S OFFICE & ASSEMBLY	10	12	22	3	2	5	27	
OTHER NSB	11	11	22	6	1	7	29	
SUBTOTAL	423	307	730	218	139	357	1067	43.4%
NSB SCHOCI. DISTRICT	52	133	185	99	125	234	419	16.7%
NSB SUBTOTAL	475	440	915	317	274	591	1506	60.1%
OTHER LOCAL GOVT								
STATE GOVT	21	37	56	6	7	13	71	2.8%
FEDERAL GOVT	4	4	6	5	7	12	20	0.6%
ARMED FORCES	11	11	22	32	22	54	76	3.0%
	4	1	5	2		2	7	0.3%
SUBTOTAL ALL GOVT	515	483	1008	382	310	672	1680	67.0%
GRAND TOTAL	825	674	1499	593	414	1007	2506	100.0%
% OF TOTAL	32.9%	26.5%	59.6%	23.7%	16.5%	40.2%	100.0%	

Notes:

(1) Figures equal to number of persons employed, including part-time, temporary, and full-time employment.

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Table 23b-NSB

Industry Composition of Employment by Sex and Ethnicity
7 Villages (excluding Barrow) - 1988

Industry Group	INUPIAT			NON-INUPIAT			TOTAL			% of Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
PRIVATE SECTOR										
Fisheries	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	1	2	
Mining	14	6	20	4	0	4	18	6	24	
Construction	23	2	25	9	1	10	32	3	35	
Transp/Comm/Public Util	8	6	14	4	2	6	12	8	20	
Trade	6	7	13	1	2	3	7	9	16	
Finance/Insur/Real Est	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	
Business/Repair Serv	5	1	6	2	0	2	7	1	8	
Entertmt/Rec/Tour Serv	1	0	1	2	1	3	3	1	4	
Health, Social, Educ Ser	1	2	3	2	0	2	3	2	5	
Self-Employed	0	6	6	1	0	1	1	6	7	
Native Corp & Affiliate	98	57	155	24	1	25	122	58	180	
Other	3	3	6	5	0	5	8	3	11	
Subtotal	160	90	250	55	6	61	215	96	311	31.0%
NSB GOVERNMENT										
Health	5	46	51	3	7	10	8	53	61	
Public Safety	2	1	3	9	2	11	11	3	14	
Municipal Serv	143	13	156	12	1	13	155	14	169	
Fire Dept	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	
Search & Rescue	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	
Housing	23	9	32	4	1	5	27	10	37	
Wildlife Mgt	3	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	3	
RELI & MJP	71	53	124	0	1	1	71	54	125	
Law Office	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	
Admin & Finance	1	2	3	1	1	2	2	3	5	
Planning	1	2	3	0	0	0	1	2	3	
Industrial Development	1	0	1	1	0	1	2	0	2	
Higher Education Center	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	2	2	
Mayor's Office & Assembly	5	6	11	0	1	1	5	7	12	
Other NSB	2	1	3	4	0	4	6	1	7	
Subtotal	258	135	393	34	16	50	292	151	443	64.2%
NSB School Dist	35	77	112	36	44	80	71	121	192	19.1%
NSB Subtotal	293	212	505	70	60	130	363	272	635	63.3%
Other Local Gov't	7	23	30	0	2	2	7	25	32	3.2%
State Gov't	2	1	3	0	0	0	2	1	3	0.3%
Federal Gov't	7	4	11	6	2	8	13	6	19	1.9%
Armed Forces	3	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	3	0.3%
Subtotal all Gov't	312	240	552	76	64	140	388	304	692	69.0%
Grand Total	472	330	802	131	70	201	603	400	1003	100.0%
% of Total	47.1%	32.9%	80.0%	13.6%	7.0%	20.0%	60.1%	39.9%	100.0%	

Notes:

(1) Figures equal to number of persons employed, including part-time, temporary, and full-time employment.

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Table 23c-NSB

Industry Composition of Employment by Sex and Ethnicity
Barrow -1988

INDUSTRY GROUP	INUPIAT			NON-INUPIAT			TOTAL VILLAGE	% OF TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL		
PRIVATE SECTOR								
FISHERIES	1	..	1	2		2	3	
MINING	17	2	19	3		3	22	
CONSTRUCTION	35	4	39	19	2	21	60	
TRANSP/COMM/PUBLIC UTIL	9	20	29	57	16	73	102	
TRADE	7	6	13	21	19	40	53	
FINANCE/INSUR/REAL EST		2	2	2	8	10	12	
BUSINESS/REPAIR SERV	5	4	9	14	8	22	31	
ENTERTMT/REC/TOURIST SER	1	4	5	5	6	11	15	
HEALTH, SOCIAL, & EDUC SER	1	4	5	6	9	15	20	
SELF-EMPLOYED	3	6	9	12	10	22	31	
NATIVE CORP & AFFILIATE	65	36	101	22	8	30	131	
OTHER	6	3	9	13	12	25	34	
SUBTOTAL	150	91	241	176	98	274	515	24.3%
NSB GOVERNMENT								
HEALTH	13	56	69	28	64	92	161	
PUBLIC SAFETY	2	1	3	31	6	37	40	
MUNICIPAL SERV	68	15	83	56	12	68	152	
FIRE DEPT	5	2	7	4		4	11	
SEARCH & RESCUE	5	2	7	7	1	8	15	
HOUSING	29	10	39	20	6	26	65	
WILDLIFE MGT	4	1	5	6	3	9	14	
RELI & MJP	15	13	28	6	6	12	40	
LAW OFFICE			0	2	3	5	5	
ADMIN & FINANCE	4	37	41	6	11	19	60	
PLANNING	4	15	19	9	5	14	33	
INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT		2	2		1	1	3	
HIGHER EDUCATION CENTER	1	2	3	2	3	5	8	
MAYOR'S OFFICE & ASSEMBLY	5	6	11	3	1	4	15	
OTHER NSB	9	10	19	2	1	3	22	
SUBTOTAL	165	172	337	164	123	307	644	42.8%
NSB SCHOOL DISTRICT	17	56	73	63	91	154	227	15.1%
NSB SUBTOTAL	182	228	410	247	214	461	871	56.0%
OTHER LOCAL GOVT	14	14	28	6	5	11	39	2.6%
STATE GOVT	2	3	5	5	7	12	17	1.1%
FEDERAL GOVT	4	7	11	26	20	46	57	3.8%
ARMED FORCES	1	1	2	2		2	4	0.3%
SUBTOTAL ALL GOVT	203	253	456	296	246	532	988	65.7%
GRAND TOTAL	353	344	697	462	344	806	1503	100%
% OF TOTAL	23.5%	22.9%	46.4%	30.7%	22.9%	53.6%	100.0%	

Notes:

(1) Figures equal to number of persons employed, including part-time, temporary, and full-time employment.

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

3. Labor Force Participation

The question of labor force participation on the North Slope is a complex one, and is potentially made more confusing by the definition of "employed" and "unemployed" used by the NSB census. As the preceding section described, anyone working at the time of the census was considered employed. This could be expected to inflate the employment numbers by including temporary jobs, and the NSB census does indeed document a low rate of unemployment. Those people not looking for work were excluded from the labor force and not counted as unemployed, so this would also tend to inflate the rate of employment. Since increasing employment in the **villages** is one of the primary political/economic **goals** of the NSB, the NSB has a vested interest in demonstrating that it is succeeding in these goals. Given the non-standard definition of employment used in the census, however, it **would** be wise to examine these numbers in greater depth to develop an interpretative context. This section concentrates on **Inupiat labor** force participation, since that is **clearly** the major problematic area, with some discussion of **non-Inupiat** labor force participation near the end.

The census numbers show a low rate of unemployment, accompanied by a fairly low rate of underemployment. This is countered by individual informant accounts that there is actually a very high rate of **unemployment** in the villages. This is the fundamental discrepancy that must be explained, or at least examined. The official NSB position is thus that there is a potential problem in the villages with employment, and that the NSB is dealing with it. A common village-level perception is that the employment problem is fundamentally more intransigent than the NSB government thinks.

There are several key questions. One concerns the distinction between temporary and permanent **jobs**. Another is why there is such a discrepancy between the NSB census figures and local village informants' perceptions as to unemployment rates. A third would address the types of jobs that exist in the villages, what sort of positions are created by the NSB, and if there are any employment opportunities available that are not readily filled. A fourth question would ask why some people do not seek employment. As might be expected, all of these issues are interconnected.

As previous section have indicated, almost **all** employment is with some part of the NSB or on a **NSB-funded** project. Most temporary jobs are NSB positions, and in fact have historically been funded for eight or nine months of the year for those individuals who have wanted to work that steadily. In some cases these jobs are with regular NSB departments and eventually lead to **full-time** regular positions. Thus, the Seniors' Assistance program started out under the Mayor's Job Program (**MJP**) with the hiring of part-time temporary people in all of the villages to help with housekeeping and other chores for the Elders. This has since been formalized as a permanent program. Similarly, a housing improvements program (**RELI**) began as a **temporary** Mayor's Job Program and has also since been made permanent. The MJP had historically been used as a discretionary program, most active just before and after elections. With the budgetary crunch and the need to regularize expenditures, as well as achieve maximum efficiency, such programs have either been formalized or abandoned. Since the NSB census was taken at a time when the MJP was in full swing (and in fact many of the census takers were employed by the **MJP**), these jobs had a significant effect in increasing the rate of employment as measured by the census. There were, and still are, some seasonal construction jobs with private firms contracted to the NSB for various **CIP** projects, but these have been winding down in the past several years and are no longer

a major source of village jobs. There are **still** some temporary jobs in the villages, but many less than when the NSB census was taken, since the **MJP** has been terminated. It is not known what percentage of the **MJP** positions which existed at the time of the census were turned into full-time regular positions, but it was certainly a significant portion of them and perhaps close to 100%.

There are certain factors which increase the perceptual level of unemployment at the village level above that reflected in the statistics of the NSB census. Those **people** not looking for work were not included as members of the labor force for purposes of calculating rates of unemployment. In most cases these individuals were women with young children, and some village informants complaining about high unemployment fail to consider that these individuals would have a very difficult time working a wage job, since few villages have **daycare** facilities and babysitters are surprisingly difficult to find in the villages. Some of the people excluded from the NSB census labor force calculations were “discouraged” workers. These **would** be individuals who either believe there is no job available for them or who have simply given up. In most cases they say they would be willing to work if the right job were available.

A common perception of the **MJP** positions, and of temporary positions currently available, is that the jobs were not very desirable and that the pay was low (at least in terms of North Slope scales). The reference point is, for men, a job with the NSB in the Municipal Services Department or working as a carpenter or heavy equipment operator for thirty dollars an hour. Preferred work for women appears to be secretarial and administrative in nature. Temporary work commonly pays fifteen dollars an hour (the old **MJP** rate) and is considered low. There are also certain permanent positions that are treated essentially as temporary jobs. That is, no one seems to want to keep them for very long, either because the pay is relatively low (by village standards) or the duties are unpleasant. Teacher’s Aide positions and store **clerk** positions are typical of these sorts of jobs. In some villages the Seniors’ Assistance jobs also have this characteristic. There is essentially a double tier of jobs in most of the villages. **Inupiat** men occupy most of the high-paying NSB jobs with prestige. **Inupiat** women occupy some of the administrative/secretarial positions, but for the most part are relegated to the second tier of lower-paying NSB jobs, along with the younger men. It is these lower-paying jobs where turnover is a constant problem. From the employee’s perspective, however, these lower-paying jobs often require more effort and work than the **higher**-paying, higher-prestige jobs. The legacy of the old **CIP** program, where many people were paid regardless of the quality of their **work**, is **also** still cited as a **contributory** factor to the relatively irregular work habits of a significant portion of the work force.

There are also many jobs available outside of the villages, primarily with the **oil** industry, but few individuals take advantage of these opportunities. The **oil** companies have **Inupiat** hire programs, but most informants regard these as public relations programs more than serious employment opportunities. These informants claim that they are usually hired as temporary workers and are always eventually laid off, while **non-Inupiat employees** are always hired as permanent employees. **Oil** company representatives say that this is so because **Inupiat employees** seldom if ever want a permanent position, and should they want one it is certainly available. The oil companies offer a wide range of training programs, and most of these programs are full at the start of instruction. The completion rate is low, however, and even those who complete the training then are often unwilling to work away from the village at the job that would use their training. This unwillingness to work outside of the village is not a matter of pay, as the rate of pay and benefits is quite good. Rather, it seems to be mostly social. **Inupiat** say that among **non-Inupiat**, and perhaps especially

those they **come** into contact with as oil company employees especially, they feel uncomfortable. It is not clear if it is because of overt discrimination or more subtle behavioral cues, or because of some characteristic **of Inupiat**. Most **Inupiat** informants state that there is an inherent **anti-Inupiat** bias in the oil industry, or at least among the oil industry work force. Even if this is so, there are **still** an enormous number of employment opportunities for **Inupiat** that are simply not taken. Another factor **Inupiat** also mention that make employment outside of the village difficult is that it requires too much travel and too much time away from their families. It appears to be the case that subsistence harvest activities are sufficiently flexible so that the integration of subsistence activities and work out of the village does not present a large problem. Essentially, wage earners adapt their subsistence schedules to the time they have available,

In summary, the issue of labor force participation is a complex one. The **NSB** census **likely** overstates the rate of permanent employment, but probably not by a great deal, given the qualifications discussed above. Many village informants who talk about high unemployment rates **really** mean that there are few **desirable** jobs open within the village. In most cases there will be undesirable jobs available within the village, and there are certainly employment opportunities available outside of the village, but within the region, with the **oil** companies.

Perhaps one of the most important reasons that unemployment is perceived as higher in the villages than may appear to be the case from the regional statistics is the quite different population characteristics between the seven outer villages on the one hand and **the NSB** taken as a whole (and dominated by the characteristics of Barrow) on the other. The outer villages are predominately **Inupiat**, so that the labor force in the outer villages is predominately (81%) **Inupiat**. The labor force for the entire NSB (using NSB census figures as the best available information) **is** only **61% Inupiat** (39% **non-Inupiat**). From Table **22a-NSB**, it is readily apparent that unemployment and underemployment are concentrated among the **Inupiat** population. **Of** 138 unemployed individuals, 119 (86%) are **Inupiat**, with men outnumbering women about 1.5 to 1. **Of** 481 underemployed individuals, 405 (84%) are **Inupiat**, with men outnumbering women 2.2 to 1. Since **Inupiat** men are perceived as the primary economic providers in most households, it is apparent that in the villages unemployment and underemployment are most heavily concentrated in those employment groups for whom wage employment is the behavioral norm. This **could** be especially galling to outer village **Inupiat** when compared to the **NSB-reported** non-Native unemployment rate of zero percent in the outer villages, combined with a low underemployment rate. **Table 22b-NSB** would seem to indicate that overall rates of unemployment in the outer villages are **still** low for **Inupiat**, but that underemployment is significantly higher. It **would** seem that even if the statistical rate of unemployment in the NSB is relatively low that there is a basis in fact for the perception that **Inupiat** unemployment and underemployment in the outer villages may be unacceptably high, especially for male **Inupiat**. Barrow also has elevated unemployment and underemployment rates for **Inupiat** as **compared to non-Inupiat, but not as extreme as for the outer** villages.

C. The Regional Economy and the **Prudhoe-Kuparuk** Industrial Complex

Geographically, the NSB region consists of two mutually exclusive economic jurisdictions: the Prudhoe-Kuparuk Industrial Complex (**PKIC**) and the eight traditional NSB communities. Together, these entities account for over **90%** of all jobs with the NSB region. However, they function

largely as independent systems. As an industrial enclave, the PKIC supported over 5,000 year-round jobs in 1988. Nevertheless, it directly accounted for less than two percent of total resident employment. In 1988, the NSB regional government directly supported about 1,500 jobs distributed across the region. Only a handful of these jobs were situated at the PKIC. As a group, the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation and its Native and Village Corporation affiliates represent the third largest employer on the North Slope.. In 1988, the North Slope Native Corporations and affiliates employed over 300 people, representing about 12% of resident employment. In order to understand the role of PKIC in the regional economy, we will briefly review the complex itself.

1. The Prudhoe-Kuparuk Industrial Complex

The Prudhoe-Kuparuk Industrial **Complex** is centered in the largest oil **fields** in North America, as well as several smaller yet highly-productive fields. It provides a significant degree of domestic security from the whims of world oil markets and is the source of billions of dollars in petroleum industry profits and revenues to the State of Alaska. It is also a significant element in the North Slope Borough regional economy. On the one hand, PKIC functions as a self-sufficient enclave, largely insulated from the regional populations and economies of the eight traditional communities contained within the NSB municipal boundaries. On the other hand, it is the foundation of general fund revenues for the NSB municipal government.

The populations of the traditional communities and the Prudhoe-Kuparuk Industrial **Complex**, as well as military population, are shown in Table 24-NSB for selected years. The figures for industrial population shown in Table 24-NSB are equal to the Alaska Department of Labor count of oil-related workers in Semite Area 10. The total population base increased fourfold between 1970 and 1984. Modest declines in total population after 1984 reflect reductions in industrial population. Population in NSB traditional communities increased gradually but steadily during the time period shown in Table 24-NSB.

The population figures shown in Table 24-NSB represent the basis for the official count of population used for the purposes of limiting NSB municipal property taxes as determined in Section 29.45.080 of the Alaska Statutes. This population count is critically important to the NSB government operating budget and to the NSB economy as a whole.

2. Employment at Prudhoe-Kuparuk and the Villages

Table 25-NSB shows annual average employment and employment composition for the entire NSB region for selected years over the period 1970 to 1986. Total employment, including construction and operations in the Prudhoe-Kuparuk area, increased nearly tenfold over the ten-year period from 1974 to 1984. The upward pattern of total employment exhibited through the early 1980s, sharply reversed after 1984, reflecting the impact of falling world oil prices on North Slope oil and gas development and operations.

Table 24-NSB

Population in the North Slope Borough Region¹
1970-1987

<u>Year</u>	<u>Traditional Community</u>	<u>Industrial² (Service Area 10)</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
1970	3,027	- 0 -	-NA-	3,027 ³
1980	4,199	3,104	132	7,4%
1984	5,319	6,683	193 ⁴	12,195
1986	5,520	5,662	1934	11,3755
1987	5,927	5,338	193 ⁴	11,458

Notes: ¹Official tax cap population figures for a given budget period are based on actual population figures for prior years and may differ from figures in this table.
²Alaska Department of Labor Census Subarea 321.
³Total for 1970 excludes military population and tradition community population in Point Lay.
⁴Based on 1982 estimate.
⁵Official NSB tax cap population for fiscal year 1990.

Source Alaska Department of Labor, Population Estimates, 1970-1987.

Table 25-NSB

Total Employment by Major Industry Group
North Slope Borough Region¹
1970-1986

<u>Year</u>	<u>Construction</u>	<u>State & Local²</u>	<u>Federal</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Trade³</u>	<u>Total</u>
1970	926	100	265	173	418	1,882
1974	582	483	285	161	472	1,983
1980	3,534	1,157	251	68	1,350	6,360
1984	6,096	1,488	143	42	2,407	10,176
1986	3,844	1,551	118	48	2,238	7,799

Notes: ¹Includes Prudhoe-Kuparuk operations.
²Local government represents over 97% of total employment in this category after 1980.
³Includes a small amount of employment in the transportation, communication, and public utilities sector.

Source U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Full- and Part-Time Employment by Major Industry, 1970-1986.

The composition of total employment has shifted dramatically during the time period represented in Table 25-NSB. In 1970, state and local government accounted for only 5% of total employment. By 1986, state and local government employment as a proportion of total employment increased to 19% (primarily NSB positions in Barrow and the outer villages). Also, employment in the trade and services industries increased from 22 to 28% over this same period (this and the “construction” category contain some “enclave” workers). After 1980, NSB government employment accounts for nearly all of state and local government employment shown in Table 25-NSB. The NSB government accounts for most of the direct increases in total NSB employment during this period. Furthermore, it is likely that the strength of the NSB government sector is indirectly responsible for the increased presence of trade and services employment in the total NSB employment base. Whereas the NSB government once played a minor role in the North Slope economy, it now represents a chief determinant of economic stability for the region as a whole. This is especially true in view of the recent employment decline registered in the oil and gas sector.

Table 26-NSB compares non-government, private sector employment in Service Area-10 (SA-10) with non-government employment in the entire NSB region for the period 1980 through 1987. SA-10 refers to geographic boundaries, designated by the Alaska Public Utilities Commission, that include all oil and gas fields and production facilities associated with the Prudhoe-Kuparuk Industrial Complex. The table shows that between 1980 and 1987, non-government employment in SA-10 increased steadily as a proportion of total non-government employment across the entire NSB region. By 1987, over 85% of all regional non-government employment was concentrated in the SA-10, Prudhoe-Kuparuk area. In addition to direct mining and construction activity, this would include employment associated with the many oil service companies involved in transportation, communication, and general services.

In spite of these patterns, the direct employment link between the PKIC and the NSB regional economy is modest. According to 1988 results from the NSB Census of Population and Economy, about 2% of total NSB village employment is tied to the mining industry, including petroleum development and operations in SA-10.

3. Wage and Salary Earnings

Table 27-NSB compares resident and non-resident wage-and-salary earnings for persons who worked in the NSB region. Table 27-NSB shows that wage-and-salary earnings, including federal, state, borough, and local government, were only a fraction of total earnings of workers within the NSB boundaries. This further illustrates the disparity between Prudhoe-Kuparuk oil and gas operations and the NSB regional economy. Most income earned within the NSB is spent outside of the regional economy.

Table 26-NSB

Total Non-Government Employment
in the North Slope Borough
1980 to 1987

Year	Service Area 10 (1)	Entire NSB (2)	SA 10 as a % of NSB (1)/(2)
1980	3,104	4,711	65.9%
1981	5,584	7,321	76.3%
1982	6,517	8,152	79.9%
1983	7,382	8,707	84.4%
1984	6,683	7,949	84.1%
1985	6,556	7,824	83.8%
1986	5,855	7,009	83.5%
1987	5,209	6,106	85.3%

Notes: (1) Service Area 10 refers to ADOL Subarea 321.
(2) Figures for 1986 and 1987 reflect adjustment in SA-10 mining employment to incorporate corrections in published StatQ estimates made by ADOL research staff.

Source: Alaska Department of Labor (ADOL), Statistical Quarterly, 1980-87. ADOL Special Tabulations, 1987 (for SA-10 figures).

Table 27-NSB

NSB Resident vs Total Earnings

Date	Wage and Salary Earnings by:	
	Place of Work (x\$1000)	Place of Residence (x\$1000)
1%9	37,948	10,433
1970	38,899	1,133
1971	32,537	2,799
1972	27,457	2,758
1973	24,185	2,037
1974	37,166	16,721
1975	254,475	7,629
1976	356,960	9,427
1977	264,992	6,614
1978	292,604	56,305
1979	242,937	54,594
1980	315,093	64,782
1981	517,485	97,387
1982	636,328	94,430
1983	705,681	103,384
1984	658,511	110,338
1985	571,540	103,433
1986	428,463	87,178

Notes: (1) Figures in nominal dollars (x1000).
(2) Figures do not include interest, dividends, rent, or corporate profits.
(3) Place of Work refers to local earnings; Place of Residence refers to resident earnings.

Source: U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, Personal Income 1%9-1986.

4. Property Taxes, Revenues, and Regional Disbursement

At first glance, there would appear to be few economic ties between the **PKIC** and the NSB traditional village economies. The **PKIC** is road-connected to Alaska's "Railbelt" region and ultimately to the rest of the world. Except for occasional of winter ice-roads, the eight NSB traditional communities do not have any road links to their neighboring communities or to other regions of the state. The **PKIC** functions as an enclave, **fully** self-contained and independent of the regional economy in which it is located. While geographically isolated, the eight NSB villages support numerous political and economic ties. Among the most important is Barrow's **role** and the primary hub for regional transportation activity and government affairs; a role that parallels that of Anchorage, as the hub for the state as a whole. Much of the village travel into and out of the region passes through Barrow. Barrow supports two jet-aircraft passenger flights per day and serves as the headquarters for ASRC, the **NSB** Municipal Government, the NSB School District, the Public Health Service Hospital, and most state and federal branch offices on the North Slope.

However, the seemingly limited relationship between the **PKIC** and the economies of the eight NSB traditional communities masks a fundamental institutional relationship that indirectly links the economic fate of these distinct geo-economic units. The economies of the eight NSB traditional communities are largely driven by "economic rents" captured from the vast, yet declining, **wealth** of the **PKIC** petroleum resource. As with **all local** government jurisdictions in Alaska, the NSB Municipal Government is vested with the authority to tax property. Most of the NSB tax base is embodied in **PKIC** industrial property, including the first 177 miles (and 4 pump stations) of the **Trans** Alaska Pipeline System (TAPS). According to the NSB Department of Administration and Finance, in addition to TAPS, this property includes 1,900 **miles** of other pipelines (transit + feeder lines), 2,400 wells (approximately one-half for production), 78 drilling pads, 400 miles of **gravel** road (220 **miles** of miscellaneous roads + 180 miles of haul road), and dozens of industrial facilities and worker compounds. According to official NSB government estimates, the total assessed value of oil and gas property stands at about \$12 **billion**. As shown in **Table 28-NSB**, this tax base is not expected to decline until after 1993.

During the ten-year period from fiscal years 1980 through 1989, the NSB government collected a total of \$1.7 billion in property tax receipts (**Table 28-NSB**). Over the most recent five-year period, average annual property tax receipts were \$235 million. Over the same five-year period, NSB General Fund expenditures were \$349 million. Property tax revenues represent the single, largest revenue source, accounting for two-thirds of **NSB** General Fund expenditures over the past five years.

As a tax-base, the value of **PKIC** oil-and-gas property represents the foundation of NSB government operations and capital improvement program (**CIP**) project spending. One might view the NSB government as a mechanism for redistributing economic rent obtained from oil and gas property lying within NSB municipal boundaries. Indeed, according to NSB Census **results**, the NSB government directly accounted for 60% of total employment among **all** eight NSB traditional communities in 1988. The private sector accounted for the **bulk** of remaining employment. However, a significant portion of private sector economic activity in the NSB region is based on direct NSB government transfers to for-profit village corporations and to ASRC, mainly for CIP project construction and other local-government-funded projects. Only a small proportion of total private-sector economic activity may be viewed as endogenous, secondary support activity, driven

largely by business activity geared to serving the resident population base (e.g., grocers and restaurants) and the NSB government (e.g., **hotel**, and commuter air taxis). The relationships between the **PKIC**, the NS13 Municipal Government, and the economies of the eight NSB traditional communities is depicted in Figure 9-NSB.

The economies of the NSB traditional communities comprise a mix of subsistence production for use and **wage-and-salary** employment. Excluding Barrow, which enjoys the economic benefits of a regional service center, the **wage-and-salary** economies of the remaining seven **NSB** villages exhibit little or no induced, support-sector activity. They virtually depend on jobs created by the NSB government and to some extent on NSB government subsidies for heating fuel, electricity, housing, **health** care and water. The magnitude and extent of regional economic ties between the NSB government and traditional village **economies** may be viewed in connection with the village distribution of NSB capital spending shown in Figure 10-NSB.

Figure 10-NSB shows cumulative capital spending for selected **CIP** projects outlined above by village from 1978 through fiscal year 1988. These **CIP** projects include:

- Education Facilities,
- Roads,
- Housing,
- Airport Facilities, and
- Electric & Fuel Distribution.

The spending patterns exhibited in Figure 10-NSB do not **include CIP** expenditures for fire stations, public safety facilities, health clinics, water & sewage facilities. Nevertheless, Figure 10-NSB indicates that the NSB government spent between \$99,800 and \$258,900 per capita on a basic set of **CIP** projects across the seven NSB villages. This represents a level of average per-capita spending of \$138,300 over a ten-year period, or about \$14,100 annually, per village resident. **Total** cumulative **CIP** spending, taking into account all **CIP** projects, including those not accounted for in Figure 10-NSB, probably would be **two** or three times the annual, per-capita spending level noted above.

In spite of the tendency for a major portion of **CIP** disbursements to be allocated for materials outside of the regional economy, **CIP** spending continues to represent an important element for NSB government direct and indirect employment; it creates jobs that are consistent and compatible with basic skills of the resident **labor** force. **While** present levels of capital spending are significantly **below** those exhibited in the early-to-mid 1980s, they continue to account for a major portion of total General Fund expenditures (see Table 28-NSB). Capital spending is complemented by an operating budget that increased fairly steadily from \$39.4 million in fiscal year 1980 to \$102.4 million in 1989. Over the past decade, the NSB government allocated an average of \$78 million per year to general government operations. This represents average operating expenditures of over \$18,100 per-capita or \$70,200 per NSB employee. By comparison, the Municipality of Anchorage operating budget was about \$1,000 per capita in 1989.

Summary of NSB General Fund Revenues and Expenditures
1980-1990

(Page 1 of 2)

NIPA Final Technical Report

NSB 81

Impact Assessment, Inc.

	FY80	FY81	FY82	FY83	FY84
STATEWIDE VALUE OF PROPERTY					
PER CAPITA (\$)	47,342	53,354	57,997	70,538	75>844
NSB TAX CAP POPULATION	8,187	8,055	9,234	7,098	7,552
PER CAPITA LIMIT ON					
NSB OPERATING REVENUES (\$)	3,196	3,601	3,915	4,761	5,119
MAXIMUM NSB OPERATING REVENUES (\$)	26,162,254	29,009,237	36,149,240	33,795,814	38,662> 237
 GENERAL FUND REVENUES:					
PROPERTY TAX (\$)	52,444,956	59,062,456	109,741,339	113,680,243	152,412,956
OTHER (\$)	27,246,231	54,823,379	87,381,944	110,743,480	113,271,982
 TOTAL GF REV (\$)	79,691,187	113,885,835	197,123,283	224,423,723	265,684,938
 GENERAL FUND EXPENDITURES:					
DEBT SERVICE (\$)	29,151,500	32,774,000	74,150,000	95,311,400	129,950,470
 CAPITAL (\$)	6,554,495	8,202,400	16,741,400	15,902,000	29,475,270
 OPERATIONS (\$)	39,361,292	49,760,751	64,110,459	68,806,024	73,832,071
FROM PROPERTY TAX REVENUE (\$)	23,293,456	26,288,456	35,591,339	18,368,843	22,462,486
FROM OTHER SOURCES (\$)	16,067,836	23,472,295	28,519,120	50,437,181	51,369,585
 TOTAL GF EXPEND (\$)	75,067,287	90,737,151	155,001,859	180,019,424	233,257,811
 NSB TOTAL ASSESSED VALUE (\$-Thousands)	5,021,848	5,725,920	6,607,384	8,172,381	9,932,509
MILL RATE:					
COMBINED	10.44	10.31	16.61	13.91	15.34
Debt Service	5.80	5.72	11.22	11.66	13.08
Operations	4.64	4.59	5.39	2.25	2.26
 MAX Operations	5.21	5.07	5.47	4.14	3.89

Note: Actual data for FY80 - FY87. Budgeted figures for FY88 and FY89.

Source: NSB Budget Documents for FY81 to FY89.

Summary of NSB General Fund Revenues and Expenditures
1980-1990
(Page 2 of 2)

NIP4 Final Technical Report

	FY85	FY86	FY87	FY88	FY89
STATEWIDE VALUE OF PROPERTY					
PER CAPITA (\$)	75,553	82,213	86,322	96,195	83,430
NSB TAX CAP POPULATION	10,171	12,359	12,342	12,581	12,581
PER CAPITA LIMIT ON					
NSB OPERATING REVENUES (\$)	5,100	5,549	5,827	6,493	5,632
MAXIMUM NSB OPERATING REVENUES (\$)	51,870,346	68,584,757	71,913,563	81,690,477	70,850,216
GENERAL FUND REVENUES:					
PROPERTY TAX (\$)	227,610,426	235,814,800	249,115,037	236,403,307	227,533,292
OTHER (\$)	117,530,805	92,508,528	90,723,812	96,590,693	104,010,160
TOTAL GF REV (\$)	345,141,231	328,323,328	339,838,849	332,994,000	331,543,452
GENERAL FUND EXPENDITURES:					
DEBT SERVICE (\$)	184,710,000	212,914,800	218,913,741	202,725,000	196,565,000
CAPITAL (\$)	32,947,000	32,947,000	27,900,000	78,087,000	72,661,000
OPERATIONS (\$)	99,649,200	87,697,000	93,025,108	101,131,776	102,401,000
FROM PROPERTY TAX REVENUE (\$)	40,532,579	22,900,000	30,201,296	28,201,110	29,220,615
FROM OTHER SOURCES (\$)	59,116,621	64,797,000	62,823,812	72,930,666	73,180,385
TOTAL GF EXPEND (\$)	317,306,200	333,558,800	339,838,849	381,943,776	371,627,000
NSB TOTAL ASSESSED VALUE (\$-Thousands)	12,261,436	12,834,230	13,560,972	12,570,828	12,290,997
MILL RATE:					
COMBINED	18.37	18.37	18.37	18.37	18.37
Debt Service	15.06	16.59	16.14	16.13	15.99
Operations	3.31	1.78	2.23	2.24	2.38
MAX Operations	4.23	5.34	5.30	6.50	5.76

Impact Assessment, Inc.

Note: Actual data for FY80 - FY87. Budgeted figures for FY88 and FY89.
Source: NSB Budget Documents for FY81 to FY89.

NSB 82

Figure 9-NSB

The North Slope Regional Economy

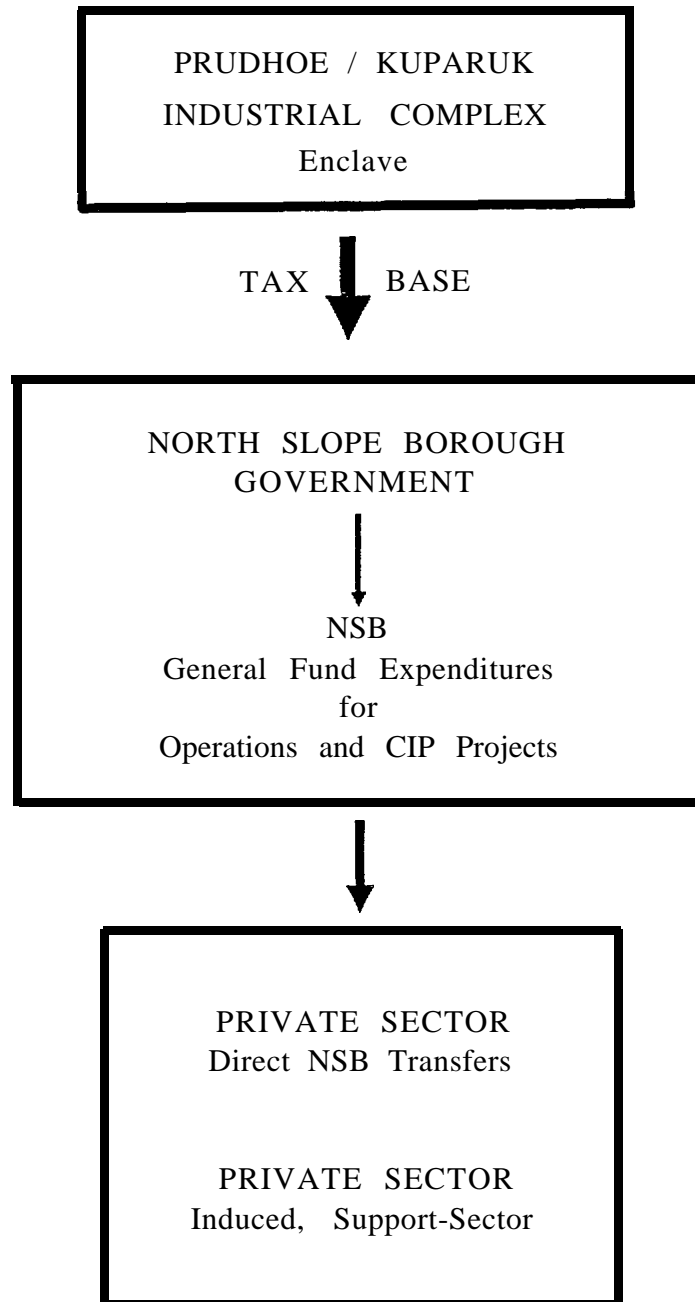
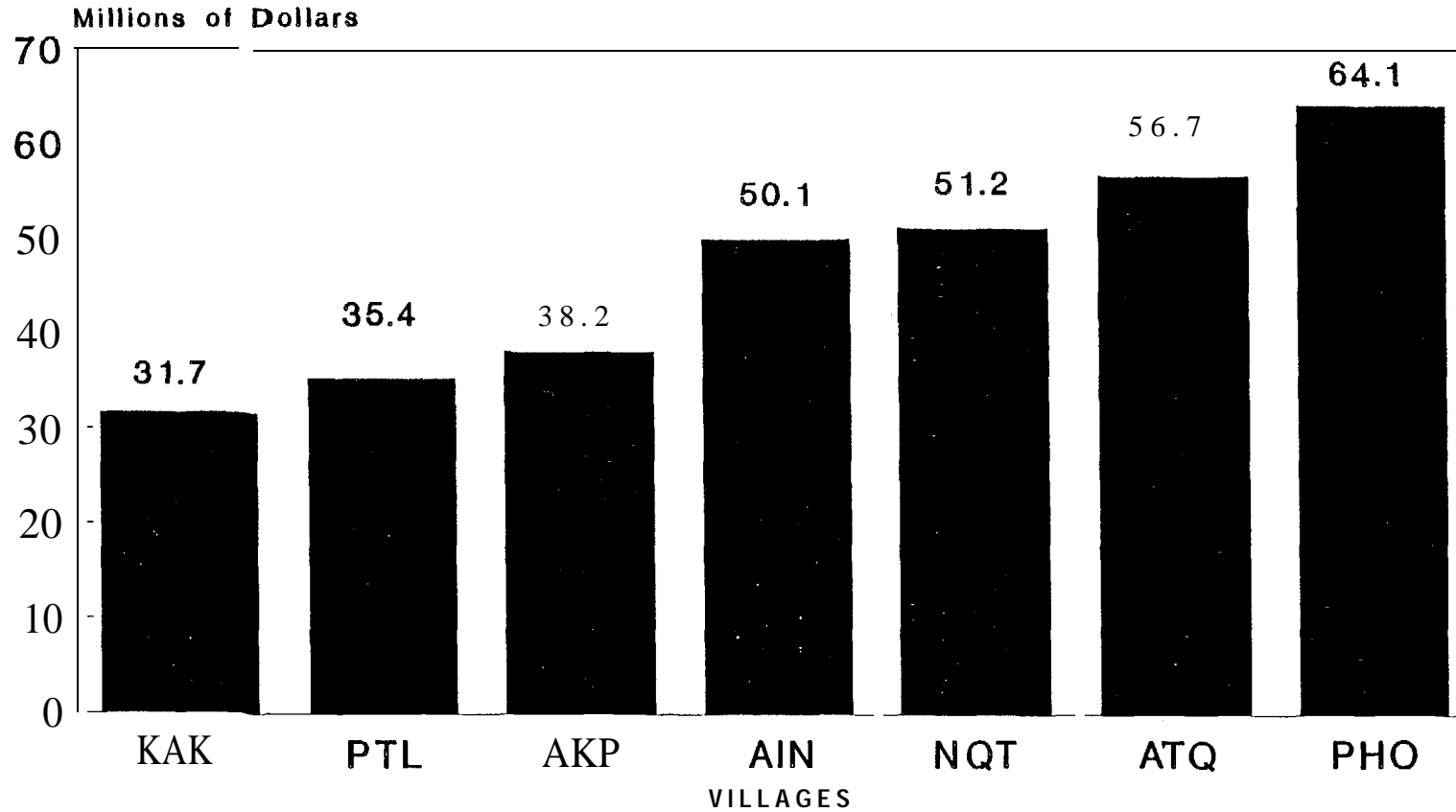


Figure 10-NSB

**CIP Spending for Selected Projects
By Village Through Fiscal Year 1988**



Note: CIP spending in Barrow was equal to \$433.2 million over same time period.

■ Total CIP Spending

Source: NSB Tax Cap Task Force .

5. The Tax Cap

The NSB property tax revenues are limited by a mechanism commonly referred to as the "Taxcap". The "taxcap" is a set of legal guidelines that restrict the maximum amount of property tax revenues the North Slope Borough (NSB) may collect for purposes of the operating budget. It is based on Alaska Statutes 29.53.045 (a-c). The name "**Taxcap**" originates because Alaska Statute 29.53.045 "caps" the amount of property tax revenues that the NSB collects for the purposes of general government operations. The same statute does not provide any limit or cap to NSB property tax revenues used for the purpose of servicing debt on **CIP** bonds.

Two important factors enter into the "taxcap" formula:

- (1) Per capita value of property over the entire state of Alaska and
- (2) NSB **Taxcap** population.

The basic **taxcap** formula multiplies NSB population by per-capita assessed value of statewide property. The important point is that the tax cap depends not on the assessed value of NSB property, but on the assessed value of statewide property, subject to several **adjustments**. The per capita assessed value of statewide property is equal to the total assessed value of real property over the entire state, divided by statewide population. This per capita figure is currently about \$73,000, down from over \$100,000 in **fiscal** 1988. By way of comparison, this figure is seven times smaller than current estimates of per capita assessed value of NSB property.

The total assessed value of property in the NSB does **not** factor into **taxcap** formula that limits NSB property tax revenues for general government operations. As shown in Table 28-NSB, NSB total assessed value peaked at about \$13.5 billion in fiscal year 1987. Note also, that in spite of a stable **millage** rate of 18.37, total annual property tax revenue peaked at \$249 million in the same year. The significance of the **taxcap** formula is depicted in the fourth row entitled, "Maximum NSB Operating Revenues." In 1987, the maximum amount of property tax revenue that could be applied to general fund operating expenditures, as determined by the taxcap formula, was \$71.9 million. The figures in Table 28-NSB indicate that far less property tax revenue - only \$30.2 million - was actually allocated to the operating budget. The operating budget has traditionally been funded largely from alternative revenue sources, including intergovernmental revenues, charges for services, sales and use taxes, and, most importantly, interest earnings on cash **reserves**.

The **taxcap** limit has been in place for over ten years. To date, the NSB has never taxed property to the limit established by the **taxcap** formula. " The NSB presently carries about \$1 billion in bonded debt, however, it is servicing its debt with an expeditious repayment schedule. Once NSB bonded indebtedness is retired in 1998, the limits imposed by the **taxcap** formula will seriously restrict the total amount of property tax revenue that may be collected. More bonds could not be issued unless substantial oil reserves are discovered on the North Slope in the very near future because the ability to issue bonds is related to the perceived ability to redeem them (they are issued based on anticipated revenue), and the NSB is dependent on oil-based revenue tied to oil production fields which are in decline. Such bond revenue can only be used for capital projects

anyway (if they are not to count against the tax cap), and it is the operating budget that will be problematic. As facilities are built with bond money not only must the bond be repaid with interest, but additional operating budget money is tied up for the operation and maintenance of that facility. While inflation may increase the value of the infrastructure which the NSB taxes, **and** thus "increase" its tax revenues, inflation **also** increases the cost of operation and maintenance of facilities.

Suppose, for example, that **total** bonded indebtedness was fully abrogated and the debt **service** payment in **fiscal** 1990 was zero, instead of \$177.4 million. **In** this case, the total amount of property tax revenue that the NSB government count collect would be \$56.3 million (**Table 28-NSB**) -- the maximum allowed for the NSB operating budget, as set forth by the taxcap formula. This **would** impose severe limitations on present operations and maintenance budgets. **Also**, elimination of property tax revenues for debt service would substantially reduce cash reserves and **seriously** decrease associated interest earnings, the second largest revenue source to the NSB general fund.

The NSB does not actually levy property taxes directly. By law, the State of Alaska levies a 20-mill tax on all oil and gas property regardless of NSB tax policy. The NSB is credited by the state for the amount of tax it levies up to that 20-mill **level**. Thus, even if the NSB were to reduce its mill rate or entirely stop levying property taxes, the **oil** and gas industry would still pay the state a **20-mill** tax on its property.

During 1989, the Alaska State Assessor publicly announced that the NSB government has been overtaxing the oil and gas industry over the **past** decade and officially presented an interpretation of **taxcap** formula that was considerably more restrictive than the NSB interpretation outlined above. The State Assessor argued that:

- (1) The "**Taxcap**" on NSB property tax revenues should apply for the purposes of servicing debt, as **well** as for general government operations.
- (2) *The* burden of property taxes, which is currently applied evenly across **all** NSB property owners, **should** be substantially shifted to NSB homes and business, away from **oil** and gas property.

The correct interpretation of the taxcap formula **is** currently under review by a citizen task force appointed **by** the State of Alaska Legislature. During public hearings held throughout the spring and summer of 1989, the NSB municipal government as well as the City of **Valdez** strongly debated the state assessor's interpretation. The state assessor's interpretation **would** imply devastating consequences to the nature and extent of **local** government operations and to the regional economy as a **whole**. It is likely that the underwriters for the NSB'S bonds also continue to keep a eye on this **issue**. Pressure from bond markets and from the state government are among the chief factors that underlie the Borough's continued reluctance to increase its **millage** rate from the current level of 18.37 mills.

6. Regional Economic Outlook

It is likely that, pending unforeseen economic windfalls or disasters, the NSB government at best faces a non-increasing revenue base. The probable revenue outlook for the NSB government is analogous to that of **the** state as a whole: gradual but steady decline. Unlike the major component of state government revenues, which depend on oil price and production, the NSB government faces revenue decreases arising from steadily diminishing, yet comparatively less volatile, oil-and-gas property value. Ironically, once the debt is paid off and the **taxcap** kicks in, the NSB revenue picture will rapidly deteriorate. The NSB **could** introduce more debt-financed CIP projects to forestall the revenue restrictions implied by the **taxcap**. However, this strategy would exacerbate an already overburdened O&M budget tied to an extensive inventory of existing **CIP** projects and facilities. Furthermore, the bond markets may not look favorably on such a strategy.

When combined with a rapidly-growing labor force, these **fiscal** circumstances suggest that, as the major economic force in the regional economy, the NSB may not readily succeed in supporting economic activity sufficient to maintain acceptable **levels** of unemployment. How can the NSB government reconcile growing labor force participation with a non-increasing revenue base? The first step is to discourage **real** (inflation adjusted) increases in the wage and salary levels. The NSB government discontinued automatic wage and salary increases in 1987. Furthermore, the NSB dropped its effective minimum wage from \$15.72 to \$12.00 per hour in fiscal year 1989. These measures help to distribute a **fixed payroll** over a larger number of employees.

The NSB could also introduce programs that reduce labor force participation in NSB traditional communities. In recent years, the NSB has expanded and improved its higher education and vocational training programs. Better alternatives for training and education may **help** to reduce the incidence of labor force participation among NSB residents. The NSB could take this policy a step further and encourage residents to seek employment outside of the North Slope region. Programs that increase the incidence of resident employment in the **PKIC would** also reduce labor force participation in traditional communities. Policies that lead to more efficient management of NSB resources would **help**. The NSB has recently experienced a series of large extraordinary expenditures (e.g., school fires and housing program mismanagement) needlessly absorbing resources that would **otherwise** have been available for programs that encourage resident employment expansion. On the other hand, the NSB window-manufacturing **plants** and the Residential Energy and Living Improvements (**RELI**) programs represent recent examples of more effective applications of the Borough's increasingly limited **fiscal** resources.

D. The Public **Sector** of the Economy

1. The North Slope Borough, Jobs, and the Villages

As reviewed above, 1988 NSB census economic information on the NSB **level** is not yet available. The 1980 information was reviewed above. Detailed information for each of the villages for both 1980 and 1988 was presented in the village chapters. This will enable us to make some statements in this section about similarities and differences among communities, as well as generalizations about the region as a whole.

The public sector dominates the North Slope economy. In large part this is because the oil industry is “invisible” in terms of economic statistics. Most oil employees are not NSB residents and thus do not appear in employment statistics. Everyone knows that the oil industry is the ultimate source of nearly **all** NSB funds (Figure 11-NSB). Since they are derived from the **NSB’s** taxing authority and used for the provision of public services, they are converted into public sector funds. Only a **small** percentage of the resident NSB population is thus employed in the “primary productive” or industrial sector of the **economy**. Most of the labor in this sector is provided by a non-resident, **non-Inupiat** labor force. The resident labor force is for the most part employed in service jobs of one sort or another. Even most construction projects are part of the **CIP** and are funded with NSB government funds and managed as public projects. Nearly **all** NSB residents who are employed. draw a paycheck from the NSB in one way or another.

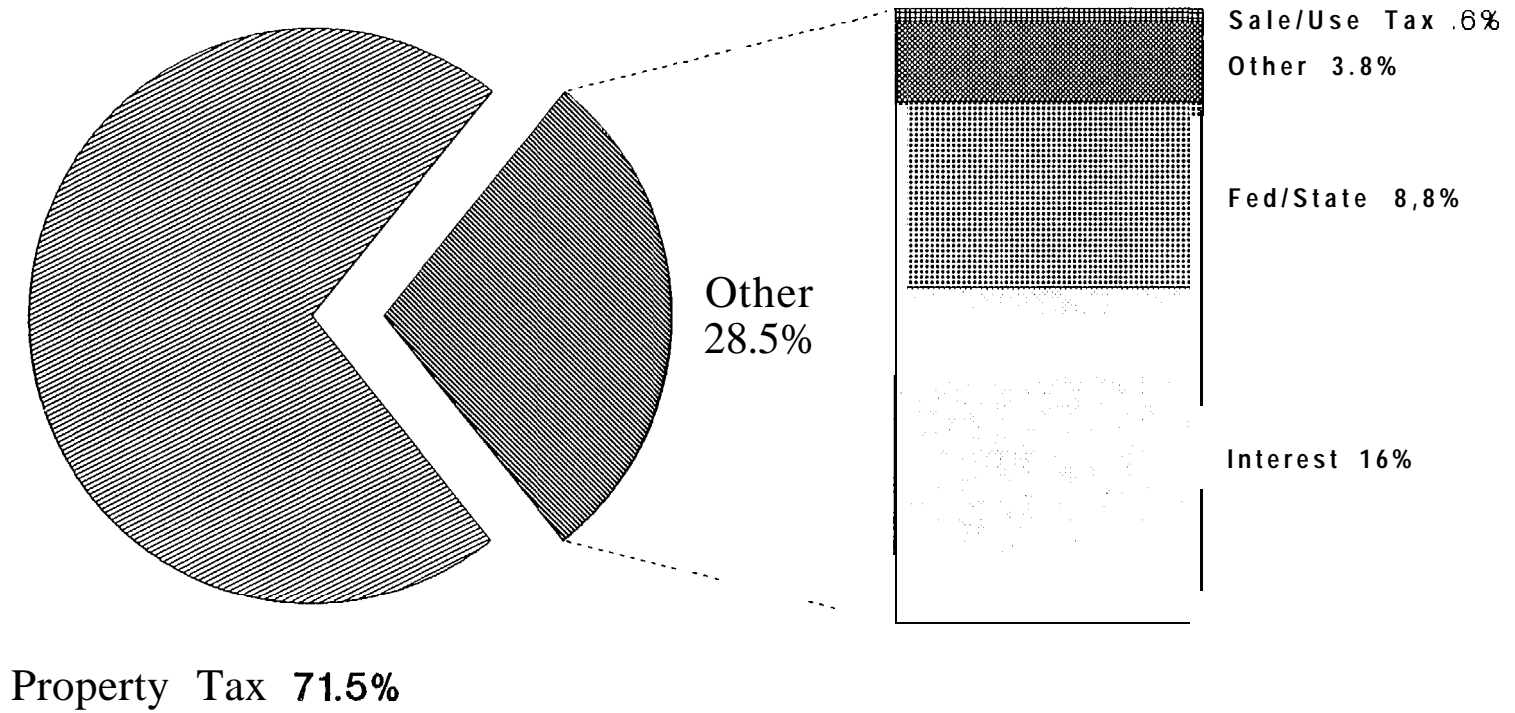
This was not always the case, but since the inception of the **NSB CIP** program the expectation of the NSB creation of jobs has become so great that it **would** be difficult to change. One of the initial reasons for the formation of the NSB was so that it **could** provide the infrastructure and services which up to that time had not been available on the North Slope. It took several years for this program to be **organized**, and for the NSB to win a lawsuit ensuring its right to tax oil production facilities at a rate high enough to fund the projected program. Figure 12-NSB graphs the funds expended by the NSB **CIP** each year. As can be seen, the NSB opted for a “rapid **buildout**” which resulted in a few years of very high expenditures. The reasons for this are many and various, but most informed observers believe that it was perhaps not the best way to go. Debt service is currently nearly 70% of the total **NSB** budget (Figure 13-NSB) and the high **level** of expenditures made efficient management of the projects difficult. There was also a certain level of graft and corruption (lawsuits now in progress) and a lower rate of expenditure **would** have provided more local people with employment for a longer period of time. As it is, many non-locals had to be “imported” to complete the slated projects. As can be seen from Figure 10-NSB, the **level** of **CIP** funding has had to decline dramatically because of the debt load acquired with the high expenditure years of the program. The **CIP** was funded with bonds sold on the basis of the future tax revenues of the NSB. When oil was at a high price these **bonds sold well**. With the current price of oil they do not sell so well and the projected revenue of the NSB against which they are issued is not quite as guaranteed.

Because the NSB **CIP** program primarily built village infrastructure, as facilities were built jobs were also created. Thus, full-time service employment has increased steadily as CIP projects were completed. **These** jobs now partially balance those “lost” because CIP activity has declined. The NSB is also actively creating other jobs in the **villages** through other programs. Learning from the mistakes made in the **CIP** program, these jobs more directly address locally defined needs and are not capital-intensive. This is very nearly the direct opposite of the **CIP** program during the 1981-1985 period.

Barrow is the only NSB village which has a significant private sector to its economy. This **will** be discussed below in a separate section after the nature of the private economy on the NSB has been examined a bit more in general.

Figure 11-NSB

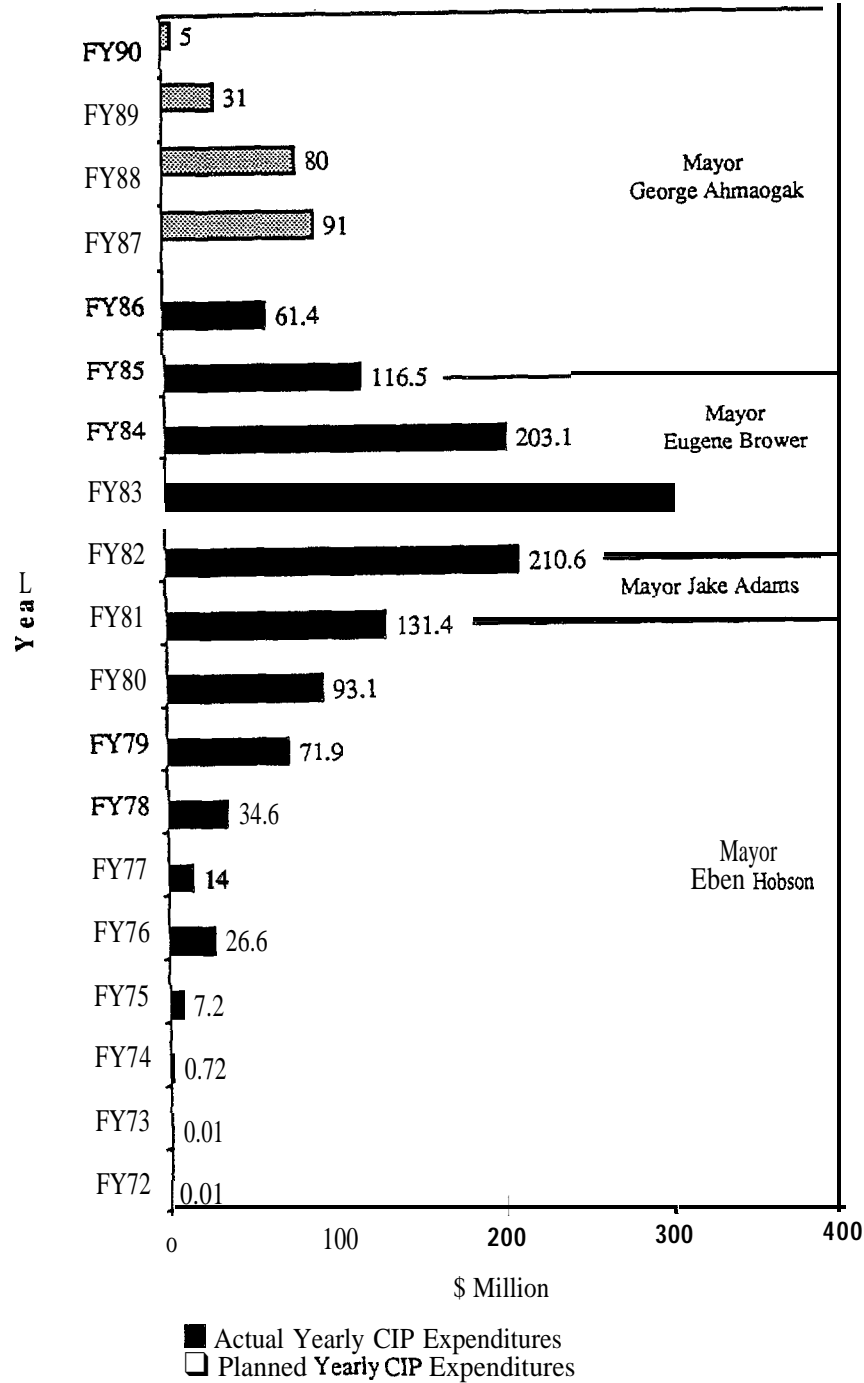
Revenue Sources
FY 89: \$316,034,650



Source: North Slope Planning Department

Figure 12-NSB

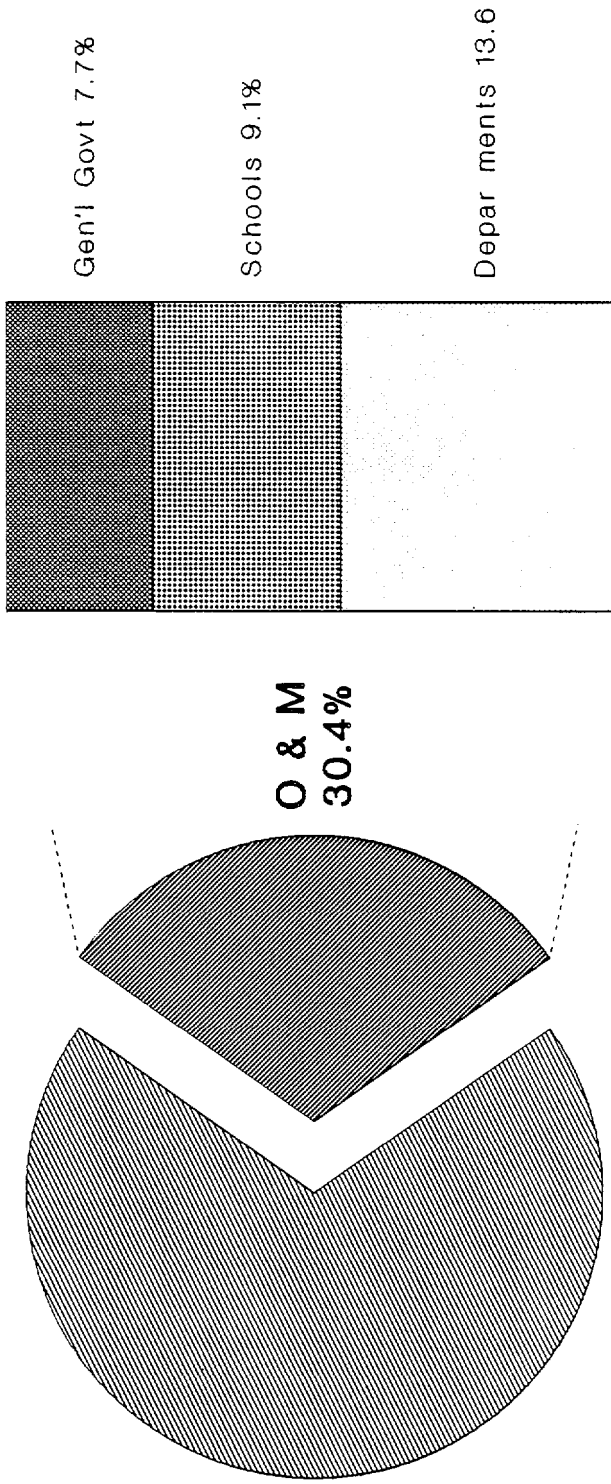
North Slope Borough CIP Expenditures
1972-1986 **Actual**; 1987-1990 Planned



Source: North Slope Borough

Figure 13-NSB

**Proportional Expenditures
FY 89: \$316,034,650**



Source: North Slope Planning Department

2. The North Slope Borough and ANCSA Corporations

Normally, local government and private corporations are conceived of as separate entities. On the North **Slope**, however, where the NSB and the **ANCSA** corporations were essentially born together, there is a close cooperation. As part of the NSB policy of local job creation, most village corporations are given preferred bidder status on any NSB project planned for that village. The regional corporation, Arctic **Slope** Regional Corporation (**ASRC**), was the principal financial support for the refounded villages until the NSB won its full taxing authority **rights** in the courts. Many of the same people active in the NSB government were also **officers** and board members of **ASRC**. The NSB and ASRC cooperate on regional planning and the **NSB** will contract preferentially with ASRC when they can supply the expertise required by the **NSB**.

E. The Private Sector of the Economy

1. Village Level

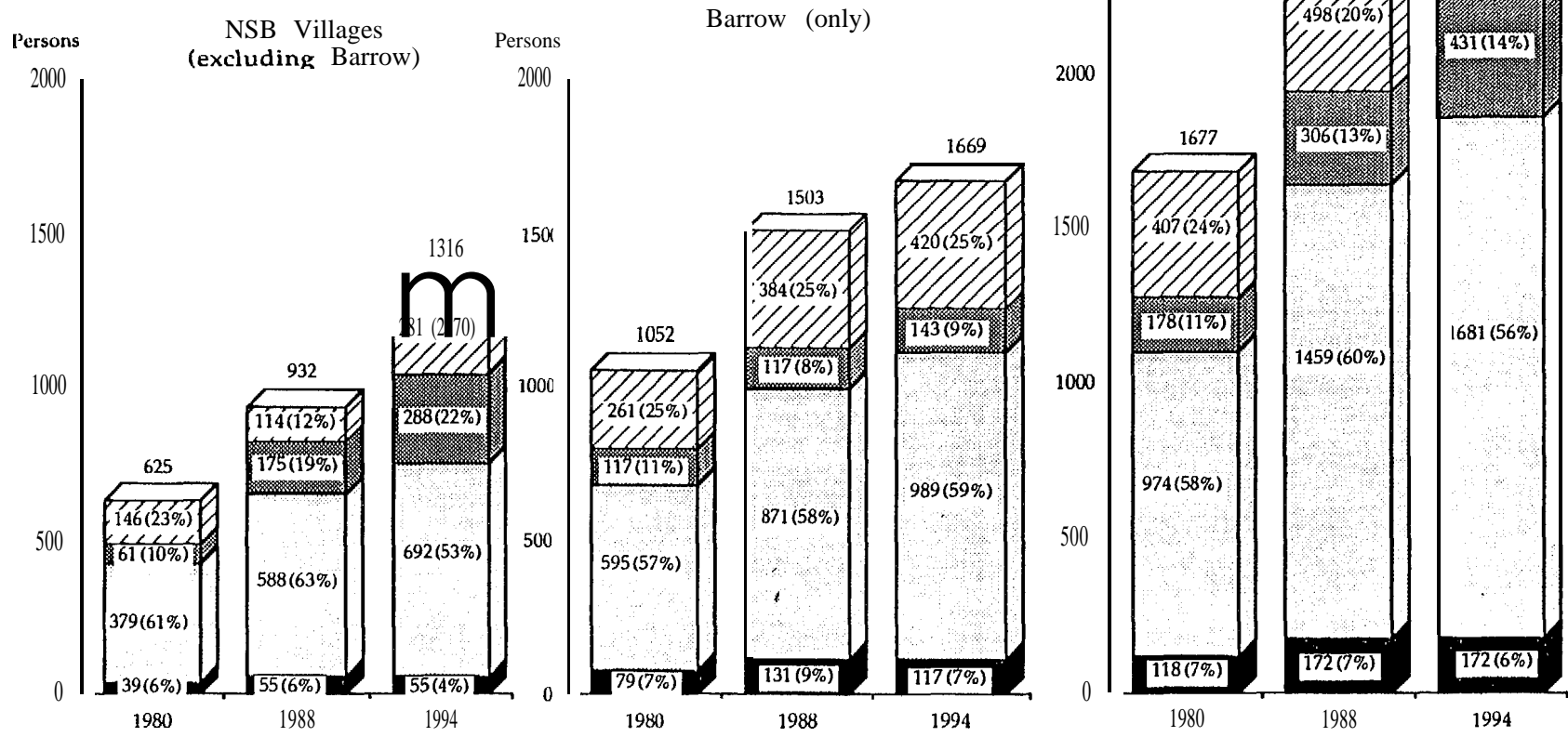
At the Native village level, there is a very **small** or no private sector (Figure 14-NSB). Barrow, because of its size, population diversity, and position as the regional hub, is the exception to this generalization and **will be dealt** with below. Most of the jobs reported to be in the public sector by the NSB 1988 census are actually village corporation jobs. In most cases these are created with NSB "pass through" money in the form of contracts with the NSB. The fuel business, which is one mainstay of **all** the village corporations, is subsidized by the NSB by receiving its **supply** of heating oil for free. The salaries of those who deliver it is paid from the money the village corporation charges for it. Many village corporations run a "**camp**" where transient laborers are encouraged to stay. Whenever possible, the **NSB** arranges for its personnel to use such facilities. If at all possible, the NSB **will** contract through the **local** village corporation for any NSB project in that village. Most often the village corporation will manage the project as a joint venture with a non-local non-Native corporation. This non-local corporation will then in most cases manage the project and the village corporation will endeavor to supply as much of the labor for the project as is locally available. This enables the village corporation to share in the overhead charges and profit even if it lacks personnel who **could** manage such projects. Unfortunately, most of the village corporations outside of Barrow still do lack such management personnel, although **several** are training such people. Most village corporations will stress job creation as their primary goal **in** any event, with profit generation as a secondary goal. The real object seems to be to stay in business so that local people can be employed. The final result, however, is that the village corporations on the North **Slope** for the most part operate as quasi-governmental agencies.

The only real private sector in most of the villages are the retail stores, taxi services in some communities, and airline agents. The main store in most of the outer villages is run by the village corporation. For the most part they stay in business but are **plagued** by uncollected credit owed. Most attempt to limit the credit which they extend, but find it difficult to deny a **fellow** villager in need. Wainwright has a second major store which is operated as a cooperative. That is, various residents of Wainwright own shares in the store. Because this store has a conscientious and capable manager, it now makes a regular profit. This has not always been the case. **All** other

Figure 14-NSB
Public vs Private Sector Employment:
NSB Villages, Barrow, and NSB Region

Fed, State, & Local Gov't
 Native Corp & Affiliate
 NSB Direct
 Other Private Sector

NSB Planning Department
 Census of Population and Economy, 1989.



stores in the outer villages are small, family-owned affairs. All are specialty stores in one sense or another and are generally higher-priced than the main store in the village. They **will** provide longer hours, different inventory, or a steadier supply of desired items.

Taxi services are limited to a few villages and most taxi operators do not make this their exclusive occupation. Almost **all will** work for wages at seasonal jobs, which are invariably in the public sector. Airline agents work under different arrangements with their employers, but usually do not earn enough to make that their only source of income (some work only in exchange for **travel** and free freight). In any event, most airlines on the North **Slope** are subsidized by sharing in the mail contracts to the outer villages and would not fly to them as often, or employ a local agent, in the absence of such mail contract subsidies.

It is not difficult to understand why the private sector is so little developed in the outer villages. There are few resources, in an economic sense. While there **would** seem to be opportunities in the **retail** sector to compete with the main village corporation store, the experience in each of the villages has been that it is very difficult for a small store to make a long-term profit. Interestingly enough, those stores which have lasted the longest are those run by **non-Inupiat**. It thus appears that the local explanation that such stores have problems because the owner is related to most people in the community and can either make a profit or **fulfill** the expectations of sharing, but not both, is correct. Most such entrepreneurs eventually bow to public pressure and will eventually **close** the store or be forced to extend enough "bad" credit so as to make a minimal profit. Some people (especially **non-Inupiat**) will leave the **village** after a while. Some of these stores operate intermittently. None have the capital or inventory to operate within the social context of a **NSB** village for the long term.

2. Regional Level

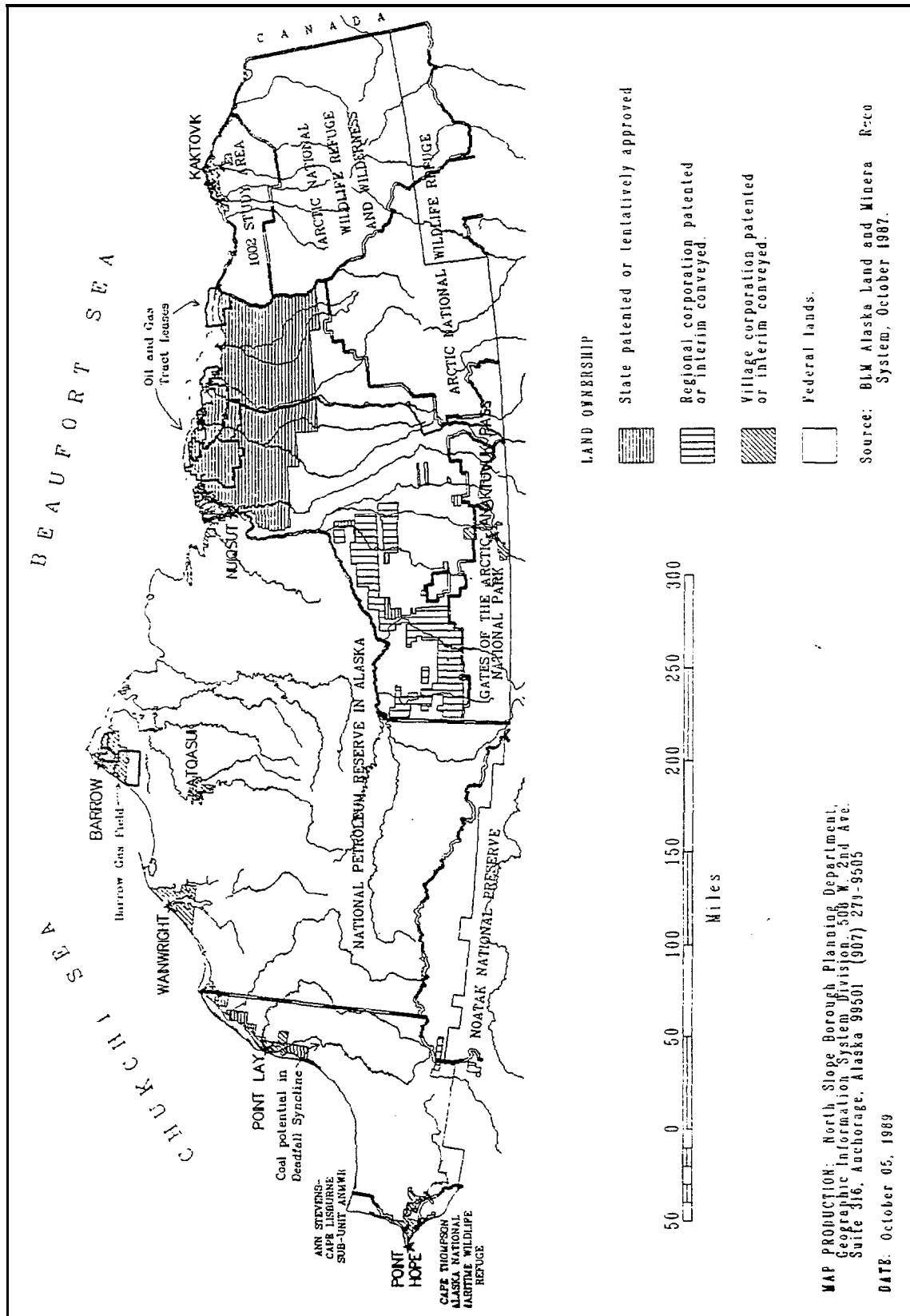
At the regional level, it is obvious that the real private sector (if there is one) is the oil industry and their subcontractors. The complexities of the tax laws as they apply to oil companies are beyond this report, so the extent to which oil companies can be said to be subsidized **will** not be developed. It is fundamentally true that the "primary producer," the source of the resource which is exchanged for the money which currently drives the system, is the oil industry. It is interesting in this regard to note that the **Inupiat** stereotype of the **oil** industry is of a group of carpetbagging, non-local **non-Inupiat** who know little or nothing about the area, who essentially take local resources for next-to-nothing and do little in the way of productive work. The oil industry of course sees itself as the mainstay of the **NSB** economy and stresses the extreme hardships imposed upon its workers, and has its own stereotype of the typical North Slope resident. The split nature of the **NSB** economy -- public and private, visible and invisible -- is one of the fundamental aspects of North Slope life.

The reason that most **oil** workers come from off-Slope is obvious. **Inupiat** do not possess many of the skills needed **in** the oil industry. Training programs have been implemented and a good number of individual have participated in them. Relatively few graduate, however, and of those who do not **all** accept work in the oil industry. Good information on why this **is** so does not exist, although some of the reasons have been touched on in the previous discussion of labor force participation.

ASRC, as the regional corporation, plays a primary role in the regional economy. They also have a clear ideological and political role. Their part in the refounding of Point Lay and Nuiqsut has been discussed in those village chapters. They cooperate with the AEWG and other regional non-profit organizations. Their business extends to different parts of the state and they have a formal relationship to each of the village corporations as the holder of the rights to the subsurface of all village corporation land. This has resulted in several joint ventures, so that both ASRC and the relevant village corporation could benefit from a resource located on or in the land involved. Most of these ventures have the appearance of private enterprise, but again are often behaviorally operated almost as a public trust.

The following map (Figure 15-NSB) displays land use patterns in the region. Areas of federal control are displayed, along with industrial development and Native Corporation lands.

Figure 15-NSB
NSB Region Land Ownership Patterns



SECTION III: FORMAL INSTITUTIONS

A. Government

1. North Slope Borough

Much of the following discussion is based on Morehouse and Lask 1978, **McBeath** and Morehouse 1980, **McBeath** 1981, and Morehouse et al. 1984.

The North Slope Borough (**NSB**) is more than a regional government. It was formed explicitly as a legal structure to be used to capture some portion of the value of the resources being extracted from the North Slope by non-residents for the use of local residents. The NSB has a clear social and ideological agenda. Given the inevitability of oil development, which was accepted on the North Slope, the NSB is responsible for seeing that local (**NSB**) residents benefit to the maximum extent possible. The definition of “benefit” is one sticking point, but is a combination of cash-income considerations and the protection of the integrity of the environment. Both are vitally important to the **Inupiat** people, and the formation of the NSB was an important step in acquiring a mechanism to influence both. The NSB can tax oil production facilities to provide the basis for a wage economy in the villages. The NSB also has planning and zoning powers, and the resources to hire competent staff, to safeguard environmental concerns. The two concerns are somewhat conflicting, but are by no means mutually exclusive. One way to look at political life (and perhaps life in general) is as a series of compromises. The NSB is simply the form which the **Inupiat** of the North Slope thought would be most effective in trying to achieve the most favorable compromises possible. An IRA or tribal organization may have been ideologically preferred (evidence one way or the other on motivations or preferences is, of course, impossible to discover at this late date) but ran into the problem of funding. Only a borough **would** have the civil authority to levy taxes and support the ambitious program envisioned by the **Inupiat** activists of the times.

The NSB exercises almost **all** political and municipal power on the North Slope, since all North Slope communities have ceded **nearly all** of their powers back to the NSB. This in effect makes all communities of the NSB components of one administrative municipality. The purpose was clearly to achieve an efficiency of scale and to prevent the duplication of administrative structures. Most NSB communities are also so **small** as to have difficulties staffing the full spectrum of municipal services, both in terms of money and personnel. The NSB could have provided the first to localities, but not the second. A central administration also provides much greater control and oversight of the use of funds and should be more efficient. The potential loss of local control is the major tradeoff, and in some areas is indeed perceived as a vitally important issue.

2. Formal Structure

The North Slope Borough is a civil government which incorporated on July 1, 1972 and later adopted a home rule charter in 1974. This of course means that all North Slope residents are eligible to vote and to be elected to office. Because the residential population of the North Slope is predominately **Inupiat**, however, the NSB has an essentially **Inupiat** identity. The impetus behind the formation of the NSB was the idea that such a regional government could be used to provide

services and build infrastructure for the residents **of** the North **Slope** on a par with that of the rest **of Alaska** and the lower-48. The preamble to the home rule charter **of** the NSB states:

We, the people of the North Slope Borough area, in order to form an efficient and economical government with just representation, and in order to provide **local** government responsive to the will of the people, and to continuing needs of the communities, do hereby ratify and establish this home rule charter of the **North Slope Borough of Alaska** (NSB Charter Commission 19741).

At the time of incorporation only the **powers** of education, assessment and taxation, and planning and zoning belonged to the NSB. Soon after incorporation, the NSB requested that all NSB communities cede essentially all municipal powers and responsibilities back to the NSB. Over a period of time this was accomplished. These powers include **police** protection, fire protection, utilities, roads, and **nearly** everything else. Most cities retained jurisdiction over **local** recreational programs and a few other minor programs. Barrow for a time retained fire and police powers, but eventually ceded them as well.

All elected officials at the NSB level have so far been **Inupiat**, although **non-Inupiat** have served as important staff members. Barrow is the only NSB community with a large percentage of **non-Inupiat** residents, but it is also the largest NSB community. The **non-Inupiat** population had been increasing, but, apparently more through immigration than natural increase, as the number of **non-Inupiat** children on the North **Slope** was insignificant until recently. The number of **non-Inupiat** and **Inupiat** adults is fairly even, however, especially for adult **males**. The future growth of the **non-Inupiat** population is dependent on how many families decide to stay in Barrow and the future job prospects attracting **non-Inupiat** adults. The **Inupiat** birthrate continues to be high so that it appears that **Inupiat** will continue to be the absolute majority on the North Slope. It is possible that **Inupiat** would not have a voting majority in Barrow at some point in the near future, but it does not appear likely that this **would be** possible for the **NSB** as a **whole** unless **oil** workers at **Prudhoe-Deadhorse** were somehow registered as NSB residents.

All elections for NSB officials are at large, with the entire NSB serving as one election district. The assembly is composed of seven members. Most **of** those elected reside in Barrow, with the typical assembly having one or two members from the outer villages. The mayor has very strong executive powers and is the chief administrator of the NSB. There is a common perception that outer village interests are **not** adequately represented by the present system, but to allow each village to have a representative **would** either then result in the underrepresentation of the population **of** Barrow or dramatically increase the size of the assembly.

3. Regional Issues

North Slope communities are to a large extent structured by the NSB. Most share a commonly designed infrastructure. That is, all have a large and modern fire station, most have a standard medical clinic, all have similar power plant and water treatment facilities, all have modern school facilities, **all** have a similar issue of NSB vehicles, and so on. The people to operate all these facilities are hired by the NSB and are the core of the work force in each of the villages. In addition, the NSB funds seasonal or *short-term* projects in each of the villages for the explicit “purpose of providing employment. These programs are indeed some of the principal reasons for the existence of the NSB.

Often, villagers think that the NSB has too much influence over life in the villages. There are comments that there is too much uniformity in the housing and other infrastructure provided by the NSB and that perhaps the villages would be better off if they had been forced to manage on their own. People in the outer **villages** are keenly aware of how dependent they are on NSB **officials** in Barrow for information and expertise. They are also wary of **non-Inupiat** influence which at times seems to be **all** too prevalent in Barrow at the NSB **level**. This creates a very ambivalent attitude. The villagers realize the benefits they are receiving from their relationship with the **NSB**, but at the same time also realize that they are now so dependent on the NSB that they have little ability for independent action. They are functionally components of a unified municipality with rather limited local options.

The CIP program can perhaps be used to briefly illustrate several of these points. Figure 12-NSB (see above) graphs CIP expenditures borough-wide by year. It can be seen that these peak rapidly in a few years and as rapidly decline. The reason for this decline is simple. The rate of expenditure was so rapid and **oil** prices were sufficiently unstable that the capacity of the NSB to issue bonds was significantly eroded. The NSB has mortgaged its future income for the present infrastructure built by the **CIP** program (currently 70% of the NSB budget is used for debt service). While most NSB residents readily agree that the present infrastructure is a vast improvement over the past, they question the *cost* of the program and the value received. Most, if given the opportunity, would have designed their homes very differently from those built by the **NSB**. These houses were designed by a firm from the lower-48. Most village residents question whether each village **really** needs as large a **clinic** and as large a fire station as has been built (on the other hand, no village wants to be the one left out, either). There were **well-known** cases of poor workmanship or outright fraud during some of the construction projects and it is generally recognized that one reason for the “rapid **buildout**” was self-seining advice from **non-Inupiat** advisors. **While** there is little published or **collected** information on this topic because of the obvious **legal** implications, it appears that **non-Inupiat** influence in the NSB may be fairly directly related to the level of **CIP** expenditures. After the formation of the NSB and the election of Eben Hopson as mayor, the **CIP** program was begun and remained fairly small. After the death of Hopson the CIP budget ballooned and the NSB administrative staff grew at an amazing rate. After two different administrations, a “reform” mayor was elected who presided over the curtailment of the **CIP** program in a return to what was termed **fiscal** responsibility. It would perhaps be claiming too much to say that NSB government has been scaled back, but the emphasis has **certainly** shifted from one of centralization and growth to a recognition that not all communities on the North Slope are the same and that each should each have a say in matters that concern the **services** provided to that particular community. A greater recognition of diversity

and more of a willingness to consider a non-standard approach is evident. There is the perception that this change was accompanied by a purging of some **non-Inupiat** advisors and a more critical appraisal of the use of experts in general. It must also be pointed out that **Inupiat** are learning to govern themselves with these political institutions “on the job” and that it is to be expected that later executives will have learned from the experience of earlier ones. *There* are **still** many problems evident in the present administration, of course, but it is the purpose of any political system to **try** to explicitly **deal** with the problems that exist.

4. City Councils

Here we will deal with those formal organizations known as city councils. Exclusively Native forms of city (or village) government will be dealt with in a separate section below. Point Lay is the only **NSB Native community** not to have a city council, because it is an unincorporated municipality. Barrow, Wainwright, Point Hope, **Kaktovik**, and Anaktuvuk Pass were all incorporated as cities under Alaska state law before the formation of the **NSB**. **Atqasuk** and **Nuiqsut** incorporated as cities once they were refounded as cities in the early 1970s. Once these communities incorporated, the city council became the effective local government and any pre-existing traditional council **lapsed** into inactivity.

Council Structure and the NSB

The city councils in each community basically consist of seven members. As far as is known, all city council members are elected at **large** simply as members of the council. At the first meeting of a newly elected council the seven members then elect their own officers. This is most often done by consensus and usually reflects the number of votes each member received in the general **election**. City council elections are most competitive and potentially divisive in Barrow and **Nuiqsut**. The other five communities with city councils are apparently much less contentious in this arena.

The city council is the formal organization with which the NSB communicates about **NSB-community** issues. Formally, this is done through the village coordinator (see description and discussion below). Pragmatically, the **village** mayor (and sometimes even individual council members) often handles such contacts directly. Most **NSB elected** officials have personal relationships with each other which come into play in such **matters**. Travel to Barrow also often provides the chance for face-to-face interaction. The NSB mayor **also** takes advantage of the opportunities to display his attention to individual outer village concerns as a way to combat the general perception that the **NSB** is oriented primarily towards the needs of Barrow to the detriment of the outer **villages**.

Not all communities are treated equally by the NSB, of course, and this is one of the central problems between individual villages and the NSB. Barrow is by far the largest community and thus receives by far the largest share of the funding. The outer villages perceive themselves as a group in opposition to Barrow, and think that as a whole they do not receive either the attention or the funds that they require or **deserve**. There are further distinctions among this group between those villages who believe other of the outer villages receive more than they do. Almost

all of them seem to believe that they are on the bottom of the **pile**, however, so that any objective judgement is impossible. **It** is interesting that the perception from Barrow (and the NSB) is that a disproportionate amount of money and attention is given to the villages because of their needs. On a per capita basis, the outer villages would certainly seem to receive more than Barrow. Much of this is for “overbuilt” facilities, however, which in many ways are not seen in the village as responsive to village needs and desires. Thus, a school may have excess capacity, and a fire station be essentially unused except for seven to ten days a year. Meanwhile, problems which the village perceives as having relatively low-cost solutions (keeping at **least** one steady PSO in the village, making the school more responsive to local direction) are not acted upon at the NSB level. The outer villages are **also** discriminated against in the provision of most social **services**, and the NSB recognizes this as a serious problem. This is unfortunately a result of the distance **between** Barrow and the other villages and the **small** size of these other communities. It is **simply** not cost effective to maintain professional staffs in any of the communities other than Barrow. Given the fact that for some **types** of services immediate **access** is essential if they are to be effective, residents of the outer villages must often do **without**. There has been some village discussion about attempting to regain some of the local powers ceded to the NSB, but in the absence of any funding source to provide adequate support this is unlikely to take place. Given the financial dominance of the NSB, probably what can be hoped for at best is some negotiated mechanism for more local control of NSB expenditures in the social service area.

Village Politics

City councils in **all** the villages function in much the same way (for purposes of this section, the Point Lay IRA Council will be considered as a city council **unless** explicitly excluded). All have a formally appointed meeting time and date once a month. Frequently this meeting is canceled due to the other time commitments of members and/or lack of business. Perhaps even more frequently, special meetings are scheduled to take care of pressing business or to coordinate with the visit of some individual from outside the village (NSB official, agency bureaucrat, researcher). Decisions are almost invariably made by consensus, with role call votes being in most cases a formality. Different villages do vary in the frequency with which disagreement is expressed in public council meetings in the form of dissenting votes, but reliable information on this is lacking and in **all** villages the ideal is to reach decisions by consensus. Most often a lack of dissent is taken as **consensus**.

All council members are elected at large and at their first meeting elect one of themselves as mayor. In this sense the village mayor is merely first among equals. All mayors strive to maintain this image, but some are certainly more directive than others. The mayor of **Nuiqsut**, for example, adheres strictly to an agenda and monitors discussion so that if it becomes unproductive or repetitive he can suggest that the item be tabled for a later meeting. He seldom will force an issue or a decision. He also **will** not let a discussion wander in the hopes of establishing a consensus where one is not evident. His goal is to have a productive meeting and to avoid the marathon meetings that are more typical of the North Slope. Most other mayors on the North Slope do not wish to exert this sort of direction, with the result that meetings are very **long** and relatively few people attend. On the North Slope as elsewhere, there seems to be a correlation between the (anticipated) length of the meeting and the amount of public attendance at that meeting.

Our own attendance at **public** meetings was rather limited and confined to a few **villages** which happened to have meetings during our periods of fieldwork. For the outer villages, those meetings conducted primarily in **Inupiaq** seemed to have better attendance than those conducted primarily in English. This may well have been a **result** of adjusting the language of the meeting to the people present, however, as the information we have on language **use** does indicate that it is quite context specific (see the language use section of this report). Meetings in Barrow are almost invariably in English since so many of the **NSB** functionaries involved are **non-Inupiat**. In Point Hope, Wainwright, and **Nuiqsut** almost **all** substantive public discussions at council meetings are in **Inupiat** (a complete change from the **Nuiqsut** of 1982-1983 described in **Galginaitis et al.** 1984). In Point Lay and Barrow English is the **main** language, with **Inupiaq** used when some degree of public privacy is desired. For the other villages no information is available.

5. The Village Coordinator

The NSB employs a full-time staff person in each of the villages to act as a village coordinator. Strictly speaking, the village coordinator is not a political or a governmental position. However, one of the village coordinator's duties is to be the liaison between the city council and the NSB mayor. The village coordinator is a member of the **NSB** mayor's staff, and is hired by the NSB mayor with the approval of the **NSB** assembly. The NSB assembly thus has to **rely** on the NSB mayor to relay any pertinent information from the village coordinators as the NSB Assembly has no other formal linkage to the individual city councils. The NSB Mayor thus structurally controls the flow of information between the city councils and the NSB Assembly. This is another reflection of the "strong **mayoral**" form of government of the NSB and of the structural primacy of the NSB Mayor.

All village coordinators are residents of the village they serve, of course, and are almost always hired only after the NSB mayor receives advice and recommendations from the city council as to whom they would like to see hired. The village coordinator thus has to answer to both the NSB mayor and the local city council and is sometimes caught in the middle. Since the village coordinator **is privy** to a good **deal** of information that other **people** are not (both on the NSB and the **local** level), this person often exercises an important informal **role in** decision-making in the **village** and can shape the official NSB perception of the village. The potential power of this position is recognized in most of the outer villages (Barrow has no village coordinator, being the seat of the **NSB** government), but there has been little explicit competition for the position or any blatant attempts to use the position for partisan or personal purposes. For the most part, informants say that the position entails a great **deal** of work which tends not to get done. Potentially, the village coordinator is a very influential gatekeeper.

Most **NSB** mayors have not relied solely upon the village coordinators in their relations with the **village** councils and other village affairs. This may have been a policy explicitly designed to prevent a village coordinator from using the position to establish a **village power base**. More likely, however, it reflects the North **Slope** reality that the village coordinator position is not always filled. When filled, the village coordinator is not always present in the village (and effective substitutes are rarely available). When present in the village, the village coordinator is not **always** available for work. **The** village coordinator may also, for various idiosyncratic reasons, be

unsuitable to handle certain matters. There are also times when the NSB mayor (or other NSB functionary) prefers to deal with the village mayor or other village people on a personal level, as mentioned above.

It is difficult to categorize the different villages in regard to the activities of their village coordinators because so much is dependent on the personality of that person. In most cases there has been a reasonable amount of stability in the position, with at most one change since 1987. Most village coordinators have an office and keep hours approximating those of NSB employees in Barrow. A recent policy requires that village coordinators call into Barrow every morning, since there has been some problem of some village coordinators not keeping regular office hours. This problem, combined with rapid turnover or sporadic performance during the previous years, was more prevalent in the smaller villages than in the larger ones. Again, these problems seem to have been corrected for the most part, although the key factor still appears to be finding a motivated individual to act as village coordinator who understands the potential of the position and is willing to do the legwork involved. There is a smaller pool of potential applicants in a smaller village and more potential for the village coordinator to be viewed as too "bossy" or too directive in such communities than in the larger population centers.

6. Native Governing Institutions

There are two main types of Native governing institutions on the North Slope: IRA institutions and non-IRA institutions. At the regional level there is a IRA type of government, the Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope. Individual villages have IRA and non-IRA councils whose level of activity varies from community to community.

With the exception of the IRA in Point Lay, these groups do not function as governments to any large degree. The extent to which they once did so is not entirely clear, as most were rather informal in nature, had no written charter, and operated mostly by consensus. There are a number of increasingly active, potentially governing institutions on the North Slope whose authority is based upon the Native ethnic identity of their constituent members. These institutions are found at both the village and regional levels.

There is also more than a little confusion among NSB Inupiat as to what governance is all about and exactly what rights and powers Native entities have or should have. 'A recent letter to the Tundra Times (November 13, 1989) from a Barrow Inupiat illustrates this point:

To all my brothers and sisters at Barrow it is not too late to have our powers back to us Eskimo Natives. We still could have our tribal government powers.

All we have to do is vote and transfer all the powers to tribal government. Once we do that, the city government, the North Slope Borough, the Arctic Slope Regional Corp., the Ukpeagvik Inupiaq Corp., the Inupiaq Community of the Arctic Slope and the

Native Village of Barrow **would** have to listen to our tribal government body **rules**.

We need our tribal rules and our powers back to us Eskimos in order to straighten our major problems we Eskimo Natives are having up at Barrow.

Once we have our tribal government going we would be **able** to manage our culture, our heritage, our sovereignty manage all subsistence birds, animals and marine mammals; manage our lands, our air and sea; teach our younger **people** our Native language as our ancestors have been doing for thousands **of** years; negotiate and trade. with the rest of the **world**, get **all** the money that the **oil** companies owe **us**; get **all** the lands that we have *lost* and our land rights; get all the artifacts that they have taken from us and have our own museum going.

The position taken here is extreme, but not atypical. It seems to be characteristic of the North Slope to either defer completely to the situation at hand or to state one's objections to it [especially if "it" is identifiably **non-Inupiat** in origin) as strongly and extremely as possible. Thus, this **letter** writer does not consider the ICAS or the Native Village of Barrow to be legitimate representatives of **tribal** government. At the same time, **he** is advocating a process to institute his idea of **tribal** government which uses the modern form of a referendum to establish an institution that would apparently correspond to the current federal definition **of tribal** government. This legal definition is as much a modern fiction as the present NSB governmental institutions in terms of continuity with the past. In fact, sovereignty as a concept depends upon the Western legal context to make sense and in that sense is a thoroughly modern idea. The concept of "tribe" was developed to try to understand certain aspects of aboriginal American society in the lower-48. Its applicability to northern Alaska is problematical at best in **an** ethnographic sense. **Its** major utility is polemical and political.

Unfortunately, the expectations for Native or **tribal** government are frequently far too high. The goals set by the above **letter** writer, while laudable, would *seem to* be impossible to achieve. The **people** who are operating the NSB, the Native Village of Barrow, **ASRC**, and **UIC** would be the same **people** who would be involved in any new tribal government. The **possible** sources of funds **would** be the same. Potentially some constraints would be relaxed and certain powers increased, but the real life problems of language and culture transmission, delivery of community services, maintenance of community facilities, and so on, would remain. **ANCSA** would remain a legal reality that, **unless** reinterpreted by the courts, extinguishes many of the aboriginal claims made by a tribal government. Needless to say, the quest for tribal government is beset with many pitfalls, both practical and ideological. Most tribal government advocates must be idealists (or lawyers). Those they strive against are often not opponents of tribal government as such so much as they are pragmatists trying to get on in the world as it exists. Their concern is to make the best deal

for themselves and their constituents as they can from the **material** at hand. Compromisers and reformers have seldom been **able** to work together, and this situation is no different.

Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) Organizations

Village Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) Organizations

Only Point Lay and Point Hope have formally recognized **IRAs** on the North Slope, and only Point Lay's is fully active. Point Lay is not incorporated as a city, so the village IRA is the only governing body in the village. The Point Lay village corporation (**Cully**) defers to the Point Lay IRA in almost **all** matters, so that there are no competing institutions. Ideologically, Point Lay residents have not accepted the provisions of **ANCSA** and **only** formed their village corporation and selected land at the insistence of **ASRC**. It may have been ASRC personnel who did most of the actual work involved in this process. In any event, Point Lay residents perceive a large gap between themselves and the NSB, which as far as they are concerned has accepted all the provisions of **ANCSA**. Point Lay people believe, as the only formally recognized **IRA** on the North Slope, that they can eventually win the rights to a large area of land in court. They have not yet filed in court and have no immediate plans to do so, and it is unclear how serious Point Lay residents are about this land claim (which the NSB, the state of Alaska, and the federal government contend was extinguished by **ANCSA** in any event).

The Point Lay IRA Council operates within Point Lay just as a city council **would**, for the most part. Only **Alaska** Natives can vote in elections, but informants say that if long-term **non-Inupiat** residents (not teachers or transient construction workers) wanted to vote that they would probably be allowed to. The **NSB** treats the IRA Council exactly as they **would** a city council, as the NSB does not want to deal with the complexities of an IRA's claims to the land. This does complicate land acquisition in Point Lay for NSB projects, which requires that the NSB obtain deeds from both the IRA Council and the village corporation. As the two boards overlap to a large extent, this can usually take place at the same meeting. More **detail** is presented about the workings of the Point Lay IRA Council in the Point Lay Case Study (in draft).

The Point Hope IRA was deactivated at some **indefinite** time in the past. There is no definite date in peoples' minds, as the **IRA** Council's functions more or less withered away or were assumed by other bodies. The city council took over most community **governance** matters. The two main economic activities of the IRA organization were reindeer herding and the village store. Reindeer herding ended in the Point Hope area in the early 1940s and the store was transferred to the village corporation (**Tigara**) in the early 1970s. There has recently been an attempt to revive the Point Hope **IRA**, for a variety of reasons. One is to protect village lands and resources from alienation, either through the provisions of ANCSA or the cm-rent financial problems of the **Tigara** Corporation. The village also wishes to exert more control over a geographically wider territory around the community (reflecting more accurately the area they use on a regular basis for subsistence) than they do at present. Villagers also **would** prefer to have a direct one-to-one relationship with the federal government and to exercise the sovereignty that such a relationship would **imply**.

Regional Native “Government” (IRA): **Inupiat** Community of the Arctic Slope

The **Inupiat** Community of the Arctic **Slope** (**ICAS**) was formed in 1971, and contracted with the federal government for the provision of various **services** and programs through the early 1980s. It also filed various lawsuits contesting oil exploration and development, and asserting **Inupiat** land rights to **offshore** regions of the North **Slope**. It is no longer active in the provision of services on the North Slope and has no active lawsuits, although it still exists as an organization. It is an unusual institution regarding the dealings of the federal government, in the sense that it is a regional IRA that was not a confederation. Local IRA governments did not merge to give a regional institution their authority because there were no local **IRA** governments other than in Point Lay (and an inactive one in Point Hope). The **ICAS** has solicited a resolution of recognition from **all** village councils and has attempted to have individuals sign certificates of affiliation with the **ICAS**. In general, they have *been* successful in this effort, but the lack of local IRA authority or legitimacy to transfer makes much of this effort mute. The Point Lay IRA has steadfastly refused to sign any sort of statement of **affiliation** with or recognition of the **ICAS**, believing that this **would** lessen their legitimacy as the only true IRA on the North **Slope**. Thus, the **ICAS** is an additional entity with no real governmental functions or authority. It is an attempt to represent the **Inupiat** of the North **Slope** directly as a regional group because of the lack of village **level IRAs** and traditional councils in most of the villages. According to **BIA** personnel, there is no provision for such a body to exercise any powers of governance. The **ICAS** has no federal charter, **nor** has any organization with such a charter ceded any of its powers to the **ICAS**. The **ICAS** exists as a nonprofit organization **parallel** to the **NSB**. It has provided services in the past and is attempting to regain these sorts of contracts. The **ICAS** is intended as a strictly **Inupiat** counterpart to the partially non-Native regional government entity. According to **BIA** personnel, from time to time there is **talk** of reactivating the essentially moribund **ICAS**, but there does not appear to be strong interest in it anymore outside of a few committed activists. Because there are at least a few individuals who are vocal about their strong commitment to it, their voices are heard in Washington, D. C., but there is little in the way of popular support on the North Slope. According to several **field** sources, as well as **BIA** administrators, a portion of the popular support **ICAS** enjoyed in its early **years** was eroded by a perceived radicalism on the part of some of the more active individuals in the **ICAS**. This has had the effect of “turning **people** off” to the institution.

Every village does have a representative to the **ICAS**, however, and the organization does maintain **an** office in Barrow. The current interest in reviving traditional councils and other forms of Native empowerment in the villages **also** owe a substantial debt to the **ICAS**. Overall, however, the influence of the **ICAS** is low in the outer villages. Its role in Barrow is less clear, but the reputation of some of its younger members as radicals limits its widespread appeal. The **NSB** and **ASRC** have both adopted a stance of reasonable negotiation and compromise on many of the issues on which the **ICAS** takes its most extreme positions. The **NSB** and the **ASRC** also have economic and other interests that the **ICAS** does not. In this respect the **ICAS** is similar to the Point Lay **IRA**. The **ICAS** does not recognize the legitimacy of **ANCSA**, whereas the **NSB** and **ASRC** do and are trying to work within the system established by **ANCSA**.

*Local **Level** Native Governments: Traditional Councils*

Each of the communities of the North Slope, with the **exception of** Kaktovik, has a more-or-less active Native governmental body. All of these are traditional councils, with the exception of the Point Lay IRA discussed above, and operate in tandem with the city government as the communities are incorporated under state law. This section will concentrate on the traditional councils (TC) as Point Lay's IRA has been discussed above.

In practice, there is little if any difference between **IRA** councils and traditional councils. What differentiates the two is that IRA councils have a constitution that is approved by the Secretary of the Interior who must also approve any amendments to the IRA constitutions. Traditional councils may, but are not required to, have governing documents. None of the traditional councils on the North **Slope** have governing documents. This makes traditional councils more flexible in theory. According to **BIA personnel**, however, the two forms of council are in practice the same. North **Slope BIA affairs** are handled through a Fairbanks office of the larger "Juneau Area Office" (which handles the area of the entire state of Alaska) and according to senior officials in the Fairbanks office, the powers of IRA and traditional councils are identical and there are no advantages to having one form or the other. The view from the village level, however, is that having a formal IRA government implies more **formal** recognition in Washington D.C. This view is translated into action by the push to form IRA councils in those NSB communities **which** now have "only" traditional councils. Clearly, whatever the present situation, **in** the past there were advantages to be **gained** by having a formal IRA council and the federal recognition and government-to-government relationship that implied, and individual on the North Slope perceive that as still important. Some individuals contacted in the Fairbanks BIA office were given the understanding that there is a dispute right now if a traditional (tribal) council has the same status as an IRA organization, and that while it is looking more and more like they do, it is still a point of **legal** contention. It seems apparent that given the range of understandings within the **BIA**, villages are **receiving** mixed messages as to the differences **between IRAs** and traditional councils. Kaktovik is the only NSB community without an active IRA Council or Traditional Council, according to a senior BIA official in Fairbanks, and is not interested in working with the BIA in the formation of one. The same official states that "they don't want to have anything to do with us."

While it is the case that all villages **except Kaktovik** have Native councils of one form or the other, their level of activity varies from one village to the next, and would seem to go in cycles for each village. These cycles seem to correspond with changes in the legal climate at the state and federal levels. In **Anaktuvuk** Pass, for example, there is a move to reactivate the traditional council for two primary reasons. The **first** is related to potential changes in federal recognition of Native rights and program eligibility. In particular, there is support in reactivating the traditional council to assure that residents **will** continue to receive IHS health care. According to **BIA** officials in Fairbanks (in March 1989), Congress wants to cut down the number of individuals who receive this care, and have passed but not yet implemented eligibility changes. It is now the case that a person - qualifies for care based on "blood quantum," but eligibility requirements may change to membership in a "tribe," which in this case would be a recognized community. This would be established with membership **roles** that **would** be decided upon by the individual local governmental entities based on "culture, custom, and tradition." The BIA would not be involved with this process. If local entities do not have **formal** roles, the **BIA could** be involved to the extent of providing a list of

clients, and then the **local** entity **could** confirm that these people **should** be members. There has been a renewed interest in tribal (traditional) and IRA organizations because of the anticipated eligibility changes. Second, tribal entities are needed to effectively take advantage of the provisions of the Indian **Child** Welfare Act. This act provides that if a Native mother is going to give a child up for adoption, and this child is going to non-Native parents, then the tribal entity **will be** notified, and can block the adoption if they so choose.

In Point Hope the motivation for a revival of a traditional or IRA council seems to be primarily to ensure the protection of land and resources **held** in common for the use of village residents. This reflects the perception that the village corporation is in economic distress and that **the** city council can only deal with matters within the Point Hope city limits. The traditional council is also seen as a way to involve the Elders in community government and as a method to facilitate the retention of the **Inupiat** culture and identity. These are also the basic reasons why Point Lay never incorporated as a city and retained its IRA as the governing body. **In Nuiqsut**, the movement for a traditional council started in the early 1980s and while it has not made a great **deal** of progress is still symptomatic of certain perceived problems. Protection of land and resources from alienation by the corporation, either through failure or a business **deal**, is one goal. Another is to involve Elders in the day-to-day operation of the government of the community. A third is the hope that a traditional council would alleviate some of the intracommunity conflict evident in some of the dealings between the city and the village council. To some extent the **two** organizations have formally defined different interests and certain conflicts are inevitable. A traditional council would incorporate both groups within its constituency and be a forum for the resolution of conflicts. No such mechanism or institution currently exists, other than the situationally dependent and often inconsistent effect of kinship ties. Little information specific to the other villages exists, **but** all are concerned with the potential effects of changes in eligibility requirements for various government programs.

Traditional councils also have two other effects which are **seldom** mentioned in the outer villages in this context but which are readily understood when brought up by researchers. Traditional councils are a way to ensure continued Native control of the political process. Since **non-Inupiat** are not yet perceived as any sort of a problem in the outer villages (and indeed are often considered valuable resources) it is not surprising that this consideration is largely unarticulated. **If** resident **non-Inupiat** populations were to increase in the outer villages, it is likely that this would become a voiced concern. Not all **Inupiat** want a strictly Native-controlled local government, of course, so that city councils **would still** have a role to play. Nonetheless, traditional councils are one means to assure local **Inupiat** hegemony. A second effect is not unrelated to this. One common complaint of all the outer villages is that Barrow controls far too much of local affairs. Traditional councils would be one way to exclude the NSB (and Barrow power brokers) from the local political process. Locals would then be able to make their own direct decisions about programs and facilities to be supported, and could perhaps develop sources of funding other than the NSB. The Native Village of Barrow expresses these same concerns, but because of Barrow's status as the headquarters for the NSB cannot realistically expect to escape the NSB influence in the same way that the outer villages conceivably could.

The definition of "tribe" in Alaska has been a bit more problematic than in the lower-48. **In** the lower-48, eligibility for services administered by the **BIA** is generally limited to historical tribes and communities of Indians living on reservations, and their members. Unique circumstances in **Alaska**,

however, have resulted in multiple, overlapping eligibility of Native entities. The 1936 amendments to the Indian Reorganization Act, applicable only to Alaska, authorized groups to organize as tribes which are not historical tribes and are not residing on **reservations**. They include groups having a “common bond of occupation or association, or residence within a well-defined neighborhood, community, or rural district..” More recent Indian statutes specifically include Alaska Native villages, and village and regional corporations defined or established under **ANCSA**. In the Indian Self-Determination Act, for example, an Indian tribe is defined as including “any Indian tribe, band, nation, or other organized group or community, including any Alaska Native village or regional or village corporation as defined in or established pursuant to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act which is recognized as eligible for the special programs and services provided by the United States to Indians because of their status as Indians . . .” **ANCSA** defines a Native village as “any tribe, band, clan, group, village, **community** or association in Alaska listed in [43 U.S.C. 1610 or 1615], or which meets the requirements of this chapter, and which the Secretary determines was composed of twenty-five or more Natives.” The list of Native entities appearing in the Federal Register eligible for **BIA** programs includes **all** of the Alaska entities meeting any of the following criteria which are used in one or more federal statutes for the benefit of Alaska Natives:

1. “Tribes” as defined or established under the Indian Reorganization Act as supplemented by the Alaska Native Act.
2. Alaska Native villages defined in or established pursuant to **ANCSA**.
3. Village corporations defined in or established pursuant to **ANCSA**.
4. Regional corporations defined in or established pursuant to **ANCSA**.
5. Urban corporations defined in or established pursuant to **ANCSA**.
6. Alaska Native groups defined in or established pursuant to **ANCSA**.
7. Alaska Native group corporations defined in or established pursuant to **ANCSA**.
8. Alaska Native entities that receive assistance from the **BIA** in matters relating to the settlement of claims against the United States government, such as in the Act of June 19, 1935, Pub. L. 74-152, as amended by the Act of August 19, 1955, Pub. L. 89-130.
9. Tribes which have petitioned to be acknowledged and have been determined to exist as tribes pursuant to 25 **CFR** Part 83.

All of these entities are not considered equal in the prioritization of receipt of services provided by the **BIA**. According to **BIA** staff members in Fairbanks, the priority list is as follows: (1) IRA councils; (2) traditional councils; (3) city councils [in Native communities]; and, (4) **ANCSA** corporations.

Funding for Native governmental entities on the North **Slope** come from the **BIA** via the Juneau Area Office (which is responsible for the entire state of Alaska) and then through the Fairbanks Agency (office). Funding for the Fairbanks Agency is divided between communities in the Interior of Alaska and those on the North Slope in a ratio of approximately **75:25**. Among the villages of the North Slope, funding is allocated on the basis of population.

Funding for “the North Slope as a whole was approximately \$850\$300 for **FY** 1988, and nearly that same **level** is projected for **FY** 1989 (see Table 29-NSB). During **FY** 1988, approximately half of the funding went to Barrow, and this portion is expected to remain constant for **FY** 1989. The North Slope Borough **itself** is not **eligible** for funding because it is not a Native entity. In addition to direct funding, there is also a revolving loan fund available to Native entities, and BIA staff help with budgets is available for the local entities.

Governance, Jurisdiction and Native Governments

At present, it is not exactly **clear** what governance the Native governments on the North Slope, whether they be IRA or traditional councils, have. On the one hand, **ANCSA** clearly extinguished claims to ownership of land by these entities. Jurisdiction over particular areas, on the other hand, is another matter, as ownership and jurisdiction do not necessarily coincide. For example, the State of Alaska does not own all of the land in the state, but the state still retains legal jurisdiction, and has a geographically bounded span of control. Native hunting and fishing rights on lands no longer owned or claimed as a **result** of ANCSA were partially restored with **ANILCA**. Whether or not **IRAs** do still have jurisdiction to regulate the use of formerly controlled lands (traditional land use area), even in areas where development has taken place such as in and around onshore oil production areas for example, is unknown according to **BIA** officials in Fairbanks. This uncertainty is due to the fact that such issues have not yet been legally tested.

B. Native Corporations

Under **ANCSA**, there were two levels of corporations formed. Each village formed a village corporation, which gained the surface **rights** to the **land** which it **selected**. The **regional** corporation (**ASRC**) gained the subsurface rights to **all** village corporation land in the regions, **plus all** rights to **ASRC** selected land. These corporations each have relations with the two levels of **civil** government on the North Slope, the NSB and village city councils, as **well** as with each other. The situation is at least as complex as that simple summary implies. The civil governments are discussed above. What will follow is a brief general description of each of the types of corporations, followed by a discussion of relations between institutions.

Table 29-NSB

Bureau of Indian Affairs
Juneau Area
Fairbanks **Agency**
(North Slope Region)

<u>PROGRAM</u>	<u>FY 1988</u> <u>ALLOTMENT</u>	<u>DIFFERENCE</u>	<u>FY 1989</u> <u>TENTATIVE</u> <u>ALLOTMENT</u>
Scholarships	137.9	0.0	137.9
Adult Education	0.0	0.0	0.0
Adult Vocational Training	115.6	0.0	115.6
Other Employment Assistance	11.3	0.0	11.3
Other Aid to Tribal Government	191.2	-2.0	189.2
Social Services	62.3	-0.6	61.7
Self-Determination Grants	0.0	0.0	0.0
Training/Technical Assistance	0.0	0.0	0.0
Credit and Financing	0.0	0.0	0.0
Road Maintenance	0.0	0.0	0.0
Natural Resources, General	0.0	0.0	0.0
Agriculture	0.0	0.0	0.0
Agriculture Extension Services	0.0	0.0	0.0
Forestry	0.0	0.0	0.0
Water Resources	0.0	0.0	0.0
Wildlife and Parks	142.5	-0.4	142.1
Minerals and Mining	60.0	0.0	60.0
Trust Services, General	0.0	0.0	0.0
Environmental Quality Services	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other Rights Protection	0.0	0.0	0.0
Real Estate Appraisals	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other Rights Protection	131.4	0.0	131.4
Executive Direction	0.0	0.0	0.0
Administrative Services	0.0	0.0	0.0
TOTAL	852.2	-3.0	849.2

Note: Figures are in thousands of dollars.

Source: Branch of Budget Management, August 15, 1988, as amended by BIA staff, March 1989.

1. Arctic Slope Regional Coloration (ASRC)

ASRC, as the regional corporation, was endowed with enough resources **under** the provisions of **ANCSA** so that it could immediately compete as a corporate entity. There were few **Inupiat** trained in the management **skills** required, so that **non-Inupiat** expertise had to be hired **while Inupiat** acquired these skills. For the most part the transition to **Inupiat** management has taken place. ASRC has taken its responsibilities to invest in the region seriously and has entered joint ventures with many **of** the village **corporations**. This was one **role** envisioned for the regional corporations under **ANCSA**. ASRC has also invested in other regions **of** Alaska and has developed certain skills that **enable** it to bid on projects throughout the state. **ASRC** has an active program to **place Inupiat** in industrial jobs, some as the result of a prior industry training program. **ASRC** played a key role in the refounding of the “new” communities and was instrumental in the organization and **first** several years of almost all the NSB village corporations. ASRC is organized as a for-profit **corporation** and has a shareholder-elected board of **directors**.

2. Village Corporations

Although each NSB village corporation had the option to incorporate as a not-for-profit corporation, all are organized as for-profit institutions. Most are active primarily within its single village. Point Hope had conducted some construction projects in other villages (mostly Point Lay) but is currently in bankruptcy and thus its activities are confined to Point Hope. **Tigara**, the Point Hope corporation, does still maintain its office in Anchorage, but **Tigara** Corporation will be discussed with the other five relatively inactive, village-bound village corporations. **Kuukpik Corporation (Nuiqsut)** and **Ukpeagvik Inupiat Corporation (UIC, Barrow)** both also have offices in Anchorage and actively pursue contracts outside of their native villages. These two corporations will be discussed separately because of their different characteristics.

The typical NSB village corporation operates the village **fuel** business (subsidized by the **NSB**), may run a camp for transient workers, usually manages the main store in the village, and contracts with the NSB (usually with the help of a non-Native joint venture corporate partner) for any construction projects planned for the village. Most of these village corporations are essentially managed by one or two key people. There are **certainly** more individuals who work in the offices and contribute to decisions, but a very limited number of people are considered the “business” **people** in these villages. Very few ventures are initiated by these corporations. Rather, they wait to be approached by the NSB, **ASRC**, or a non-Native contracting firm about an upcoming project or business opportunity. Most are on a relatively good financial basis at present, but have little **in** the way of cash reserves. Most have experienced extremely difficult times in the past, coming **close** to bankruptcy. It is the lack of qualified village financial personnel, combined with a lack of resources, a distrust of hired “experts,” and the experience of losing money on investments and contracts **in** the past that apparently account for the relative inactivity of these corporations and their concentration on “sure things.” They know that the NSB **will** not allow them to lose money on a NSB contract. That has been their experience to the present time at least. The **fuel** business is guaranteed as a money-maker, since they receive the oil, delivered to the village storage tanks, for free from the **NSB**. These corporations concentrate on projects and investments that **will** create paying jobs for residents rather than make a profit on money invested. Such returns are

appreciated but are seen as too small to adequately support the families of the village. A lower-48 analogy would be that of a New York state dairy farmer who lives off of his cash flow rather than his profit. This also describes the sort of problems most of these corporations have experienced with the management of the village store, with Point Lay and Wainwright being perhaps the most extreme examples. These problems seems to be cyclical in nature. Gradually, uncollectible credit accounts accumulate until the store has difficulty with cash flow and maintaining inventory, at which time the village corporation provides some more capital (and may try to collect some of the money owed). Stores in general are doing better now than in the past.

The **Kuukpik** Corporation, in **Nuiqsut**, has not had a history vastly different from those corporations in the group just discussed. It started with no greater resources **and**, in fact, experienced the same sort of management shortage, bad investments, and store problems as they did. The **Kuukpik** Corporation even had a **non-Inupiat** accountant abscond with a substantial amount of their funds. In spite of this fact, they are healthy as a corporation at the present time. This can probably be attributed at least in part to the management style established by the **first** president of the corporation, now mayor of **Nuiqsut** and no longer involved with the corporation (for various reasons, but his concern for making a profit rather than treating the corporation as a village “cash cow” was among them). There can be little doubt that his management style enabled the current administrators of the **Kuukpik** Corporation to acquire their current skills. This man’s orientation to the necessity for the corporation to earn a profit has also been maintained. This has caused some comment in the village that the **Kuukpik** Corporation is not interested enough in creating local jobs (also a reason the first president is not longer involved with the corporation). This is also the criticism in the other villages where the **Kuukpik** Corporation has projects in joint venture with a non-Native firm. Be that as it may, it would seem that this man has stamped his personality and business orientation on the **Kuukpik** Corporation. It was this man who energized the consortium of outer village corporations, Pingo Corporation, and established it as a conduit for **Inupiat** workers in the **oil** fields. This corporation went bankrupt (for reasons that are unclear), and ASRC and UIC have assumed many of its programs through a joint venture, **Piquniq** Management Corporation (**PMC**). The focus of **PMC** has changed somewhat and residents of Barrow (and especially shareholders of UIC) clearly have some advantages, but people from the outer villages are still placed through its services. A major change is that large contracts are pursued even off-Slope. There is some interest in reviving the outer village consortium, but mainly from those in **Nuiqsut** who were prominent in the first such effort. It is interesting that the corporation is continuing many of the policies of the **first** president even though they were clearly one of the factors which led to the general dissatisfaction with him and his failure to be reelected as a corporation official. His personal corporate leadership has been rejected, but his general policies still seem to be in effect (the **political** aspects of the personal reputations of leaders who must handle valued resources in the public or shareholders’ interest is not of central concern here and is not germane to the point in hand).

UIC, in Barrow, started with the big advantage of being many times larger than any of the other village corporations. **UIC** thus had many times the capital of the other village corporations. **UIC** also had the advantage of being able to draw **upon** a much larger talent pool, possessing a much wider variety of skills, than did the other village corporations. **In** many ways **UIC** has **succeeded** even more than ASRC has. ASRC has been more consistently profitable, at a higher level, but has an advantage in resource endowment (especially **in** terms of subsurface rights). ASRC **also** has responsibilities to the other village corporations that UIC does not, that at times reduce the pure

profitability of the corporation. ASRC and **UIC** do not compete directly for the same sort of contracts, but do on occasion make joint ventures since ASRC has made a conscious effort to develop the professional skills that complement the construction components of the village corporations. ASRC clearly has targeted the professional consulting needs of the NSB as well, although the NSB continues to use a variety of consultants. **UIC** has been able to effectively compete for projects in all of the other villages in the past and continues to do so. For the most part, the NSB now awards these contracts to the resident village corporation if it is at **all** able to submit a reasonable bid. **UIC** bids successfully on many of the Barrow projects, however, and has work in several different parts of the state. **UIC** does not receive the **fuel oil** business subsidy that the other village corporations do because most homes in Barrow are heated by natural gas. The **fields** are right outside Barrow and the gas is supplied by **BUECI** at a very low rate.

3. Corporate-Government Relationship

ASRC and the NSB share a common history. Both were born in the same period and the people involved in the institutions overlapped to a great degree. This is still true, but whereas in the 1970s individuals served in both institutions at the same time, the pattern now is for an individual to serve serially in one and then the other (perhaps alternating several times). The NSB and ASRC share some common interests, and cooperate when they can, such as on the ASRC demonstration coal project. The funds for this are supplied by the NSB and merely “passed through” ASRC. The coal mine is on ASRC land (although disputed by the Point Lay **IRA**). When interests do not coincide, as on certain proposed offshore oil lease sales, the two entities disagree. The management of each organization is sophisticated enough to separate business from personal relationships, and to recognize when business interests must be sacrificed for the **public** good (although there is quite a bit of public debate concerning how to define this particular point).

ASRC and the city councils do not have much **formal** interaction. Most residents of the outer villages think of ASRC only in relation to their village corporations. The “new” villages remember the help that ASRC gave to them in their early years, but this has few concrete behavioral manifestations.

The relationship between village corporations and the **NSB** has been described above. For the most part the NSB has a vested interest in supporting the village corporations. Those able to support themselves (mainly **UIC** in Barrow) are encouraged to do so, but the special circumstances that make this difficult for the outer village corporations are explicitly recognized. The NSB directly subsidizes heating costs in the villages by providing each village with enough fuel oil to heat all private residences free of charge. The village corporation is then in charge of distribution and is allowed to charge enough to cover the costs of delivery and administration. Most village corporations make a profit on this, and for at least some it is the largest source of corporate revenue. The NSB also encourages its employees to stay at **village** corporation-operated camps or **hotels** when they are in the villages, as well as making it a standard part of most outside contractors’ contracts. This supports the relatively high rate schedule for such camps as well as generating most of their business. When village corporations are in a cash flow crisis or face some other emergency, the NSB is usually the first organization that they will approach.

The relationship of ASRC and the village corporations has been implicit in the above discussion. ASRC, the NSB, and UIC are essentially equal **players** and where their interests coincide, or they can combine resources to pursue a common goal, they do so. The village corporations other than UIC are perceived as dependent players, and ASRC is the entity that was formally charged with their oversight for the first ten years after the passage of ANCSA. Since that period expired both ASRC and the NSB look out for the village corporations but encourage independence to the extent possible. Both try to avoid direct subsidies and try to develop expertise within the village corporations when they work together. ASRC has entered into joint ventures with most of the village corporations at one time or another, if only for the gravel used in various NSB projects. Again, these are mainly confined to the village in which the village corporation is resident.

C. **Health** and **Social** Services

1. Overview

The health care system of the North Slope represents a particular form of institutional adaptation to the geographical and **sociocultural** features of the region. This adaptation maybe examined from both the types of care offered as well as the different **levels** of care available. The types of care offered reflect the interaction of three **sociocultural** systems: traditional Native Alaskan, **contemporary** rural Alaskan, and **contemporary** Euro-American. This interaction is most visible in the North Slope Borough's (NSB) Department of **Health** and **Social** Services. The department is responsible for providing health care in the form of traditional Native healers, community health aides (**CHAs**) who provide primary care in the villages, and Native and Euro-American professionals with organizational and clinical expertise who both manage the **overall** programs and provide specialized **services** for North Slope residents in need.

A range of medical **services** also is evident with respect to the levels of care available and the geographical distribution of these levels throughout the region. The primary level of care is found in the villages. Each of the **small** villages in the region possesses a clinic staffed by CHAs or physician's assistants. The secondary level of care exists in the form of Public Health Service (**PHS**)/**Indian** Health Semite (**IHS**) hospitals which provide both inpatient and outpatient services. Clinical conditions of village residents too serious to be treated at the level of the village clinic are usually transported to these facilities. The regional hospitals also provide more specialized forms of care not found in the villages. The third level of care exists in the form of urban medical centers located in Anchorage and Fairbanks with the **Alaska** Native Medical Center in Anchorage providing inpatient care for Alaskan Natives throughout the state.

Early studies of the **health** care system of the NSB emphasized the limited capacity of existing agencies and facilities to respond to the adverse consequences of rapid social, economic, and cultural change. For instance, based on the level of emotional attachment to traditional subsistence activities, Kruse and his colleagues (1983:283-284) concluded that **Inupiat** social well-being would decline with additional anticipated offshore development, combined with the completion of major Capital Improvement Program (**CIP**) projects by the late 1980s, particularly if North Slope institutions were ineffective in influencing development activities- This assessment was supported in a study by **Worl** and her associates (1981:127), which claimed that "the health department has not found it possible to offset the **social** health impacts of rapid development." This study also

pointed to the ambiguous situation faced by the health **services** agencies who were called upon by the community to assume social responsibilities traditionally held by individuals, families, and the community as a whole, yet criticized for their efforts to do so by elements of the community who felt that the socially and culturally patterned response should be supported rather than replaced by such formal service institutions.

Whether these predictions have actually come to pass may be determined from an examination of the level of community satisfaction with health **services** and rates of morbidity and mortality. With respect to community satisfaction, a survey conducted for the NSB Department of Health and Social **Services** by Dann and Associates in March 1987 found that 43.3% of the NSB residents **surveyed** thought the Barrow IHS hospital was doing a poor to fair job of providing health care services versus 34.5% of respondents who believed the hospital was doing a good to excellent job. Similarly, 47.0% of the respondents felt the NSB was doing a poor to fair job of providing **services** while only **30.2%** believed the NSB **services** were good to excellent. The level of satisfaction with NSB CHAS appears to be somewhat higher with 44.7% of the respondents expressing satisfaction and 35.4% feeling the services provided. by the aides were poor to fair.

2. Administration

Primary health care **services** on the North Slope are provided through the combined efforts of the Alaska Area Native Health Semite (AANHS -- the U.S. Public Health Semite) and the NSB Department of Health and Social **Services**. The **Maniilaq** Association Health Division also provides services to Point Hope residents through its contract with the **IHS's Kotzebue** Service Unit and the **Tanana Chiefs** Conference, Inc. provides services to residents of Anaktuvuk Pass through its contract with the Interior Alaska **Service** Unit in Fairbanks.

The NSB is responsible for health care services in the villages and in Barrow. Although the NSB assumed the area-wide authority for health services and hospital facilities in **1974**, its provision of health services has actually been a gradual development. It began in 1975 with management of the village clinics and community health aide and emergency medical **services** programs. In 1978, the mental health, eye care, community health representative, and dental services programs were added and the health education program was implemented in 1979. In 1980, the NSB assumed responsibility for maintenance of the Barrow hospital, while the public health nursing program (state contracts) and environmental **health services** were added to the NSB'S functions in 1981 (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984581-582). The department currently supports between 30 and 32 different programs.

The department is divided into three major divisions: social health **services**, physical **health services**, and behavioral health services (Figure **16-NSB**). Social health services include senior home health services, public assistance (an energy assistance program), day-care center and infant learning programs, health education, and health board support. Physical health services include village health **services** such as the **CHA** Program and Traditional Medicine Program, hospital support services, public health nursing, emergency medical services, eye care, and dental services. As part of the Traditional Medicine Program, the department employs a traditional **Inupiat** healer, based in Barrow. Most of her healing techniques involve massage and manipulation of bones and muscles and an **Inupiat** form of acupuncture. Behavioral health services include substance abuse treatment

services, the community mental health center, Arctic Women-in-Crisis (**AWIC**), and children and youth services. These programs also provide **aftercare** for residents who have gone through alcohol or mental health treatment programs **elsewhere**.

The Department of Health and Social **Services** has been the largest borough department since 1980. Its **annual** budget grew from \$1.9 million in 1980 to \$8.7 million in 1985. Similarly, its employment increased from 72 in 1980, to 121 in 1985, and to 175 in 1988. In 1985, **non-Inupiat** staff outnumbered **Inupiat** 64 to 57. **Inupiat** are concentrated in the maintenance and paraprofessional levels, whereas **non-Inupiat** are primarily in professional and administrative slots. However, the turnover rate is high among non-Inupiat.

Department policies and priorities are established in conjunction with the **NSB** Regional Health Board, comprised of nine members representing all eight villages of the **NSB**. Members are appointed by their city councils and then confirmed by the mayor and assembly of the **NSB**. Meetings are **held** quarterly and representatives bring village concerns and needs to the attention of the department. However, according to **Worl, Worl, and Lonner** (1981:127), the health board:

unlike the school board, has an advisory role only. It is a sounding board for residents' concerns and complaints and acts as an advocate to the **health** department in pursuing an appropriate institutional response. The health board tends to support program goals identified by the **health** department and the public. Due to turnover in membership, lack of training of board members, and lacking responsibility for **policy** formation, the **health** board has not pursued an increase in power nor shifted from advocacy to program direction.

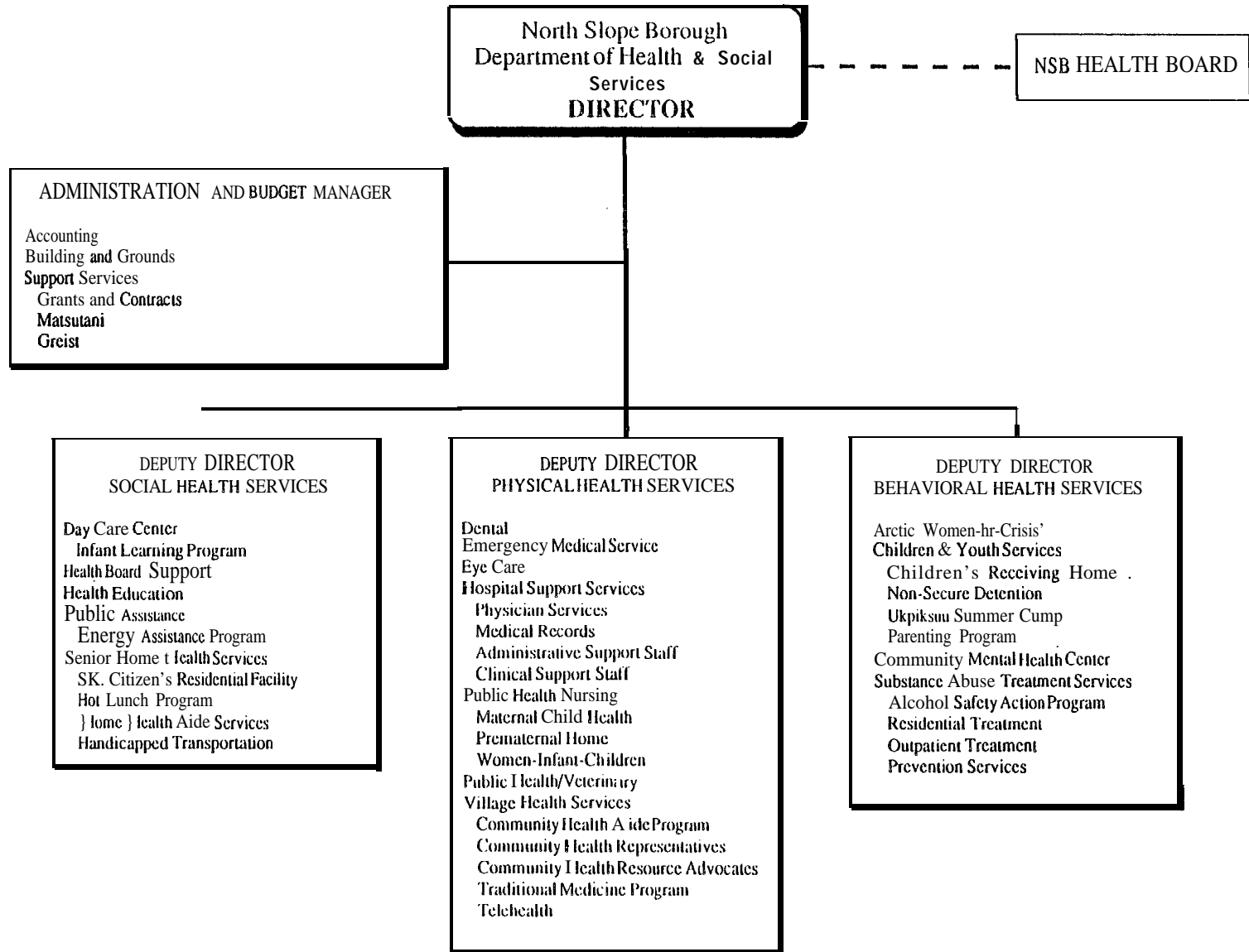
In 1989, the health board was still operating as described in 1981.

North **Slope** residents requiring inpatient treatment or specialized outpatient **services** are usually first evacuated to one of the three IHS hospitals serving the region. Acute care cases from Point Hope are sent to **Kotzebue** while cases **from Anaktuvuk** Pass are sent to Fairbanks. Cases from the remaining villages are transported to Barrow. If the case is a serious one, and the patient is a Native, the patient is stabilized in Barrow and then flown to Anchorage. If the case is an emergency, the patient is flown to Fairbanks whether or not the person is Native. Non-Natives are also treated at the **hospital** but on a fee-for-service basis. For non-Natives, **medivacs** are a matter of choice, but most choose to go to Anchorage. The remoteness of the communities and the uncertainty of flying weather also can dictate the routing of patients, particularly in emergency situations.

Although each IHS facility provides limited inpatient services, the primary emphasis of **health** care at this level is on outpatient **services**, with the outpatient clinic providing the only access to physician **services** in the community (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:582).

Figure 16-NSB

North Slope Borough Department of Social Services
Organizational Chart



Health care administration over the past five years has been distinguished by the increasing integration of programs and staff at the federal and local levels. The NSB Department of Health and Social Services has worked to integrate and interact more with the IHS. In some instances, the department has assumed responsibilities formerly held by the IHS. For example, the PHS has traditionally handled planned parenthood programs on the North Slope. However, the department of Health and Social Services recently instituted a Parenting Program to train young mothers to raise and care for their infants and small children. The most visible form of integration of the two health care agencies, however, exists at the Barrow hospital. The department contracts with the IHS for services at the hospital, including medical and personnel records. The department and IHS jointly set priorities and the NSB assists in the purchase of equipment for the hospital.

The NSB also hires and pays the salaries of the staff physicians at the hospital. This program was established in 1988 and was designed to attract clinical staff who would remain in the community for longer periods of time. Prior to this time, staff physicians were PHS physicians on 6- to 8-month rotations between facilities. As part of this new program, physicians are provided both higher salaries than previously earned by IHS employees and more opportunities for continuing education programs. In addition, the number of physicians has increased under this program from three to five. Recently, the IHS and NSB also entered into an agreement to hire a dietitian.

In turn, the CHA program receives its funding from IHS but the program is administered by the NSB Department of Health and Social Services. IHS also gives the NSB money to lease the village clinic facilities. However, the Department of Health and Social Services is not a PL 93-638 health contractor as are Native health corporations. Consequently, they are not entitled to some of the funds available to other regional health agencies which provide services to the Alaska Native population.

The pattern of division of labor between the two agencies which has emerged during the past five years is likely to continue, especially since both agencies can expect smaller amounts of revenue to operate their programs. A feasibility study was undertaken in 1982-1983 to assess the possible direct operation of the Barrow hospital by the NSB. However, upon receiving the study, the NSB displayed little enthusiasm for assuming the responsibility, fearing the increased financial burden such a move would place on them (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:584).

3. Services

Hospital

The Barrow hospital provides acute care services including emergency care, internal medicine, pediatrics, minor surgery, orthopedics, gynecology, and normal obstetrics, plus x-ray, laboratory, pharmacy, social services, and mental health services. Hospital physicians also serve as consultants for CHAs located in the village clinics. They handle phone calls and make visits to certain villages. The hospital does not provide emergency or elective surgery, diagnostic or therapeutic procedures. Alaska Native patients needing such services are flown to the Alaska Native Medical Center in Anchorage. Because the facility lacks the proper anesthesia equipment, surgical procedures such

as **Cesarian** sections are not performed here. Consequently, the hospital has made an effort to expand its prenatal care program.

The 21,405 square foot hospital is a one-story wood frame structure constructed in 1955. It has 14 beds, 10 of which are reserved for acute **medical/surgical/pediatric** cases, 2 for labor, and another 2 for post-delivery cases. **All** beds are in semi-private rooms. There is a single **operating/delivery** and emergency room. The outpatient department includes 4 examination rooms, an x-ray room and laboratory, a pharmacy, and an administrative area.

Over the past **five** years, efforts have been made by the IHS service unit in Barrow to provide certain **services** in the region which would otherwise require that individuals travel to Anchorage or Fairbanks. For instance, beginning in 1989 the **IHS** will send a psychiatrist to Barrow on a quarterly basis to conduct psychiatric evaluations of NSB residents. Prior to this, referrals for psychiatric evaluations were sent to Anchorage or Fairbanks. The objective of these efforts **is** to minimize the prolonged family separation and social isolation that occurs when a NS13 resident is forced to go "off-slope" for treatment.

The **Greist** Family Services Center, which is attached to the Barrow hospital, was built in 1981. Owned and operated by the NSB, the center houses a number of health and social service programs administered by the NSB Department of Health and Social Services. Included in the facility are the public health nurses' office, 3 offices for **social** workers, 2 **mental** health offices, a public assistance office, a corrections office, optometry offices, a **dental** suite with 4 operatives, a laboratory, x-ray facilities, and reception areas. Staffing of this facility includes 3 NSB public health nurses (including a **maternal/child** care nurse), 2 NSB health aides, and 2 **NSB social** service aides. **The** mental **health** program is staffed by a psychologist and a mental **health** clinician. The eye care unit is staffed on an itinerant basis by a PHS optometrist sponsored by the Lion's **Club**, plus a NSB eye coordinator who is trained to repair and fit eyeglasses. The dental care unit is staffed by two dentists. Refer to Table **30-NSB** for an occupational overview of the Barrow Service Unit Public Health Service.

According to a report prepared by Alaska Consultants and their associates (1984:584), the hospital lacks adequate space for both inpatient and **clinic** outpatient functions. The existing facility is about twenty-five years old and **the** design is outdated. For instance, emergency patients are wheeled up a **long** corridor before getting into the emergency room. In the past, the shortage of housing in the community made it difficult to fill positions. **All** the staff physicians currently live out in the community. Congressional approval was recently obtained for a 29-unit Housing and Urban Development (HUD) **complex** which will serve as housing quarters for the hospital staff. The nursing quarters also were recently remodeled.

In **fiscal** year 1982, the Barrow hospital had 61 employees, 15 of which were NSB employees. In **FY** 1988, the hospital had 63 authorized positions, 45 of which were PHS employees, and 18 which were NSB employees. Of these positions, five were vacant. As of March 1989, there were 58 employees, both part-time and full-time. This included five physicians. A list of staff positions is provided in Table **30-NSB**. Efforts are also underway to recruit another pharmacist.

According to the hospital director, there is also a need for a physical therapist. The hospital has hired an audiologist who has begun a massive education program directed **at** otitis media.

Table 30-NSB

Barrow Service Unit Public Health Service and
North Slope NSB Authorized Positions, **FY 1988**

Section/Title	PHS	NSB	Total
Administration	6	2	8
Medical	0	5	5
Radiology and Lab	2	1	3
Pharmacy	1	0	1
Nursing Services	16	2	18
Medical Records	0	6	6
Dietary	4	0	4
Social Services	1	2	3
Maintenance	9	0	9
Laundry & Housekeeping	6	0	6
Total	45	18	63

Source: Public Health Service.

Data on the number of inpatient and outpatient encounters at the Barrow **IHS** Hospital is provided in Table 31-NSB. The hospital has seen a 12.5% decline in inpatient admissions from **FY 87**. The number of inpatient days declined by 13.3%; the number of newborn admissions declined by 11.6%. The number of newborn patient days declined by 14.4970 during this period. Outpatient visits declined from 19,506 in **FY 87** to 19,240 in **FY 88** (-1,470). The decline in both inpatient and outpatient admissions has been attributed by senior staff members to the fewer number of transient workers on the North **Slope**.

Village Clinics

Over the past ten years the village-level health care system has experienced two major changes which have **resulted** in a marked improvement in the quality and quantity of services available. The first major change has been the construction of new **clinics in** 1983. The village **clinics** have all been modernized and offer almost identical **services**. **Each** village has a \$3.5 million facility, except for **Point Hope**, which had just built a **clinic** prior to this **CIP** construction program. That **clinic** is scheduled to have some remodeling done. The new **clinics** are approximately 4,400 square

Table 31-NSB

Inpatient and Outpatient Encounters and Services Provided,
Barrow IHS Hospital, **FY 1984 to FY 1988**

	FY84	FY 85	FY 86	FY 87	FY 88
Inpatient Admissions:					
Adult and Pediatric	8 0 2	849	722	520	594
Newborns	103	103	96	86	76
Patient Days of Care	2,398	2,600	2,007	1,950	1,690
Average Daily Census	6.6	7.1	5.5	5.3	4.6
Outpatient Visits	18,374	17,793	20,526	19,494	19,223

Source: Alaska Area Native Health Semite.

feet in size with four examination rooms, a laboratory, a **film** processing room, a secured medicine storage room, a waiting./training area, a **consulting/telehealth** room, office space, **toilet** facilities, and storage areas. Also included are itinerant quarters with two double bedrooms, a kitchen/living/dining area, and a bathroom. There is also a mechanical/electrical room, a janitor's closet, and a garage/storage area. The garage area is designed to provide direct access from the ambulance to an examination room equipped to handle entry/trauma demands. These facilities represent substantial improvements over the older clinics. The previous **clinic** in Point Lay, for instance, was located in a very **small** building (280 square feet) and was considered to be poorly equipped and totally inadequate for its assigned use (**Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:303**).

Each clinic has x-ray equipment, used primarily for dental x-rays. Each clinic also has a **telehealth** system which **allows** for a health aide to **slowly** scan over a portion of the patient. The scan is then transmitted by phone lines either to the IHS hospital or CHA program **office** in Barrow, or to the Alaska Area Native Hospital in Anchorage. The equipment is also used by personnel located at the **IHS** hospitals in Barrow and **Kotzebue** and transmitted to Anchorage. This equipment is used for consultations between local **CHAs** and doctors, consultations within the medical professions, for the continuing education of the aides, and for other uses such as follow-up of clients/patients (**Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:304**). However, the resolution is not well-suited for some conditions, such as **rashes**. Furthermore, the equipment appears to be underutilized for clinical purposes and seems more of a social function, as village residents use it to display newborn infants to relatives in other villages and Barrow.

Village clinics offer primary care and emergency **services** to village residents. Clinic staff are also involved in preventive medicine efforts (such as fluoride **dental** washes) and health promotion activities. Further, most of the programs offered in Barrow have a village equivalent, usually in the form of an outreach program.

CHAs comprise the primary health providers in the villages. These individuals provide primary care in accordance with a set of Guidelines for Primary **Health** Care in Rural Alaska. Every afternoon, each village health aide reviews the cases seen that day by phone with one of the physicians at the IHS hospital in Barrow. Some communities also have Community Health Representatives (**CHR**) which serve primarily in an outreach, interpreter, or helper capacity. Most of the clinics have two **CHAs**; **Wainwright** has three health aides, one of whom is a Community Health Practitioner (**CHP**). They have recently applied for status as a mid-level clinic. A person goes through a 10-week training course to become a community health aide. After two years, they can be certified as a **CHP**. The NSB currently employs 19 community **health** personnel, 70% of whom are **CHPs**. Three years ago, **only** 20% of their staff were **CHPs**.

Primary care at the level of the village clinic has been characterized in recent years by increasing professionalization of the role of the health care provider. This is evident from the efforts of the Department of Health and Social Services to provide better training for its **CHAs**. Such training is viewed as important, not **only** for improving the quality of care available for village residents, but for the recruitment and retention of personnel. The North Slope has the highest paid **CHAs** in the state, but relative to the cost of living in the region, the pay is less attractive than it is elsewhere. **CHAs** with a **high school** education earn a starting salary of \$15.72 an hour, which is comparable to the salaries earned by teenagers employed under the Mayor's Job Program (**MJP**). Consequently, positions occasionally go unfilled for periods as long as six months because of the lack of interest. However, **CHAs** receive a raise with each training session they attend and again once they become certified as community health practitioners. Efforts to improve the **level** of training of **CHAs** is also seen as a way of reducing traditionally high rates of turnover. Last year, the turnover rate of **CHAs** was 30%, but only two of these individuals were lost because of work-related stress. This year, **CHA** program officials are hoping to reduce this rate to 15%, a total of three individuals.

Another trend which reflects the increasing formalization and professionalization of primary care positions in the village has been the increasing involvement of the department itself in the recruitment and selection of personnel. The village health boards traditionally hired the person who became the community's health aide. This has changed so that now the position is advertised and hiring is competitive. The decision to hire a candidate is made by the NSB in consultation with the village health board. Despite the potential for conflict **between** the **NSB** and the community, responses to this change in hiring practices have generally been favorable. In one instance, the board was **grateful** that the NSB did not select the candidate they had recommended. The recommendation was out of social obligations and involved an individual the board did not **really** want. Placing the decision in the hands of the NSB **resolved** the board's social dilemma.

The village clinics recently (1988-1989) expanded their hours from 6 to 7.5 hours per day, resulting in an increase in the number of visits, many of which occur for social reasons rather than strictly medical ones. The number of clinic visits in the villages and the average number of visits per resident from **FY** 1987 and **FY** 1988 are found in **Table** 32-NSB. **Anaktuvuk** Pass exhibited the

highest number of visits per resident in both years; nevertheless, the number dropped significantly during this period. In Point Hope and **Wainwright**, on the other hand, the number of **visits** per resident increased over the two-year period.

The number of patient encounters and the way they are counted have important consequences for health agencies. In **FY** 1986 there were about 10,000 **clinic** visits in the NSB communities. In **FY** 1988, there were 14,151 visits. Funding is based on the number of visits. The NSB traditionally has not included village clinic visits for fluoride washes in their statistics, but these were included by other health agencies. Now all clinics throughout the **state** report fluoride washes as accounting for one-tenth of a visit.

Community Mental Health

The department's Community **Mental Health (CMH)** Program provides outpatient treatment and counseling for residents in need of short-term treatment, referrals, and **aftercare** for **local** residents who return to the North Slope from the Alaska Psychiatric Institute needing some sort of transition between inpatient treatment and return to home and community. The Community **Mental Health Center (CMHC)** provides residential apartments for clients for up to a year, but clients have been known to stay for longer periods of time. The center is normally staffed by three clinicians and a program coordinator but is currently short-staffed. Efforts are **underway** to hire a program coordinator and a clinician.

Until recently, the caseload of the CMH program in Barrow was derived primarily from referrals; there were very few voluntary clients from the community. An average case load of **35** per month was reported during **FY** 1982. In the following year, the average annual number of open cases was 61, and 454 therapy and evaluation sessions were reported. In 1984, the center reported 82 clients, saw an average of 97 **people** per month, and provided therapy and evaluations for 849 people (**Worl and Smythe 1986:359**).

Recently there has been a marked increase in the number of **non-Inupiat** treated in the program. In prior years **Inupiat** were the principal focus of the program, but in 1984 one-third of the clients were **non-Inupiat**. This group also largely accounted for a significant proportion of the reported rise in number of cases, many of them being self-referrals, while the **Inupiat** clients were almost exclusively referrals by social service agencies serving **Inupiat** (**AWIC**, Children's Receiving Home, **IHS** hospital, and **DFYS**) (**Worl and Smythe 1986:360**).

Voluntary participation of **Inupiat** residents in the mental health programs offered by the NSB **and the IHS has traditionally been low due to the stigma attached to mental illness in the community.** **Worl and Smythe (1986:366)**, for instance, note that "when questioned if they ever sought out counseling services for a situation in their life, the **usual** response of an **Inupiat** is 'That is for crazy people.'" This attitude is based on the belief that "psychological treatment is predicated on the assumption that the individual is willing to admit he has a problem. However, admitting to another that one may have a personal deficiency or weakness is dangerous to an **Inupiat**" (**Worl**

Table 32-NSB

Village Clinic **Visits** and Rate of **Visits per 100** Residents,
North **Slope** NSB, **FY** 1987-1988

Community	FY 1987		FY 1988	
	N	visits per resident	N	visits per resident
Anaktuvuk Pass	2,829	11.4	1,977	7.5
Atqasuk	1,406	6.4	1,239	5.7
Kaktovik	1,427	7.1	1,309	5.8
Nuiqsut	2,385	7.6	2,207	7.0
Point Hope	3,351	5.8	3,846	6.5
Point Lay	1,105	7.2	829	5.2
Wainwright	2,657	4.9	2,744	5.5"
Total	15,160	6.7	14,151	6.2

and Smythe 1986:367). **Inupiat** are brought up to **conceal** their weaknesses, according to Worl and Smythe, lest others take advantage of them. In an effort to overcome the stigma attached to using **mental health services** on the North Slope, the Department of Health and Social Services has expressed its intention to rename the CMHC and call it the Community Counseling Center.

Substance Abuse

In 1981, the Department of Health and Social **Services** initiated the Barrow Alcohol Program (**BAP**), which focused on community education, counseling, and the development of support groups for treatment and prevention of alcohol abuse. Friendship House was opened under this program. **Although** it was a non-residential facility, Friendship House offered an alcohol-free environment on a drop-in basis that was open to adults and teens into the early morning hours. As with many of the other health department programs, the staff was headed by **non-Inupiat** professionals. A director and resident **alcohol** counselor ran the program with three other staff.

In the first year of the program, according to Worl and Smythe (1986:363-64), "ambitious plans were developed for spouse and teen support groups, community-aided educational programs, and a residential alcohol treatment center. But after a mixed response to the program by the community, most of these objectives were not met." Moreover, program participation seems to have declined after the first year of operation. The BAP began in mid-1981, but its **first** full year of operation was **FY** 1982. A caseload of 194 first admissions and 55 readmission was reported. In the following year, the caseload decreased to 129 new admissions and 15 readmissions. Ninety percent of its clients were **Inupiat** (Wed and Smythe 1986:370).

In 1985, the program's name was changed to reflect the growing problem of drug abuse as well as alcoholism. Known as the Substance Abuse Treatment Semite (**SATS**), the program provides outpatient counseling for substance abuse (primarily alcohol, but also cocaine and marijuana) at a facility located in **Browerville**. The numbers of clients and **services** provided are found in Table **33-NSB**. Clients are referred to SATS for counseling treatment by the courts, probation officers, IHS, **AWIC**, and **DFYS**. An estimated 60 to 65% of SATS clients are court referrals; 4 to 6 people each month are self-referrals. About 5 **clients** every 2 to 3 months come from the villages. Payment for the use of SATS programs is based on a sliding scale.

The **SATS** program offers outpatient treatment in a residential facility for a 6-week period and an **aftercare** program which lasts 3 months. Estimated costs of the program at present are \$1.5 million annually. The program currently operates a 10-bed facility for 5 men and 5 women. There are **35** people on the waiting list. A new 22-bed **SATS** facility is being constructed in Barrow. It is scheduled to open **July 5, 1989**. In the new facility, **16** out of 22 beds will be residential; the remaining 6 beds **will** be for emergency cases (i.e., former clients experiencing a crisis).

Between September 1988 and March 1989, the SATS handled 18 **referrals** for substance abuse treatment to facilities off-slope. SATS handles the aftercare program from these people when they return to the North Slope. Aftercare is a 3-month program which includes weekly sessions and one-on-one counseling. Participants also attend Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) meetings, **held** five days a week. Most of those going through the program are in their 30s and 40s.

The facility has two resident counselors and a treatment director. The aftercare program handles between **16** and 20 clients per month. The department **also employs** a prevention specialist who goes into the schools for substance abuse prevention programs, **an** itinerant worker, and **two aftercare counselors**. Involvement of family members and significant others in the treatment process is left to the discretion of the client.

SATS also has a follow-up system. Clients are contacted once at 30 days and again at 90 days after discharge from the facility. There are a **total** of three contacts with clients after leaving the program. In addition, there are two **halfway** houses in the community for SATS participants who have graduated from the program but still need a place to stay. Residents can stay between 3 and 6 months with a 30-day extension.

In general, the community appears to be quite supportive of alcohol treatment and rehabilitation services. This support can be seen in the number of programs designed to combat the problem of alcohol consumption in the community. These include the Lions Club Quest program; Natural Helpers, who provide peer counseling and support; AA groups, one of which meets at the Presbyterian church although there is no **formal** affiliation; and alcohol awareness programs in the schools. **As** part of their efforts toward alcohol treatment, the NSB Department of Health and Social **Services** has instituted Sober **April** in Barrow, which is designed to encourage a full month of sobriety among local residents.

Table 33-NSB

Substance Abuse Treatment Services
July 1 to December 31, 1988

Crisis/PHS Referrals	14
Individuals Assessed	148
Clients Pending	216
Total Active Clients	190
Total Client Discharges	
Residential	35
Aftercare	34
Outpatient	7
Total Juveniles Treated	12
Total Clients Sent Off- Slope for Treatment	16

Source NSE? Department of Health
and Social Services, 1989.

Support for alcohol treatment services is also reflected in the numbers of community residents who participate in such programs. About 20 to 30 people can be found at AA meetings. During whaling season, however, AA attendance and SATS participation declines dramatically as people postpone getting treatment during this time. Nevertheless, SATS program officials assert that there are now more people doing something about their alcohol and substance abuse problems. The increase in demand for services and client populations is not an indication that the problem is becoming more severe on the North Slope, but rather that more services are being offered and that attitudes towards getting treatment have changed.

There is not a good deal of information on the AA program in Barrow. While it may appear that attendance is quite high for a community the size of Barrow, it is also true that attendance at AA is one of the requirements of the SATS program, and that the SATS program itself is not always voluntary. A good many of the clients attending SATS have been given the option of incarceration or SATS. There is also no information on the effectiveness of the AA meeting format in an Inupiat setting. Participant research would have been quite intrusive and probably unethical, and attendees are understandably reluctant to talk about AA meetings. It would seem that such confessional type meetings would not appeal to a good many Inupiat, and that is the general reason that informants in the smaller villages give for the nonviability of AA in the villages. Those outer villages which were said to have active AA groups in fact had few meetings.

This level of community support appears to be a change over the past ten years. An earlier study of Barrow cited a lack of community support for such programs. A supposed example of this lack of support was the failure of an attempt to develop a counseling and alcohol treatment center by

the pastor of the Presbyterian church. **The** congregation was divided on the issue of constructing a facility on church property.

Some members thought it was inappropriate for the church to sponsor such specialized social services, and others believed that the pastor had exceeded his authority in committing the **church** to such a program. The pastor continued to assert his views in this and other areas, and in 1985 the **local** membership voted to have him replaced amid questions about misuse of church funds. This action produced a **split** in the congregation (**Worl and Smythe 1986:365**). **Local** residents interviewed in March 1989, however, maintained that the **real issue** behind the **split** was dissatisfaction with the minister and not the planned construction of an alcohol rehabilitation facility.

Although there is **still** a stigma attached to mental health services on the North **Slope**, this appears to be less the case with regard to drug and **alcohol** treatment. Once a **local** resident has made the choice to seek treatment for substance abuse, they want the entire community to **know** about it as a **public** expression of their commitment and resolve. In fact, the **SATS** program currently has a six-month waiting list, despite the great amount of resources the NSB has devoted to building new facilities and hiring staff. Nevertheless, members of prominent families in the community still prefer to go off-Slope for treatment.

Arctic Women in Crisis

The **AWIC** Program provides **services** to the victims of domestic violence, **sexual** assault, and **child** abuse. The program operates an 8-bed shelter in Barrow and **12** village safe homes. The program also provides crisis **intervention, counseling, legal** advocacy, education, and village outreach. The program is run **by** 8 staff and **12** safe home volunteers. In **FY** 1989, the operating budget for the program was \$591,604.

An indication of the extent to which the program is utilized by North Slope residents is provided in **Table 34-NSB**. Program staff also report an increasing number of men who have sought shelter from abusive spouses in the past few years.

Children and Youth Services

The **NSB** Department of Health and **Social** Services provides four programs geared specifically for **social services** to children and youth. They include: (1) Children's Receiving Home, (2) **Ukpiksuu** Summer Camp, (3) Parenting Program, and (4) non-secure detention. The Children's Receiving Home provides housing and care for children in the custody of the State of Alaska. Between July 1 and December 31, 1989, the receiving home admitted 58 new individuals and 13 individuals who had been admitted previously. The average daily census during this six-month period was 5.9 residents with an average length of stay of 8 days. **Total** child care days during this period was 1,084.

Table **34-NSB**

Semi-annual Summary of Program Services,
Arctic Women in Crisis, July 1 to December 31, 1988

Semite Program	Number
Women sheltered	73
Children sheltered	75
Sexual assault victims	29
Child abuse cases	12
Male anger control cases	19
Walk-in clients	80
Bed nights (Barrow)	650
Barrow crisis calls	166
Village crisis calls	44
Emergency call-outs	52
Unduplicated clients	309
Safe Home nights	39

Source: NSB Department of Health and Social Services, 1989.

The summer camp focuses on arctic **survival** and subsistence skills and provides a summer opportunity for youths to develop socially, physically, and culturally. The parenting program offers counseling and crisis intervention for families at high risk for domestic violence and child abuse. The non-secured attendant care shelter provides temporary placement for intoxicated youths who cannot be returned, for whatever reason, to their homes. Otherwise, these individuals would be placed in adult detoxification detention ("**detox**") at the Public Safety Building. **The** total cost of these programs in **FY** 1989 was \$902,000.

Senior Home Health Services

The Senior Citizen's Program provides hot lunch programs, meals-on-wheels, transportation, language interpretation assistance, escorting, outreach recreation, and information to **adults** 55 years of age and older. The program operates **Utuqqanaaqagvik**, a 38-unit residential facility located in Barrow and available for senior citizens. Between July 1 and December 31, 1988, the occupancy rate of the facility was 47%. In February 1989, however, the age requirement was lowered to 55 to increase utilization of the facility. Within a few months, the occupancy rate increased to 51% (NSB Department of Health and Social Services 1989).

The low occupancy rate for Utuqqanaaqagvik seems to be related to several factors. It is in a relatively isolated location, on north edge of Barrow near the high school. It is not directly on a bus route, so that riders have to **walk a block** or so to visit (Seniors have a bus of their own). The units are not **very** spacious and it is certainly difficult to engage in subsistence activities from such accommodations. Most Seniors in Barrow prefer to live in their own home and are assisted by "kinsmen (or the NSB **Seniors'** Home Health Services aides) when it is **necessary**. On the other hand, some village informants who are old enough to use these units report that they are **very** convenient and nice to **use** while they are visiting in Barrow. They are more spacious and less expensive than **hotels**, especially **since** they have full-size kitchens and refrigerators. Staying in these units means that they do not have to stay with a kinsman unless they want to, and in many cases they prefer not to overcrowd what is often already a very full house. These units provide a highly valued degree of privacy, as they are **really** too small for people to come visit, but allow for a good deal of socializing by being close enough to public transportation so that the visitors to Barrow can go to see whomever they wish to. Thus, the most successful use of Utuqqanaaqagvik may be as a "Senior hostel," as a space of one's own away from home.

The **Senior** Citizen's Program also sponsors a Village Homemaker Program which provides housecleaning and shopping assistance to interested elders in the villages. In the last six months of 1988, this program **served** 6,754 meals throughout the region (not including meals served in **Kaktovik** for which figures were unavailable), provided 200 hours of homemaker services per month, and provided 1,830 rides for seniors per month. Overall cost of the program in **FY** 1989 was \$1.7 million.

Traditional Native Healers

In addition to the modern health care system, a traditional Native health care system remains intact throughout the region. At times, the two systems interact. For instance, the Department of **Health** and **Social Services** employs a traditional Native healer who provides **services** in Barrow and in the villages. This individual is often solicited by elderly residents who are more familiar with traditional **Inupiat** medical practices or **by** residents who are unsatisfied with the care they received by the modern health care system. In addition, there are a few Native healers in the villages who continue to practice **skills** and techniques handed down through the generations.

Traditional **healing** is based principally on techniques of massage and manipulation of diseased or injured parts of the body. Occasionally, herbal remedies are employed as well. Healers also use an **Inupiat** form of acupuncture known as "poking" which involves minor bloodletting with a knife. These techniques are used primarily for **musculoskeletal** complaints such as arthritis and backaches, digestive **disorders**, and strains and sprains.

One of the features of traditional healing practices that distinguish them from the practices of clinicians representing the modern **health** care system is the extent of **social** contact and interaction involved in the therapeutic system. Local residents, especially those in **the** villages, view physicians as "outsiders" in both a geographic and cultural sense. These outsiders usually **travel** from Barrow to the villages no more than four times a year and the same patient is often seen by different physicians. In addition, the interaction is often impersonal and occurs through an intermediary in the form of a nurse if at Barrow or a community health aide if at a village. Traditional healers,

on the other **hand**, are more accessible, are generally known to the patient beforehand, and come in close physical and spiritual contact with the patient during the treatment process. Healers rely on their hands as their primary clinical **tool** and attempt to transfer the source of the pain from the body of the patient to the body (specifically, the hands) of the healer.

4. Morbidity and Mortality

*Rates of **Morbidity** and **Mortality***

Rates of morbidity and mortality, **particularly** as they have changed over time or in comparison to similar rates for all of **Alaska** and the United States, provide a vivid representation of the effects of **sociocultural** change on the health and well-being of Native and non-Native' NSB residents. However, the published data on morbidity and mortality among Alaska residents over the past ten years is quite limited. Attempts to describe the **health** status of NSB residents using such data are constrained by several **factors**. **First**, no data on individual North Slope communities are available, limiting comparisons between communities experiencing varying rates of **sociocultural** change. Previous studies of the health status of Alaska residents in general and **Alaska** Natives in particular (cf. Alaska House Finance Committee 1982; **Blackwood** 1982; Nathan et al. 1975) have either included information on North Slope residents or may be generalized to describe existing **health** conditions on the North **Slope**. These studies have noted a decline in morbidity and mortality due to infectious diseases such as tuberculosis and influenza, but a corresponding increase in accidental and self-inflicted injuries, homicides, and chronic diseases such as heart disease, malignant **neoplasms**, and diabetes. Accidental injuries, suicides, and domestic violence, much of which are alcohol-related, remain the major health problems throughout Alaska.

Second, data obtained from the State of **Alaska** on deaths are incomplete due to weaknesses in the death record reporting system (**Hlady** and Middaugh 1986). Given the reluctance of many individuals to admit to the suicide of a friend or **family** member, and the lack of specificity in the reporting process and death certificate, many suicides are classified as accidental deaths (**Blackwood** 1979; **Kost-Grant** 1983).

Third, information on illness, particularly accidental injuries, is dependent upon the level at which the illness or **injury** comes to the attention of the **formal health** care **system**. **BlackWood** (1979) notes there are three major levels of health care delivery in Alaska. The first level includes illnesses and injuries which are treated by the afflicted individual or by **family** members and do not come to the attention of the **formal** health care system. The second level includes outpatient visits which are treated in village clinics but which may be reported as multiple events if the patient visits the clinic on more than one occasion for the same condition. The third level includes conditions which are treated on an inpatient or outpatient basis by the Alaska Area Native Health Service (**AANHS**). However, data on these visits are not collected or presented in a format that is **useful** for epidemiologic studies.

Finally, reliance upon inpatient or outpatient data **alone** does not enable us to determine whether changes in rates over time are due to improved services and/or differences in reporting procedures, or are directly caused by larger forces of **sociocultural** change. The influence of the latter on health status among Alaska Natives has been examined in a number of studies. Previous research

has pointed to a link between **sociocultural** stress and increased rates of alcohol abuse (Klausner, Foulks, and Moore 1980; Palinkas 1983; Shinkwin and Peete 1982), suicide and homicide (Kraus and Buffler 1979; Parkin 1974) and accidental injury (Palinkas 1987). Among the sources of this stress is the disruption of family dynamics due to changes in male-female roles (Bloom 1973), changes in patterns of subsistence production and distribution (Palinkas 1987), and increased generational conflict as older family members struggle to retain a traditional identity and set of **values** while younger members become increasingly exposed to and accepting of values and behavior associated with the larger Euro-American society. Class differences, based on differential access to income and employment opportunities, is another source of stress (Klausner, Foulks, and Moore 1980; Palinkas 1987). Suicide and alcohol abuse are related to the lack of culturally sanctioned techniques for acting out hostile affect due to the rejection of traditional values and patterns of behavior in favor of new **values** and behavioral patterns (Foulks 1980; Kost-Grant 1983).

Sociocultural change is also reflected in the greater use of services provided by the modern health care and social service systems. As noted above, this may be due to the greater availability of inpatient and outpatient facilities and services. However, there **is** also some evidence to suggest a greater willingness to utilize formal institutions instead of traditional mechanisms throughout Alaska (Impact Assessment 1987).

Other health risks associated with **sociocultural** change include the adoption of a more Westernized diet which is linked to increased rates of cardiovascular disease (Marmot and Syme 1976), changes in lifestyle and occupations which may predispose certain individuals and groups to accidents and chronic diseases (Polednak 1989, Schooneveldt, et al. 1988), and exposure to new antigens such as hepatitis B (Barrett et al. 1977; Schreeder et al. 1983).

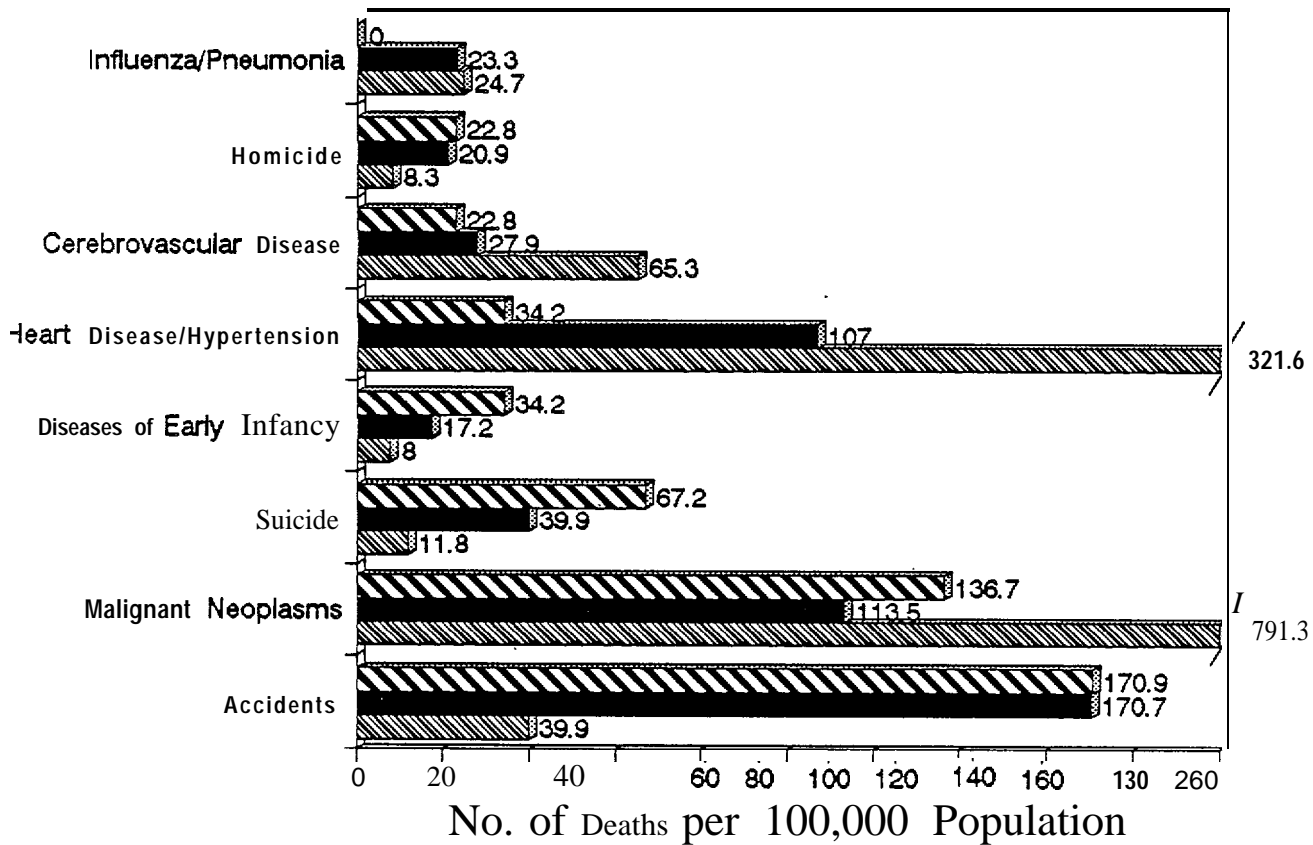
A study of the effect of energy development on the Inupiat population of the NSB found no relationship between energy development itself and accelerated **social** disorganization (Kruse, Kleinfeld, and Travis 1982). However, their data extended only up to 1977 and examined the effect of growth on rates of traumatic deaths. The most recent period (1985-1988), on the other hand, has been characterized by decline in revenues and employment opportunities which, based on evidence from other parts of the state (Impact Assessment 1987), **places** individuals at greater risk than occurs during periods of economic growth. Moreover, comparison of the traumatic death rates of **NSB Inupiat** residents with the rates of other northern **Inupiat** did not take into consideration what was happening with the latter group at this time. In other words, the study failed to hold constant the **sociocultural** changes experienced by other northern **Inupiat** in communities such as Fairbanks which, in some respects, may have been greater than those experienced in the **NSB** itself (Dixon 1976).




Indian Health Service Statistics

A comparison of the leading causes of Native mortality in the Barrow Service **Unit** and statewide is provided in Figure 17-NSB. Standardized mortality ratios (**SMRs**) were estimated to determine the cause-specific risk for mortality among Alaska Natives living on the North **Slope** relative to all Alaska Natives. Statistical significance of these estimates was assessed by calculating 95%

Figure 17-NSB

Comparison of Leading Causes of Native Mortality
for the Barrow Service Unit and the State of Alaska
3-Year Average Crude Rates: 1983-1985
U.S. National Population Comparison: 1984



 United States
  State of Alaska
  Barrow Service Unit

Source: Barrow Service Unit and State of Alaska data: Alaska Native Area Health Service, Patient Care Standards Branch, 1988; U.S. data: National Center for Health Statistics, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services,

confidence intervals (95% C.I.). Accidental injury was the leading cause of mortality on the North Slope between 1983 and 1985, followed by malignant **neoplasms**, suicide, diseases of early infancy, cardiovascular diseases, **cerebrovascular** diseases, and homicide. Natives living on the North Slope had significantly higher than expected rates of suicide-related deaths (SMR = 1.68, 95% C.I. = 1.01- 3.35) during this period. However, North **Slope** Natives also had a significantly reduced risk of mortality due to cardiovascular disease (e.g., **ischemic** coronary heart disease, **myocardial** infarction) (SMR = 0.32, 95% C.I. = 0 - 0.68), perhaps because these are crude rates and reflect the fact that the high risk of dying during early infancy (SMR = 1.99, 95% C.I. = 0 - 4.33) reduces the risk of dying from a degenerative chronic disease in later **life**.

As is the case in other regions of the state, accidental injury is the leading cause of morbidity (Table 35-NSB). In **FY** 1986, however, deliveries replaced accidental injuries as the primary cause of hospitalization. During this period, there were significant declines in the number of cases of pneumonia, symptoms and **ill-defined** conditions. On the other hand, there were marked increases in the numbers of hospitalized cases of malignant **neoplasms**, psychoses and neuroses, diseases of the circulatory, digestive, and respiratory systems, and diseases of the nervous system. The leading causes of **first** visits of outpatients to the Barrow facility are displayed in **Table** 36-NSB.

Clinic Visits

A potential source of information on morbidity and risk factors are the records of **clinic** visits in each community. A limited amount of information exists on the number of **clinic** visits per year. According to Alaska Consultants et al. (1984:220), daily patient loads averaged about 10 persons at the **Wainwright** clinic, 9 persons at the Point Hope clinic, 2 to 3 persons at the **Atqasuk clinic**, and 2 persons at the Point Lay clinic. In **FY** 1988, daily patient loads averaged between 2.3 persons in Point Lay to 10.5 persons in Point Hope.

Perhaps the most **detailed** examination of morbidity and health care utilization at the village level is contained in the **Nuiqsut** case study (**Galginaitis et al.** 1984). In 1982, there were approximately 3.3 persons seen each day at the **Nuiqsut** clinic. Respiratory complaints accounted for approximately 19% of the **total** clinic visits during 1982, followed by, infectious diseases (13.4%), ear problems (13.0%), and accidental injuries (13.0%). This corresponds with the distribution of health problems in rural communities in other parts of the state (Alaska Area Native Health Service, Area Planning Section, 1988). The report also examines the distribution of clinic visits by age and **sex**. Males, for instance, appear to account for significantly larger percentages of accidental injuries **while** women account for a **slightly** larger percentage of visits for infectious diseases than men. Although the data collected revealed that the monthly rate of clinic visits by **Nuiqsut** residents was 20%, the authors also note that this figure does not take into account the number of repeat visits for the same clinical condition. **Similarly**, age and sex-specific rates of **first** clinic visit by diagnosis was not provided, making it difficult to identify risk factors for particular diseases and injuries.

Table 35-NSBBarrow Service Unit hading Causes of X-Hospitalization, **FY 1983-1987**

<u>Diagnoses</u>	<u>FY 1983</u>		<u>FY 1984</u>		<u>FY 1985</u>		<u>FY 1986</u>		<u>FY 1987</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Rank</u>	
Accidents and Injuries	153	1	164	1	127	1	95	2	80	2	
Deliveries	101	2	98	2	106	2	9	7	1	89	1
Pneumonia	79	3	64	3	12	4	37	5	33	5	
Symptoms and Ill-Defined Conditions	65	4	57	4	28	6	2	5	6	32	6
Complications of Pregnancy	39	5	40	6	62	5	42	4	3a	3	
Alcohol Abuse	37	6	51	5	73	3	53	3	33	4	
Upper Respiratory Diseases	25	7	13	11	17	10	11	14	20	9	
Infected Skin Abrasions	22	8	11	15	11		19	10	13	12	
Bronchitis	15	9	12	12	26	8					
Urinary Tract Disease	15	10	15	8	16	12	19	9			
Perinatal Conditions	10	11									
Heart Disease	9	12	12	13					16	10	
Diseases of the Female Genitalia	9	13	15	9							
Diseases of the Stomach	8	14	15	10	20	9	2	4	7	21	8
Endocrine Disorders	7	15									
Convulsions	6		6		14	15	17	12	12	13	
Diseases of Nervous System	5		3		14	14	11	15	12	14	
Psychoses	5		12	14	16	13	13	13	29	7	
Malignant Neoplasms	2		23	7	27	7	21	8	15	11	
Respiratory Allergy	1		1		17	11	17	11			
Neurosis/Non Psychotic Disorders					11		5	-	12	13	

Source Alaska Area Native Health Service, Health Statistics Section, 1983-1987

Table 36-NSB

Leading Causes of Outpatient First Visits
FY 1981-1987 Barrow Service Unit

<u>Outpatient Diagnoses</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>
Accidents and Injuries	2,432	2,283	2,348	2,251	1,937	1,731	1,791
Upper Respiratory Problems	1,877	2,033	2,090	1,656	1,887	1,966	1,981
Otitis Media	1,275	1,120	1,243	1,468	1,521	1,362	1,572

Source: Alaska Area Native Health Service, Health Statistics Section, 1983-1987.

5. Major Health Concerns

Although inpatient admissions and mortality” data provide some indication of the major health problems affecting the region, these data are limited by the fact that the region offers limited inpatient services and the cause of death is not always accurately reported on death certificates. A more useful measure of disease risk is that of outpatient first admissions. These data reflect medical conditions which do not necessarily result in evacuation to medical facilities in Anchorage or Fairbanks and include many of those cases who are inevitably hospitalized or sent for more specialized treatment outside the region.

An examination of the rates of first admission by diagnostic category, contained in Table 37-NSB, provides some understanding of how health concerns have changed over a recent five-year period. Some of the disease categories which have traditionally been major health concerns in the past exhibit clear declines in rates per 1,000 persons between 1983 and 1987. These include infectious and parasitic diseases, diseases of the skin and subcutaneous tissue, diseases of the respiratory system, and diseases of the digestive system. The incidence of tuberculosis appears to have increased over a two-year period (1985-1986) and then declined, reflecting a possible outbreak. Nevertheless, diseases of the respiratory system, diseases of the nervous system (especially otitis media), diseases of skin and subcutaneous tissue, and infective and parasitic diseases, along with accidental injuries, continue to represent the most significant health problems in the region.

One of the most interesting trends evident from this table has been the clear decline in rates of first admission for accidental injuries between 1983 and 1987. Nevertheless, in 1983 the rate of accidental injury on the North Slope was approximately twice as high as the rate for the U.S. general population that year (NCHS 1988).

Although separate figures are unavailable, many of the accidental injuries reflected in these statistics were self-inflicted. However, according to Department of Health and Social Service administrators, suicide appears to have declined on the North Slope, which may be a reflection of the fact that more people are getting mental health and alcohol treatment services. Nevertheless, village health boards have requested assistance from the department in dealing with suicide.

If we are to assume that the rate of accidental injury provides a reliable indicator of the stress experienced by North Slope residents in response to the rapid pace of socioeconomic development and change, as asserted by Kruse and his associates (1983), then we might conclude that the decline in rates of accident injury during this recent five-year period reflects a pattern of adaptation to this stress or an enhanced ability of the modern health care system to deal with the problem. On the other hand, another index of modernization stress, mental disorders, appears to suggest that the stress associated with modernization and sociocultural change is increasing rather than decreasing. In 1983, the rate of first outpatient admissions for all mental disorders was 60.8 per 1,000 persons. By 1986, this figure had increased to 63.3 per 1,000. Apart from non-psychotic disorders and neuroses, alcohol represents the most noticeable category of mental disorders resulting in outpatient treatment. The incidence of outpatient treatment of alcohol abuse increased from 15.5 per 1,000 in 1983 to 30.2 per 1,000 in 1986.

One of the best known studies of alcohol abuse in the region, conducted by Klausner, Foulks, and Moore (1980), was criticized for the extremely negative portrayal of Barrow residents. Their chief finding was that between 70 and 80% of the adult population of Barrow were in need of some form of alcoholism intervention and treatment. However, the findings were based on a 5% sample of the adult population which does not appear to have been randomly selected. Data on the impacts of alcohol use were obtained from records of the NSB Department of Public Safety and provided a comprehensive description of drinking patterns or the consequences of these patterns which was not comprehensive and perhaps also not representative of the drinking population of the community. Data on alcohol consumption were obtained only from records of the community liquor store and did not take into consideration the alcohol purchased and/or consumed elsewhere. Finally, because of Barrow's status as a regional center and largest community in the NSB, the study did not adequately reflect the drinking patterns or consequences throughout the NSB.

Although rates of outpatient treatment for alcohol abuse have increased in recent years, this increase may be attributed in part to the increased availability of services in the region and the increased willingness of local residents to utilize these services as noted earlier. Moreover, the numbers of alcohol-related criminal offenses appear to have declined in the past few years (Table 38-NSB). On the other hand, the number of cases involving detox detention increased from approximately 450 in 1985 to over 700 in 1988 (NSB Department of Public Safety 1988). Residents acknowledge that alcohol continues to be a problem even though the NSB communities have enacted ordinances making it illegal sell liquor or import it with the intent of selling it (Dann and Associates 1987). Those desirous of purchasing alcohol do so in Anchorage or Fairbanks. Some residents also distill their own alcohol.

Table **37-NSB**

Rates (per 1,000 persons) **of** First Admissions for Outpatient Care
by Selected Diagnostic Categories and Diagnoses by Year
North **Slope**: 1983-1987

Diagnostic Category	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Infectious and Parasitic Diseases	210.6	170.8	184.9	195.3	173.8
Tuberculosis	2.6	2.8	7.6	7.4	4.2
Venereal Diseases	14.5	19.3	10.1	8.1	8.3
ms	7.3	13.5	11.4	6.5	13.2
Endocrine, Nutritional, and Metabolic Diseases	15.5	26.5	26.4	30.9	30.5
Diabetes	3.5	6.7	7.6	5.2	5.7
Obesity	2.3	3.0	4.7	6.7	8.3
Diseases of Blood and Blood-Forming Organs	11.5	15.6	15.0	9.2	10.1
Mental Disorders	60.8	62.0	95.2	90.3	81.8
Neuroses and Non-Psychotic Disorders	41.1	57.6	58.9	60.8	
Alcohol Abuse	16.4	14.6	31.6	30.2	15.4
Diseases of Nervous System and Sense Organs	473.9	488.7	509.8	450.8	532.6
Epilepsy and Convulsions	5.4	4.6	6.9	4.5	6.1
Eye Diseases	92.7	87.2	106.0	81.3	106.6
Ear Diseases	360.3	381.8	376.9	350.0	402.1
Diseases of Circulatory System	46.2	41.1	39.0	41.2	41.0
Diseases of Respiratory System	649.3	549.7	586.8	568.4	554.4
Diseases of Digestive System	103.5	122.3	114.3	90.0	25.9

Table **37-NSB** (continued)

Rates (per 1,000 persons) of First Admissions for Outpatient Care
by Selected Diagnostic Categories and Diagnoses by Year
North **Slope**¹: 1983-1987

Diagnostic Category	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Diseases of Genito-urinary System	133.3	134.6	138.2	148.3	148.1
Diseases of Skin and Subcutaneous Tissue	212.2	215.6	181.7	154.8	158.0
Diseases of Musculo-skeletal System	121.2	142.8	125.0	134.4	156.0
Congenital Anomalies	3.1	6.0	7.2	5.2	5.3
Accidents, Poisonings and Violence	551.1	522.5	434.0	387.7	392.9

¹These do not include figures for the communities of **Anaktuvuk Pass** and **Point Hope** which are treated in **Fairbanks** and **Kotzebue**, respectively.

Table **38-NSB**

Alcohol-Related Arrests,
North Slope NSB Department of Public Safety, 1985-1988

Year	DWI	Liquor Laws [*]	Drug-Related
1985	98	210	10
1986	46	188	9
1987	50	160	14
1988	48	134	11

* Minors consuming alcohol, importation, etc.

Source: NSB Department of Public Safety.

Alcohol is also implicated in many of the other health problems affecting North Slope residents, including accidental injury, suicide, homicide, and chronic conditions such as liver cirrhosis. Fetal Alcohol Syndrome (**FAS**) is considered to be a serious problem on the North Slope. Three years ago, the rate of FAS on the **slope** was higher than in most third world countries. In response to this problem, the NSB Department of Health and Social **Services** established a **prematernal** home in Barrow. **Expectant** mothers can use the facilities during the last month of pregnancy and be monitored for health and emotional status. In this way, health status and alcohol consumption can be regulated.

In addition to alcohol abuse, the primary substance abuse problem on the North Slope today appears to be **polydrug** (alcohol, marijuana, cocaine) abuse. Between July 1988 and February 1989, 104 clients treated by the **SATS** program in Barrow were **polydrug** abusers; 27 clients were treated for alcohol abuse alone and many of these may also have abused other substances. Other abused drugs include glue-sniffing, by children, and barbiturates.

Chronic diseases known to be associated with modernization and **sociocultural** change, such as **neoplasms** and endocrine, nutritional, and metabolic diseases, also increased during this five-year period. Rates of outpatient treatment for **neoplasms** increased from 7.3 per 1,000 in 1983 to 13.2 per 1,000 in 1987. Much of this is attributed to lung cancer resulting from increased cigarette smoking among residents throughout the region. Diabetes also increased significantly from 3.5 per 1,000 in 1983 to 5.7 per 1,000 in 1987. Although these figures are much smaller than those for the general U.S. population, estimated to be 26.1 per 1,000 (**NCHS** 1988), it reflects the fact that diabetes is becoming a growing problem among Native American and Alaska Native populations in general. Moreover, the incidence of outpatient treatment for obesity, a risk factor for diabetes, increased significantly from 2.3 per 1,000 persons in 1983 to 8.3 per 1,000 in 1987.

6. Health Care Issues

*Perceptions of **Health** Care*

A review of ten years of **Inupiat** testimony by **Kruse** and his colleagues at the Institute of Social and Economic Research (1983) contained a few comments on the potential health impacts of economic development and social change on the North Slope. They point out that although less than 1% of **all** testimony addresses areas such as alcoholism, stress, family breakup, drug addiction, and generational conflict, “the **Inupiat** connect drugs and **alcohol** with the outsiders as a source and a cause, and they are considered to be the suppliers impinging externally upon the local community. In contrast, they do not appear to view alcoholism and stress as an internal **Inupiat** reaction to rapid change, a potential outcome of changing **social** conditions resulting from a decline in or threats to traditional and subsistence social patterns” (**Kruse** et al. 1983:241).

In March 1987, NSB residents were surveyed as to their perception of the adequacy of the existing health care system and needs for program development (**Dann** and Associates 1987). The most important health problems borough-wide **were** as follows:

1. Activities for our youth.
2. Boarding of patients or patients' families staying in Anchorage during treatment.
3. Improved outpatient clinic service at Barrow Hospital.
4. Alcohol abuse **programs** in villages.
5. More medical doctor services in villages.

Underlying these perceived health care needs are three major issues. The first is the dissatisfaction with the existing level of contact with physicians in the villages. Generally, each village is visited by a physician four times a year. Often, fewer visits are made because of difficulties in transportation, weather, or scheduling. Even when a village is visited by a physician, it is not **always** the same individual. Village residents, therefore, have little opportunity' to establish a consistent, ongoing relationship with the same physician.

A second major issue relates to the fact that most of the services offered in the region are located in Barrow. As with the other spheres of community life, the health care system is subjected to the perceived conflict of interest between Barrow and the NSB on the one hand and the villages on the other. The desire for increased services in the villages reflects a desire for greater autonomy from the centralized NSB administration and the reluctance to travel great distances to obtain necessary **services**.

This reluctance to travel outside the community also touches on the third major issue, the desire to **avoid** having to go "outside" the region for treatment. Despite the improvement in level of care offered within the region during the past ten years, residents must still travel to Fairbanks or Anchorage for emergency care and certain forms of long-term care. The prolonged separation from family and friends deprives the sick and injured from the comfort and support normally provided by family and friends. Illness serves to disrupt family dynamics in a very real sense when family members are **unable** to accompany the sick or injured member off-slope.

Perceptions of the most important problems also differ by community. The number one **health** problem identified by respondents in each community was as follows:

Barrow	Alcohol abuse programs in the villages.
Kaktovik:	More medical doctor services in villages.
Nuiqsut:	Boarding of patients or patients' families staying in Anchorage during treatment .
Point Hope:	Patient travel to Anchorage, Fairbanks, or Barrow for care.
Point Lay:	Activities for our youth.
Wainwright:	More medical doctor services in villages.

One of the major village health priorities has been for young teens, particularly suicide, alcohol, and teen pregnancy. The **NSB** schools in the past have been reluctant to seek assistance in dealing with these problems, but this appears to be changing.

Agency Priorities

Priorities established by the **NSB** Department of Health and Social Services for **FY** 1989-1990 are as follows:

1. Increase cancer awareness and educational programs.
2. Develop and implement formal cancer screening programs and provide for appropriate follow-up.
3. Support the construction and programmatic development of the Juvenile Detention/Group Home **Complex**.
4. Increase the number of **SATS counselors** in the villages.
5. Establish support groups in each village for those individuals returning from alcohol and drug treatment programs.
6. Establish an outreach program for family members of those who are involved in alcohol and drug treatment, especially at the village **level**.
7. Increase lobbying efforts on the local level (city councils, village councils, assembly, and tribal organizations) to better address the enforcement of **alcohol** and drug **laws**.
8. Establish a "**halfway**" or transitional living program for the mentally disabled.
9. Improve relationship and communications between the Regional **Board** of Health, **village health** boards, city councils, and the **service** providers.
10. Increase program development and community interest in developing alternatives for youth.
11. Continue to improve outpatient services **at** the Barrow, PHS Hospital.

Health promotion and disease prevention has been targeted as a priority by the IHS, incorporating **Inupiat** cultural and traditional values, to accomplish changes in individual health behaviors and community environments. The areas which have been targeted are as follows:

- Diabetes
- Cancer Prevention
- Immunization
- Communicable Disease Control
- Abuse
 - substance
 - child**
 - elder
 - spouse
- Community Injury Control
- Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

Both IHS and NSB health care administrators believe that the Sobriety Month for April 1989 planned by the NSB should be **followed** by other programs, such as a month for cancer screening and another for diabetes awareness and prevention. Meningitis is a serious problem on the North Slope. Efforts are also **underway** to develop an accident prevention program.

One of the community's major **health** care needs is for skilled nursing care and long-term care of the elderly. An independent elderly residential center was recently built by the NSB in Barrow. However, the center cannot provide care for elders requiring skilled nursing services or who are unable to live independently. According to the Director of the Department of Health and Social Services, there are 15 Native Elders currently in nursing care facilities in Fairbanks or Anchorage. These individuals are separated from their families, depriving them of a social support network which would improve their **health** status. At the same time, it further weakens the integrity of the traditional family structure and pattern of **intrafamily** relationships. In **addition** to the **15 elders** who would benefit from a **skilled** nursing care facility in Barrow, there are another 7 elders in town who could benefit from either a facility or having skilled nursing care personnel in the home.

Funding

In **FY** 1989, the NSB Department of Health and **Social** Services operated with a \$13 million budget, 75% of which comes from the NSB, 15% from the State of Alaska, and 5% from the PHS. The Barrow hospital operates on a \$3 million annual budget, **all** of which comes from the **IHS**. Medicare and Medicaid payments provide additional revenues which total about \$500,000.

The NSB gets \$45,000 from a federal program for its village clinics. The physician's assistant in Wainwright, however, is required to charge for his services. In addition, the NSB receives some money from the Community **Health** Facilities Assistance Program.

7. Summary and Issues

Over the past decade, the institutions responsible for providing health and social services to the region's inhabitants have undergone a number of changes. Two of these changes are particularly noteworthy. The first has been an increased emphasis on care at the **local and** regional level, especially chronic care. The **CIP** program provided most of the villages in the region with modern clinic facilities. The **CHA** program has worked to improve the **level** of skills of village clinic personnel by, **providing** advanced training for **CHAs** and hiring physician's assistants to work in two of the villages' clinics. Both the PHS **IHS Service** Unit and **NSB** Department of Health and Social Services have also worked to develop programs in Barrow and throughout the region which are designed to reduce the number of residents who must go "off-slope" for treatment. These include prenatal care, mental **health services**, and substance abuse treatment services. These programs also reduce the degree of separation of the sick and injured from **family** and friends, a major problem with treatment off-slope. Studies have shown that access to social networks for certain types of emotional and instrumental support reduces the risk of further illness and improves treatment compliance (**Wethington** and Kessler 1986; Dean and Lin 1977).

The second major change in the modern health care system in the past ten years has been the increasing integration of programs and personnel managed by the PHS and the NSB Department of **Health** and-social **Services**. This integration has **served** to avoid duplication of **services** and effectively manage what is likely to be a declining budget.

Although a number of problems exist with respect to the quality and quantity of services provided, these changes appear to have been somewhat effective in **dealing** with **health** care issues **traditionally associated** with processes of **sociocultural** change. **Overall**, numbers of inpatient and outpatient admissions have declined while village clinic visits appear to have increased. One of the traditional measures of **sociocultural** change, traumatic **injury**, has clearly declined. Other measures, including mental illness, alcohol abuse, and chronic diseases have shown an increase in recent years. This increase may be attributed, in part, to the greater availability of services in the region, particularly alcohol and **mental health** services, rather than to **an** increase in incidence. Increases in other diagnostic categories, particularly ear diseases and **musculoskeletal** diseases, may reflect greater willingness of residents throughout the region to utilize the modern health care system for conditions that would **otherwise** have been treated by family members or Native healers using traditional practices.

The decline in respiratory diseases, diseases of skin and subcutaneous tissue, and infectious and parasitic diseases may reflect the ability of the modern health care system to address many of the region's traditional health care concerns. Nevertheless, diseases of the respiratory system, accidental injuries, diseases of the **nervous** system and sense organs, diseases of the skin and subcutaneous tissue, diseases of the **genitourinary** system, and infectious and parasitic diseases remain the major health problems in the region. In addition, as has been **observed** in other parts of the state, chronic diseases, especially cancer and endocrine and nutritional disorders, are assuming an increasing proportion of the resources of the modern health care system. These disorders are the result of a complex **set** of factors, including changes in dietary practices, increased cigarette smoking, and psychosocial stress.

Despite its successes, the modern health care system still faces a number of obstacles. As evidenced by the increased utilization of the clinic and outpatient services by local residents and their current dissatisfaction with the **level** of care provided at the village level, the expectations of the region's residents have risen at a faster rate than the system's ability to meet those expectations. As federal and NSB funds for health care **services** begin to decline in the next few years, the gap between expectation and ability may increase.

Similarly, the modern **health** care system faces a number of obstacles in its efforts to improve the level of care at the local and regional level. The recent departure of three physicians hired by the Department of Health and Social Services to work at the PHS hospital was due in part to the failure of the health care institutions to meet the expectations of clinicians used to specific resources and procedures **commonly** found in the modern health care system outside of **rural** Alaska. Circumstances of geography, reduced revenues, and the high cost of living may continue to limit the ability of existing health care institutions to provide the **level** of resources expected by non-resident clinicians on the one hand and local residents on the other.

D. Religious Institutions

All eight NSB Native villages have established churches, and **all** also have an established religious identity. Point Hope and Point Lay are Episcopalian, while **all** the others are Presbyterian. This division dates back to the original agreement which divided Alaska among the different churches. It is **only** recently that this agreement was breached (if that is the proper term) and religious diversity was introduced to **NSB** villages by the appearance of churches not party to the original agreement. There is no general treatment of the appearance of these churches on the North Slope, but interesting (although perhaps somewhat biased) information exists in Bills 1980 and Chambers 1970. Assembly of God churches now exist in Point Hope, Wainwright, Barrow, **Nuiqsut**, and perhaps **Kaktovik**. Baptist churches exist in Point Lay, Wainwright, and Barrow. A Catholic church exists in Barrow. Furthermore, in violation of the agreement, Episcopalians are now holding **services** separate from the Presbyterians in Barrow. **All** eight villages **still** retain their primary religious identities, but they do so in the face of greatly increased variety and diversity.

In no village does religion seem to exert the same force that it was reported to in even the recent past. VanStone 1982 reports that in the 1950s in Point Hope the Episcopalian church was a central focus in the community. *When* he returned in the late 1980s this was no longer the case (VanStone 1988). Attendance at all churches is **observably** less than before and informants also report that this is so. Few young people attend church, which many in the villages relate to the many other recreational options open to people in the villages. At the same time, young people in the villages complain that there is not enough to do in the villages. The nature of religion in American life has also changed, and this has not gone unremarked upon by the **Inupiat**.

Although they are attending church less, **Inupiat** are not necessarily less religious than previously. Informants almost uniformly believe in one God and the validity, on some **level**, of all religions that teach the belief in one God. It only stands to reason, they say, that this one God has to be the same for everyone. People may disagree about details, but this fundamental truth remains. The appearance of missionaries who teach the opposite of this, namely that **their** God is not the same as **your** God, somewhat mystifies many informants. They are discomforted by a preacher who is

so contentious, and tend to avoid attending **services** that raise this **issue**. One young **Inupiat** who had attended Bible college said that in Fairbanks he attended a different church every week, but eventually stopped and dropped out of school because he became so confused. The belief in one God was not doubted, but the proper way to worship had become unclear. Church services, instead of providing a sense of renewal and a feeling of community with the congregation, had become a source of **spiritual** doubt. **Non-Inupiat** in Barrow reported similar feelings as their justification for why they no longer **felt** comfortable attending the Presbyterian church. They did not understand **Inupiaq** and felt little sense of community at the services. At the church they subsequently attended, they regained this sense of belonging.

Most significant events in **Inupiat** life still actively **involve** the church. Prayers are said before whaling and before **all** the whaling ceremonies. Many public gatherings start with a prayer. There no longer is only one church in any village, so to speak of **the** church is no longer possible, **but** the church as a structural building **in** which to gather is no longer evident. Public events take **place** in a secular building or outside. Religious functionaries or Elders lead prayers at these locations, but the church now goes to the people, rather than having the **people** (and the event) come to the church. **Inupiat** stress that they are not verbal people. They say they are doers, not talkers. They learn by example, not by **verbal** instruction. Religion is not something to do in church (although attending services is not bad) but is meant as a way to **live**. In this sense, religion still pervades most of North Slope **Inupiat** life. It is a non-doctrinal and in many ways non-expressible ideology. Perhaps the **Inupiat** love of hymn singing and **singspirations** is another facet of this. The nonverbal communication of enjoyment and community, of cooperation and sharing, is much more important than the actual meaning of the words. One North Slope Baptist missionary unwittingly pointed out this profound difference between the **Inupiat** nonverbal orientation to learning and religion and his own highly analytical approach when he remarked that singing **during** services was acceptable, but was not as important as the sermon. **The** sermon was **the** word of God, whereas singing was mainly a way to encourage people to attend and to put them in a proper **frame** of mind to hear and understand the word of God. It would appear that an **Inupiat** view of religion is much simpler, and at the same time much more profound, than can be contained in any sermon.

At least part of the diversification of religious choices on the North **Slope** is due to the increased diversification of the population. **In** Barrow, most **Catholics** and Episcopalians are **non-Inupiat** (at least those who attend services). **Assembly of God** congregations tend to **be** mixed in most villages, but it is interesting that the Assembly was the earliest “competitive” religion to appear on the slope. Baptist congregations in Point Lay, **Wainwright**, and Barrow are **non-Inupiat**, to the extent that they exist. The church structure and hierarchy seems to hold little interest for most **Inupiat**, and even the **Inupiat** who are ordained seem to stress community over the church. The influence of the **formal** church does seem to have diminished in all communities. A belief in God and a sense of community are as important as ever, but the church is no longer the focus of this sense of identity. Instead, a sense of **Inupiat** identity centered around one’s village of residence, whaling, subsistence ideology in general, sharing, and perhaps even the NSB seems to have taken its **place**. We will discuss some of these **in** the Section IV on “informal institutions.” It is important to keep constantly in mind the role of the NSB in fostering and maintaining these **values** and informal institutions.

E. Infrastructure

In this section we divide infrastructure into three categories -- utilities, transportation, and recreation. **All** three have institutional aspects and are in one way or another a responsibility of some formal governmental entity. Utilities and transportation are relatively unproblematic in terms of this categorization, but recreation may seem like a strange topic to discuss as infrastructure. However, the North Slope of Alaska is not a typical environment, and can hardly be termed benign for most of the year. Thus, for much of the year most recreation takes **place** indoors. These facilities are not inexpensive to build, and for most villages the schools serve double duty as educational and community recreational facilities. **Some** villages also have city- or **NSB-built** community centers or recreation buildings. All are public facilities **built** with public money. Most villages have a recreation program, funded either by the city or the **NSB**. **Only** in Barrow is the program very developed, but again, all such programs are oriented around the facilities available. Private recreation is not explicitly addressed in this report, but does not appear to be as salient a **category** to **Inupiat** informants as it is to people in the lower-48. When asked about recreation, **Inupiat** informants almost **always** talked about the gym, other school facilities, or the community building. A few times informants mentioned playing cards or games **at** other peoples' house, but clearly "recreation" as a category is facility oriented and at least for the purposes of this report an infrastructure question. Little literature exists on other aspects of recreation on the North Slope in any event.

The infrastructure of most of the villages is fairly standard. Certainly all of the outer villages have roughly equivalent physical plants. The variations are only minor -- Point Hope has a **clinic** of a different design since it is an expansion of an older and smaller building, and power and water plants vary depending on the size of the community and the date of construction. **All** the outer villages have diesel generators to produce electricity, **while** Barrow has a power plant which can operate on either natural gas (the preferred **fuel**) or diesel. All NSB communities have water plants which operate the same way. All have the same general inventory of vehicles and other equipment. Schools **vary** in design from one village to the next, for no real apparent reason, but all are modern facilities that are for the most part adequate for the size of the population they serve.

The **Prudhoe/Kuparuk** complex and other industrial enclaves which are all self-contained contract with the **NSB** for most services. These include water, sewer, solid waste disposal, electricity, and police. Since at *least* some development took place before the NSB assumption of these services, some private oil camps **continue** to provide their own services under "grandfather" clauses. The tendency has been for the NSB to provide centralized **services**, however, especially as the state and federal governments have begun to more closely monitor adherence to environmental protection standards. Since these communities are composed **solely** of transient, able-bodied, employed adults, the range of facilities is more restricted than in a residential community. For instance, there is no school or housing for the elderly. These are specialized communities designed for the specific purpose of supporting the industrial workforce, and maintaining that workforce in peak working condition, as efficiently as possible.

1. Utilities

No outer village has a water or sewer system. All water is delivered by truck from a central storage **tank**, and all human waste is disposed of by the **honeybucket** method. The only exceptions are **those** few public buildings **connected** directly **with** the water storage tanks and a sewage lagoon or waste treatment plant. There is some effort being put into the construction of holding tanks for human waste for private residential houses and perhaps other buildings, which would allow for the use of flush toilets without the need for a piped water distribution system or sewer pipes. A sewage truck with a pump **would periodically** empty these and transfer the **contents** to a village sewage lagoon. Few of these have been built, however, as the cost per unit is high, **the** sewage trucks and pumps have been unreliable in the experience of most village operators, and few of the village sewage lagoons are actually in operation.

Since the gas used to fuel the generators and to heat the homes and buildings in Barrow is cheaper than the **diesel** used in the outer villages, the cost of providing electricity and heat is higher in the outer **villages** than in Barrow. Since the cost to users in Barrow **and** the outer villages is basically the same (a decision made by the **NSB**), the provision of electricity and heat in the outer villages is heavily subsidized by the NSB. Water charges are actually cheaper in the outer villages, as they are charged only for delivery of the water. Barrow residents connected to the **utilidor** are also charged for the waste water they put back into the **utilidor**. The NSB provides diesel for the heating of residential outer village homes for free. The only charge to the user is the amount the village corporation assesses for delivery of the **fuel** to the homes and the administration of the delivery system. The cost of heating to residents of the outer villages is **still** about two and a half times the cost for Barrow residents (\$250/month compared to \$100/month), and when NSB subsidies are figured in the comparison is even greater. This is an average comparison, so that during the winter months the disparity is even greater.

Barrow is unique among NSB communities in terms of infrastructure, primarily because it was a **fairly** developed community before the establishment of the NSB and is now the hub community for the region. Roughly 60% of the NSB population lives in Barrow, so that services are more developed in Barrow than in the other communities and there is a longer time depth associated with them. **The** delivery of utilities is perhaps the best example of this sort of difference. This history is described in the Barrow chapter but **will** be **resummarized** here.

The federal sites in and around Barrow provided for their own power and water, but were unable to extend these services to the community at large. Barrow Utilities, Incorporated (**BUI**) was formed by local **Inupiat** as a cooperative to provide water and other services to the community. Many of the present **Inupiat** political leaders worked for **BUI** (and later **BUECI**). After the **discovery** of gas, local residents petitioned Congress to allow the Navy to **sell** some to Barrow residents (the gas **fields** are in **NPR-A** and as such are not considered to be a commercial resource, and provided the **primary** fuel at **NARL** and other facilities). Installation of the gas distribution system to Barrow residents was carried out by **BUI** and in operation by 1%5. **BUI** was later renamed the Barrow Utilities and **Electric** Cooperative, Inc. (**BUECI**). During this same period, an electric distribution system was installed in Barrow.

BUI changed its name to reflect its **role** in providing electricity, and became **BUECI**. Today, **BUECI** is responsible for the generation and distribution of electricity throughout Barrow, as well as for distributing gas and treating all the potable water consumed in Barrow. **BUECI** is only responsible for the delivery of water through the **utilidor**, however, as all truck delivery service is provided by private firms. This difference from other villages is due to the NSB not having direct responsibility for water and utilities in Barrow. The NSB does provide most of the capital funds for building facilities, but the management of these facilities and the provision of service within Barrow is done by **BUECI**. All users of **BUECI services** are automatically members, and the fees they pay for services are used for operating expenses. Any excess payments are redistributed to the members as dividends. The NSB does subsidize the cost of water for customers attached to the **utilidor**, as the **utilidor would** not be competitive with truck delivery without such a subsidy and needs a certain user base to be economically feasible at **all**. It is hoped that eventually these subsidies can be reduced as more people are connected to the **utilidor**, but this does not appear to be a near-term prospect. Because **BUECI** uses gas as its main fuel and it is relatively cheap (compared to the oil used to fuel the generators in the outer villages), electricity in Barrow is not significantly subsidized. As **BUECI** is a cooperative and most capital funds are obtained through the NSB, there is little need to keep a capital replacement fund or a large contingency fund. **BUECI** is involved in explorations aimed at discovering new gas reserves near Barrow, since the current gas field is nearing the end of its productive life.

The transient, non-residential labor force employed at the military and industrial enclaves in the region are well-supplied in terms of utilities and facilities. The level of **service** is roughly that of the houses in Barrow connected to the **utilidor**. All such facilities have a secure power supply, a separate water treatment system, flush toilets, and showers. All such facilities still have an air of impermanence about them, however, as they are essentially self-contained units and the **services** will be provided only as long as that particular facility exists. Furthermore, since these are all work sites, the range of services provided is limited to those required by an adult, employed population. These are not social communities in the same sense that the **eight** Native NSB villages are. The villages are, at least in theory, self-replicating, while the **military** and industrial sites are dependent upon migration for their temporary populations.

2. Transportation

There are very real differences between Barrow and the seven outer villages in terms of the frequency with which planes arrive and depart. Barrow is **serviced** by several jets a day, and has an airport with full facilities (including terminals where passengers can wait out of the weather). The villages are serviced by small prop planes which are often grounded by cold temperatures or inclement weather. Some villages are serviced every day, while others are not. None of the outer villages have the frequency of service that Barrow does, and to reach Fairbanks, Anchorage, or other points south a resident of one of the outer villages other than **Kaktovik** or **Anaktuvuk** Pass must first reach Barrow (or in the case of Point Lay and Point Hope, perhaps **Kotzebue**). These small prop planes are operated by airlines that are not quite as strict about their schedules as the major airlines, and the agents they employ in the villages are sometimes not as dependable as one would wish. Flights can be several hours early or several hours late, or never fly at all, dependent on the whims of the earner and the alternate need they have for that aircraft. Air travel to and from the outer villages requires a flexibility and degree of uncertainty that most American air

travelers seldom if ever encounter. Residents of the outer villages must cope with this as a matter of course.

There are also very real differences among the seven outer villages in regard to air travel. **Anaktuvuk** Pass is the most extreme case, as it is not connected to any other location on the North Slope. It has **regularly** scheduled service only to Fairbanks, several times a day. Charter service to points north is **available**, but is quite expensive. Kaktovik has **scheduled** flights to Fairbanks and to Barrow via Deadhorse. Thus, individuals from **Kaktovik** who want to go south go directly to Fairbanks. Only to reach other NSB villages (excluding **Anaktuvuk** Pass) **would** they go to Barrow. **Nuiqsut** has scheduled flights **only** to Barrow and to **Deadhorse**. Sometimes the order of stops changes **while** the plane is in the air, but **service** is at least daily. **Atqasuk** has frequent flights to Barrow, as does **Wainwright**. In addition, **Wainwright** is part of a less frequent route between **Kotzebue** and Barrow which also has scheduled stops **in** Point Lay and Point Hope. In actuality, the carrier **tries** to have the plane turn around in Point Hope by meeting a plane from **Kotzebue** and Point Lay is often bypassed due to the **plane** being **full**, or “weather.” Point Hope has more frequently scheduled **service** to **Kotzebue** than it does to Barrow, and most people prefer to travel south rather than north if given the option. NSB officials who go to Point Hope for one day of meetings will often either fly by charter, thus controlling their own schedule, or **will** fly south to Point Hope via Wainwright and Point Lay but return to Barrow via **Kotzebue**. This is faster than waiting for the return trip “directly” north, and is also less subject to weather **delays** and cancellations. Point Hope thus has better air links to the south than the north. Point Lay is in an intermediate position between **Wainwright** and Point Hope. There are few or no flights scheduled with Point Lay as their final destination, as Point Lay is so small. The **few** flights that are scheduled as Barrow to Point Lay are subject to cancellation if there are not several passengers. Still, there are more scheduled flights into and out of Point Lay from Barrow than from the south. Point Lay as a community is definitely more oriented to Barrow than to **Kotzebue** as a transportation hub.

The same consideration applies to freight, mail, and other goods shipped to the outer villages. All the villages have airstrips capable of accommodating the largest planes. **Only** Barrow is of a sufficient size to economically justify regular freight planes, however, so for the most part the outer villages are dependent upon the smaller planes of the small airlines in this regard as well. **Mail service** is provided three or four times a week in the smaller villages, but only because it is subsidized. In fact, without this mail subsidy, freight and passenger service to the outer villages would be even less frequent, and more irregular, than it presently **is**. **The small** size of most of the planes normally flying to the outer villages also imposes additional costs for individuals buying relatively large items. Even **snowmachines** must most often be flown in on a special charter. In general, villagers **try** to schedule such purchases together, so that they can share the cost of the charter. Alternatively, there are sometimes “free freight” flights bringing material in for various NSB construction projects which sometimes have extra room for such purchases by individuals. There has been perhaps an average of one of these per village from Fairbanks or Anchorage each year since the **CIP** program began. Still, people charter for a substantial number of the bulky items they purchase.

The bypass mail system **allows** outer village residents to purchase a great deal by mail that would otherwise be too expensive, but **also** has its limitations. The **system** is best suited for durable goods and groceries that are prepackaged and unaffected by temperature. Fresh items are often spoiled

by delays inherent in the system. Even canned items are not infrequently ruined by the frozen contents rupturing the can (soda pop especially, since it is perhaps the most commonly shipped item). The system is ideal for smaller-sized items. Larger items, as discussed in the previous paragraph, pose extra problems.

Barrow is a much more motorized community than any of the outer villages. The residents of all NSB Native villages own a good number of vehicles associated with subsistence harvest pursuits (**snowmachines**, ATVS, boats). In the outer villages these vehicles double as transportation within the village as well. Public vehicles (utility trucks and so on) are also used to run errands during the course of the workday and to assist Elders especially, and the few privately-owned trucks are also used in this way. Most outer village residents, however, rely on snowmachines or three- and four-wheelers for regular transportation.

Barrow, by its very nature, discourages such a use **of** these vehicles. Barrow is physically a much larger community, and its roads are free of ice and *snow* (partly due to the greater vehicular traffic) a much greater part of the time than in the outer villages. Since **all** roads on the North Slope are gravel, they are **quite** hard on **snowmachines** when not covered by **ice** or snow. Much **of** Barrow is thus to **all intents** and purposes cut off from **snowmachine** traffic for much of the year. The careful observer can note that the **interior** parts of Barrow have fewer **snowmachines** **in** yards than the fringes, and that often houses on the fringes will have several machines. It appears that people may be keeping their machines on the outskirts of the community even if they live more in the middle of the village. We were unable to investigate this due to lack of time, but the observations are suggestive. Three- and four-wheeler **travel** within Barrow has been discouraged by the heavy volume of car and truck traffic as **well** as the recent requirement that all such ATVS be registered and that drivers must be over eighteen years of age. It is presumed that sleds **pulled** by **snowmachines** are generally not used within the city limits for similar reasons. They do no mix with vehicular traffic very **well**. The whaling season may be an important exception to these **observations**. This past year one of the successful Barrow whaling captains lived near the airport on a well-used street. To enable his crew to transport his whale to his house the city made a snow trail on the side of the street for **snowmachines** pulling sleds. Most of the snowmachine traffic was during the “night” when vehicular traffic was lowest. During other parts of the year it is unusual to see a sled in the streets of Barrow.

There is also a greater need for trucks to move cargo and gear in Barrow than in the outer villages. In the outer villages most hauling is done over rough terrain and that which is done within the village can be done by borrowing a public truck or using a sled for the short distance involved. In Barrow most hauling is done within the village, or between the village and NARL, over roads. This is most conveniently done with trucks. There is an increased interest in **Nuiqsut** in owning private trucks, with the annual construction of an ice road to Prudhoe Bay. This allows surface transportation to Fairbanks (and, beyond) and substantially lowers the price for certain consumer items. Even in the absence of an ice road some **Inupiat** keep a vehicle in **Prudhoe Bay** permanently to use as transportation to and from Fairbanks. Boats have been towed up the haul road to Prudhoe and taken by water to their final destination. Smaller consumer goods are hauled to **Prudhoe** and either flown to the villages or trucked over an ice road.

Industrial enclaves are for the most part serviced by charter service tailored to the needs of the site. The exception, of course, is the Prudhoe/Kuparuk **complex**, which is perhaps the major

transportation hub **of** the North Slope. Barrow is perhaps more **of** a center in terms of **travel** to the other villages, but **Kaktovik** and **Nuiqsut** are both **serviced** via Deadhorse, and **Anaktuvuk** Pass is not reachable from either Deadhorse or Barrow except by charter.

3. Recreational Facilities

For **NSB** villages in general, recreational facilities **are** limited. Barrow is again the major exception, displaying the most variety and choice of facilities. In the outer villages the major recreational facilities are provided by the schools, which are available in the evenings and on the weekends. The gym is used most, with libraries, shops, and other facilities being open perhaps one or two nights a **week**. In addition to the school, most NSB communities will have a community center of some sort. This is frequently where bingo is held and in several **villages** also has a game room which may contain video games as well as board games, **pool** tables, and other indoor activity equipment. In most villages this is where public meetings are **held** and sometimes is the site for **public** festivities (the school also typically hosts a number of these events). Most villages have a small outdoor playground of some sort or other.

Barrow, in addition to the typical village recreational resources, also has its own city-constructed recreational building. The gym here is smaller than that of the high school, but is under direct city control. There are also racquetball courts, a sauna, and showers. The city also maintains a softball field, sponsors a spring festival every year, and **employs** a recreation director in charge of a wide-ranging recreation program. None of the outer villages have any sort of formally organized recreational program.

All of the villages of course are surrounded by open land which is used for subsistence harvesting activities. These activities have a recreational component, although this aspect has not been stressed in the subsistence literature or in **Inupiat** informant reports. It is nevertheless evident that the ability to leave the village and its problems behind in a landscape essentially devoid of other **people** is an important component of subsistence **harvesting** activities. One informant in Point Lay said that whenever he became too tense because of his job and demands placed upon him by life in the village that he went **out** and **killed** something. Given his sense of humor, the interplay between him and the interviewer, and the context of the rest of the interview, his intended meaning was that it was the being out of the village, and not the act of killing, that relieved his tension. Other informants have approached saying this more directly, although none assign it a primary importance in going out. Several families make it a practice to periodically go out on picnics where the principal objective is to enjoy the company of the others **while** eating in a natural setting. Some subsistence pursuits, and most notably ice fishing, seem to have a very important social component to them. Little differentiation was found among the villages in regard to these activities

4. Infrastructure Responsibility and Maintenance

In most of the villages the ultimate responsibility for almost all infrastructure and services falls on the **NSB**. Local people are, of course, hired for the **local** positions, but all **village** supervisors report to department heads in Barrow. Reflecting the recent completion of most CIP projects and

the shift from capital-intensive projects to programs oriented more to operation and maintenance, the Utilities Department and the Department of Public Works were recently merged into the Department of Municipal Services. The practical result was that in the outer villages one of the two **pre-existing** department heads was promoted to be the head of village Municipal Services (in most, but not **all**, cases the head of Public Works was promoted). This person essentially assumed the responsibilities of both prior department heads and the one not promoted most often perceived this as an insult and/or demotion. In any event, the net result was a greater centralization of village **services** and a more direct **connection** to the Barrow central office, with some loss of independence of action.

The central reason given for this **consolidation** was economic. It was claimed that the merger of the two departments would eliminate the duplication of certain facilities (maintenance for vehicles, storage) and would reduce the number of village administrators. In fact, the **result** has been an increase (by one) of village administrators, and in most **cases** facilities were not overly duplicative. The main problem has been the coordination of the use of facilities that are often in short supply, and the merger has apparently helped in this regard. The historical rivalry between the Utilities Department and the Department of **Public** Works does continue, however, and there are some rough spots **still** to be smoothed out in this arrangement.

Another reason suggested for this merger was the problems that the NSB was having in hiring interested, available, competent, and dependable village personnel. **All** these aspects of the employees are important, as the provision of these **services** are vital to the community and any interruption in delivery **would** have immediate and profound effects. The necessary operation and maintenance tasks to ensure this continued **service** can be scheduled so that a village crew can handle them for the most part. For major tasks, such as a generator overhaul or emergency repairs, a special crew from Barrow is called in. There is also a Barrow-based crew that handles more routine matters that for one reason or another cannot be taken care of within the village. The new Department of Municipal **Services**, with a communications center in Barrow, makes the coordination of these trouble-shooting crews much easier, and a good deal of expense is saved by no longer trying to maintain people in each village able to handle any situation when, in fact, such people are in very short supply and such expertise is seldom needed in any event.

The school system is another area where a similar development can be seen. The NSB is, of course, responsible for the **school** system and again the central offices are in Barrow. The NSB builds and maintains all the schools. Until relatively recently, NSB philosophy was to have a plant manager in each village who could **fix** anything that **could** go wrong with the school. Since the schools are complex buildings, with several heating systems, complex plumbing, sewer facilities, and other specialty construction features, in practice this resulted in hiring plant managers from outside the village who were typically **non-Inupiat**. The NSB has now made a decision to hire local **plant** managers wherever possible (some **Inupiat**, some **non-Inupiat**) and has instituted the same sort of rotating maintenance *crew as* the Department of Municipal **Services**. The perceived advantages are increased local satisfaction and some economic savings. Whether further economic savings will materialize is not yet clear.

The clinics and fire stations in the villages have been operated under a similar system since their construction, as there were no existing village organizations capable of assuming responsibility for them once they were built. It is possible that the **NSB** saw the success this management system

was having with the clinics and the fire stations, since all have been maintained in excellent condition, and decided to expand its application. The **clinic** maintenance personnel division is separate from that of other facilities. The fire stations are maintained by members of the **NSB Fire Department**, based out of Barrow. Since there are strict state regulations governing clinics and fire protection, the NSB has been very active in the supervision of these village facilities from the start.

The post offices in most of the villages are contract post offices. That **is**, the Federal government has a contract with some responsible entity to provide space and services to ensure the delivery of the **mail**. The actual ownership and operating **rules** of these post offices vary from village to village, but daily mail delivery is now the norm in most communities.

Housing is a complicated subject on the North **Slope**. **All** villages contain a large percentage of **NSB-constructed** housing, and some of the newer villages (**Nuiqsut**, Point Lay, **Atqasuk**) contain a very high percentage of **NSB-constructed** houses. These can range from the small one-room houses built in the early 1970s to more recent multi-bedroom ranch style houses and apartment complexes (the latter mostly in Barrow). There are a substantial number of privately constructed homes in the older communities, especially **Point Hope**, Wainwright, and Barrow. The eider these are, the **smaller** they tend to be. Newer, **privately-constructed**, homes tend to be either **simple** boxes or relatively large, **well-designed** structures. **NSB-constructed** housing has slowed for the time being, partly because Federal money for the Arctic Slope **Regional Housing Authority (ASRHA)** has not been allocated for the last several years. Most regional housing authorities use the money they are allocated to build houses, which they then sell to residents on very attractive terms. In theory, once a grant is made, the system **could** be self-perpetuating. **As** one house is paid off, another could be **built** and **sold**. **In** practice, however, the system is never that efficient. The more attractive the terms, the more satisfied the customer, but the lower the return. Potentially, if the terms are made attractive enough, the housing authority does not recover a very large percentage of the money allocated to it and so must ask for another allocation. Such allocations are made on the **basis** of established criteria upon which the ASRHA has so far not ranked very highly.

The **ASRHA** is also the **only** housing authority **in Alaska** that does not actually build houses. Instead, when money is available to it, **the ASRHA will** buy houses from the NSB which up to that point have been part of the NSB rental program. Once the **ASRHA** buys them they are converted to the home-ownership program, whereupon the occupant eventually obtains ownership of the house for a monthly payment based upon **his** or her income, typically for a period of twenty years. In most cases, the rent the person had previously paid was also based on income and is typically exactly the same amount as the new payments. In the outer villages the most common payment is \$100/month, the minimum for the program and an amount that essentially covers the administrative costs of the program. It is thus evident that the ASRHA recovers little or none of the cost of the housing it transfers to the program participants. In Barrow, rent and **home-ownership** payments tend to more **closely** reflect the market value of the housing involved, so that some of the housing **costs** are likely recovered **in** that community. A substantial subsidy **still** exists in **Barrow**, however, especially for **Inupiat** residents.

The responsibility for air strips varies from one community to another. In most, the state has ultimate responsibility, although local **people** using local equipment maintain the facilities. Point

Lay is unique in that the DEW-Line air strip also **serves** as the community's airstrip. All other NSB communities with DEW-Line sites (**Kaktovik**, Barrow, and **Wainwright**) have separate air strips for community use. The Point Lay case resulted from a cooperative effort between the NSB and the federal government in an explicit effort to avoid the cost of constructing two modern air strips for the smallest community on the North **Slope**.

Roads and streets are a NSB responsibility that is taken care of within each of the villages. Money is allocated by the NSB and is part of the budget of the Department of Municipal Semites. This is unproblematic for the most part. The **only** exception is **Nuiqsut**, which because of its proximity to **Prudhoe Bay**, **Kuparuk**, and the **Oliktok** Point water treatment facilities, is connected to Deadhorse by an **ice** road each winter. This is discussed in the **Nuiqsut** chapter.

F. Fire Protection

Little systematic **information** exists on fire protection in the villages. **All** the villages have a large, modern fire station and the latest equipment.. Barrow has two fire stations, one in Barrow and one in **Browerville**. All North Slope fire departments are manned by volunteers. The NSB employs a professional fire fighter as its fire chief and he and his small staff are responsible for the administration of the department and the training of the village volunteer units. In the past, fire was significantly more of a problem in Barrow than in the outer villages due to the older and more substandard housing stock in Barrow. Outer village housing tends to be newer and more **widely** spaced than housing in Barrow. Current information on the activities of each of the village departments is unavailable, however, so it is not known if this pattern is still the case.

G. Search and Rescue

Search and rescue follows the fire department model in that the NSB has a **small** paid professional staff which administers the department. Each of the villages has a search and rescue organization manned by volunteers. Most of these village units have almost the same memberships as the local fire departments. Besides providing these volunteer units with their equipment and operating budgets, the central NSB Search and Rescue office also maintains air and water support equipment that the village units can request when it would be helpful in local searches. The aircraft are operated by NSB personnel assisted by local volunteers.

The VSAR organizations also receive support from the state as well as the NSB. In the past the NSB paid all the bills for Search and Rescue, but with the recent need to economize has begun to make use of whatever alternative funding programs are available. One of these is operated by the state to assist communities with search and rescue operations. These funds are paid directly from the state to the VSAR organization. In fact, the NSB may pay the bills and then actually receive the money on behalf of the VSAR involved, but the effect would be the same. The reimbursement is dependent upon the local PSO making a **visual** inspection of all machines involved in the search before they go out and processing all the paperwork and receipts. If properly documented, the state will pay for gas, food, machine repairs, and other equipment needed for the search.

The local VSAR is always the lead organization in **local** searches. Normally, the **local** VSAR will not ask for assistance until a search has entered its third day, as from experience most searches end within two days. Either the person being sought finds his way back to the village (most often after a mechanical failure) or a member of the **local** VSAR spots the individual and brings him back. Once it appears that the search may take longer, a request is made to Barrow to mobilize the more extensive resources needed for a more extended search. This not only includes air support to cover a wider area faster, but also the help of the VSAR organizations from other villages to help in the manpower requirements **of** the search. Few **of** the outer villages have sufficient numbers to support **an** extended search effort while maintaining **all** community services as **well**. Barrow, the largest community with the largest **VSAR** and direct connections to the **NSB SAR** organization, probably could. In most cases even **Barrow** receives at least nominal support from other VSAR organizations, however.

Not **all** VSAR organizations are **considered** to be equally proficient, although NSB **Inupiat** would not phrase it that way. AU are considered competent enough to **handle** the more common and expected searches arising from a hunter's mechanical failure or misjudgment of time required for travel. Certain VSAR organizations are said to contain individuals with extraordinary expertise in certain skills needed for certain kinds of searches, and these VSAR organizations are more **commonly** asked for help than are others. Wainwright **and** Barrow **seem** to respond to more such requests for assistance than other VSAR organizations. The **Atqasuk** VSAR unit is also **quite** active. Point Hope VSAR members are reported to be quite good in general, but cooperate less in searches than the other VSAR units, perhaps because of location and logistical problems. Proximity seems to play a very important part in which VSAR organizations are **called** upon to take part in a search.

Different **villages** have somewhat different "**typical**" search problems. Point Hope people say that the flat **lands** between the village and the mountains are actually where most **people** lose their way, because of the lack of landmarks and the often restricted vision. People do not get lost in the mountains, although their equipment does break down there. Trails to the most common destinations are marked, but the markings are not always visible and may sometimes prompt those who do not **really** know their way to **go** out when they should **not**. **Recent** searches in the Point Lay area have concentrated more on areas near water (the lagoon, ocean, rivers, and lakes) as accidents seem to be more prevalent than **people** getting **lost** or stuck out on the tundra. **Nuiqsut** searches are often for hunters who are found to have had mechanical problems, which is understandable given the great distances that these hunters say they typically travel in one trip. Information from the other villages is available **only** on an even more impressionistic basis, but the main determining factors of who gets searched for when is the local terrain and the subsistence resource **harvesting** patterns of the village.

There are several classes of events that cause people to become the object of searches. In **all** cases **all** that the local VSAR organization knows is that a person or persons is missing. The cause may be mechanical failure, disorientation, weather conditions, accident, or death. The first is recognized as an unavoidable problem. At some time everyone who goes out experiences mechanical failure, no matter how new his equipment or how rigorous his preventive maintenance program. Although it is stressed that no one **should** go out alone, people still do so on occasion (and some by choice nearly all the time). One of the reasons not to go out alone is that one's partner's equipment serves as a backup to one's own. Also, two **people** are considered less likely

to become disorientated than a single person. It is **also** considered prudent to have a partner along to help in case of accident, as most hunting mishaps occur to individual hunters and not to groups. An incident that may be fatal to a solitary hunter may be merely inconvenient if he is accompanied by another person who can assist him. It is also noted that this simple precaution of not going out alone would have eliminated the need to mobilize search resources in a significant number of recent searches.

Although most of the funding for search and rescue operations **comes** from the NSB or the state, there are expenses which are either **difficult** to document or which are so immediate that there is no time to obtain these funds. In these cases local funds are used. In most cases these are contributions from local service organizations (the Mothers' Club, the Lions) or from the proceeds of bingo sessions held specifically for this purpose. This is one respect in which most VSAR organizations are different **from local** volunteer fire departments (VFD). The VFDs receive a regular budget, which the VSAR organization does not. This had led to some administrative tension between the two departments at the NSB **level**, where they are administratively and **budgetarily** separate. In most villages they are almost treated as one organization, since their membership is basically the same and both use the same facilities (the fire **hall**) in most of the villages. The fire department is commonly viewed as more of a NSB organization, especially since it formally runs the building that both organizations meet in and where they store their equipment. The fire department also has quite a bit more equipment, and as stated before, has an assured annual budget.

There are other contrasts between the two organizations which **relate** to their social organization. The **fire** department is equipment-intensive in its operations, requiring expensive and specialized gear while, on the other hand, search and rescue is labor intensive, requiring a substantial number of individuals to conduct a ground search and little in the way of specialized gear. Where capital equipment is required for search support, such as fixed-wing aircraft or helicopters, this equipment is provided directly by the NSB and manned by NSB employees. The skills utilized by fire **fighters** are acquired through specialized training the skills used by searchers in **SAR** operations are pretty much the same **skills** that the individuals have been honing over a period of years in the normal course of subsistence hunting pursuits. Fire fighting requires a knowledge of fire behavior and structural designs; search and rescue requires a knowledge of human behavior and the natural environment. Fire fighting operations are typically intense, but short-lived phenomena that require little in the way of broad-based supportive action by the community searches often extend for considerable periods of time and require the involvement of a large number of individuals to support the operation. Women are highly **involved** in search operations, primarily in support capacities, but are apparently virtually uninvolved in fire fighting operations.

H. Public Safety

The history of the Public Safety Department is recounted **in** the City of Barrow chapter, as Barrow is the administrative center of the department and the base of the organization that developed into the NSB Public Safety Department. **While** the problems of each of the villages differ somewhat from each other, the seven outer villages are much more similar to each other than they are to Barrow and most PSOS readily distinguish between the two. They speak of "the village" (meaning the Native communities outside of Barrow) as requiring one sort of PSO or enforcement style and

“Barrow” as requiring another. Part of this difference is due to the differing social context in the outer villages as opposed to Barrow, and part is due to Public Safety Department policy. These issues are discussed below.

Barrow is a large community, whereas the other villages are quite small. Barrow is ethnically quite diverse, with a resident non-Inupiat population, whereas the other villages are almost totally **Inupiat** in composition with most **non-Inupiat** being very transitory. The department of Public Safety has its administrative headquarters in Barrow. These factors combined with the relatively **small** size of the department and the variety of specialized tasks it must perform result in a much larger presence for the department in Barrow than in the outer villages. In 1988 the department consisted of **twenty** line officers (**PSOs**) and ten **supervisors** (five corporals, two sergeants, a captain, a commander, and a director). There are also seven corrections officers staffing the jail and eighteen civilian support staff positions. While the department may appear to be top-heavy, having less than three line and corrections officers for each **supervisor**, the nature of the department makes this almost inevitable. The smaller a police or public safety department is, the more top-heavy it will be simply because there are a minimal number of hierarchical positions that need to be **filled** in any organization. Combined with this is the need in Barrow for personnel to fill such specialized functional slots as the liaison with the high school (drug and public relations program), the detective division, and other positions that basically have responsibility for certain programmatic areas but have little or no supervisory responsibilities. The major posts for supervising personnel are the people responsible for village operations, Barrow operations, and the jail.

At least in theory, each of the outer villages is assigned two **permanent PSOs**. In **actuality**, most villages make due with one PSO who is assigned primarily to the village but in fact spends a good **deal** of time outside of the village (on leave, making court appearances, or filling in for another village PSO in a different village). One of the considerations is that current staffing and **budgetary** levels do not allow for two PSOS in every village. The lack of two PSOS in the outer villages ensures that there will be little or no continuity of service, however, as no single PSO is in any of these villages for longer than two months at a time. The department has generous leave provisions and the normal processing of cases requires that the arresting PSO make court appearances which take him out of his duty village. In order not to leave the village unprotected, a substitute PSO is **flown** in. This often has a “domino effect” which ripples out over the entire slope. In the outer villages, short-term staffing decisions almost **always** take priority over the interests of long-term **continuity** and community relations.

The conduct of an outer village PSO is different from that of a Barrow PSO, in many cases because it has to be. A village PSO is often alone, with no backup **closer** than Barrow or the nearest other village. This makes most officers a little more cautious. Village PSOs receive no help with their paperwork and know that any case which requires a court appearance is going to take them out **of** the village and disrupt the schedule of whoever **comes** in to substitute for them. While village PSOS look **forward** to a few trips out of the village for court appearances, most want to limit them and feel that they have to take too many at present. No PSO ever claimed not to pursue a case he viewed as not serious because of the paperwork and travel its pursuit might entail, but the possibility exists that a differential enforcement policy **could** arise between Barrow and the outer villages because of the staffing differences. If nothing else, a village PSO can become very tired. While a village PSO has no assigned patrol duties and often appears to be

killing time, in fact he is on call twenty-four hours a day and at best has only one partner to share the workload with. In Barrow, on the other hand, officers work eight-hour shifts and have sixteen hours that they know in advance is their own. The tradeoff for this is that the Barrow officer's performance can be more easily monitored statistically by what he is doing. The village PSO'S job by its very nature is more diffuse. He is the total representation of the department in the village and **must** be a generalist. He is as much a public relations representative as a law enforcement officer, and can often accomplish more informally (which does not show up in the records or statistics) than he can by strictly enforcing the law.

The departmental uniform policy reflects this dichotomy between the villages and Barrow. **In** Barrow, **all** PSOS wear their regulation uniform while on duty and civilian cloths when off duty. This clearly distinguishes them from other residents when they are on duty and allows them the privacy of the status of private citizens (for the most part) when they are off duty. For the most part, the people these officers **deal** with in their official capacities are not the same as those they interact with socially and **while** they are not unknown to the public in general, they are also not familiar to the **public** at large. In the villages, on the other hand, PSOS are very **well** known and the wearing of the uniform is a personal choice. Some PSOS always wear the uniform, some sometimes, and others hardly ever. Some wear parts of it. This causes no confusion in the villages, however, since everyone **knows** who the PSO is and have no hesitation about calling upon him at any time, day or night. There are relatively few **non-Inupiat** in the villages compared to Barrow and the small size of these communities means that everyone knows everyone else. Because there is only one PSO in most villages most of the time, he handles all PSO **matters**. Because the communities are so small, what is considered a PSO matter is much more broadly defined in the villages than in Barrow, since there are so few official authorities in the villages.

This difference between the behavior pattern required of a PSO in Barrow and the villages is recognized by both the public the PSOS serve and the departmental administration, but is **still** often ignored in the interests of administrative consistency and enforcement protocol. To villagers, this often appears to be a bias against the villages and a preference for Barrow-style PSO behavior. Several villages explicitly have complained about PSOS who make little effort to learn about the community, who seldom interact with the Natives, and who are often difficult to contact when a person wants them. Often added to such complaints are comments that such PSOS do not take appropriate actions upon peoples' complaints and thus do not prevent later, more serious, events and that they do as little as they possibly can while in the village. Most often the basis for these sorts of complaints appears not to be the competency of the PSOS in question, but personality differences between those PSOS and certain community members (and perhaps an inability or unwillingness of the PSOS to adopt a more "village PSO" mode of interaction). Before the relatively recent adoption of the two-year-village-one-year-Barrow rotation by the Public Safety department, there was a remarkably consistent pattern of village relations to resident PSOs. Recent arrivals were not very popular and were compared unfavorably to past PSOS. After a year or so relations became cordial and even friendly. Pleasant relations continued through perhaps the third year, at which time relations began to again deteriorate. Partly in reaction to this, the rotation policy was designed so that no PSO was stationed in any village long enough to wear out his welcome.

Probably the most common complaint against village PSOS is that they are enforcing the law too rigidly or unfairly. What is usually meant by such complaints is the village perception that the PSO

is not abiding by village conventions in terms of noninterventionist behavior, and that the PSO may not be as sensitive to the village's internal power structure as the village (or at least that power structure) would wish. This has been observed in several villages and discussed with Public Safety personnel in all villages where fieldwork was conducted, even where the pattern was not behaviorally present at the time. Their consensus was that the outer villages were very different from Barrow in terms of the actions required from the **local PSOs**, and that the NSB training does not (and perhaps cannot) **fully** address this issue. Many NSB PSOS are hired directly from the lower-48, where they have some (and sometimes extensive) police experience. Some may have even worked among Native American populations, but for most this is a new experience. The training **program** in Barrow concentrates on making them feel comfortable in the community. This involves an eight or ten week program to orient all new recruits to Barrow, where they **will** serve their first year in the department. The program involves meeting with groups of Barrow Elders, taking with teenagers, and so on. After the year's **service** in Barrow is up, however, the new officers are assigned to an outer village for a two-year period of time and **simply** transported out to that village. In most cases there will be a second PSO in that village who has been there for some period of time, one year on the average. The past experience has been that it is only **very** rarely when both village PSOS are in an outer village at the same time. At any rate, it is not uncommon for a PSO with only one year's experience in Barrow to find himself **alone** in one of the outer villages. Unlike his experience in Barrow, there is no **formal** orientation program in the outer villages. The new PSO is expected to perform these tasks **on** his own (perhaps applying what was done in the Barrow program). **Local** villagers rarely go out of their way to welcome a new PSO, having learned from experience that avoidance is often the wisest policy, but few **will** actively make the life of the PSO any more difficult than it already is either.

There are several main differences between public safety in Barrow and the outer villages, but they **all** are related to the difference in size and **scale** between the two. Office hours in the **village** are necessarily flexible, although a few village PSOS try to keep regular office **hours**. Most operate under the rule "If the vehicle is in front of the office, I am in the office," and this seems to work reasonably **well**. **All village** PSOS carry remote responder phones so that they' can answer calls to the PSO line no matter where they are in the village. The only restriction this **places** on them is that they cannot go outside of the village for any great distance without being sure that another PSO is available for duty. In Barrow there are many PSOS and the entire administrative staff of the department. **All** personnel work regular shifts, although some special duty assignments may require different hours to be worked. This **allows** Barrow PSOS to live a much more orderly and regulated life, which is especially important to the officers if they have families. Barrow PSOS are also more closely supervised by their superiors than are village **PSOs**. **All** PSOS submit computer report forms every day on their activities, but the system is not **always** operative from the villages and it is more difficult to **ask** for clarification from an outer village than from an officer in Barrow. Besides working shifts, many Barrow PSOS are somewhat specialized in the duties that they perform. Village PSOS must be prepared to handle the full spectrum of calls.

This last aspect is what most vividly separates the outer villages from Barrow. Each village **PSO** must be, in effect, his own public relations officer. In Barrow there is a special officer to handle this. In the outer villages each officer is on his own. There are fewer **formal** situations in the outer villages than in Barrow and a larger portion of the village PSO'S time is occupied by "non-police" business than in **Barrow**. Informally helping **people** with problems and problem prevention

are often cited by village residents as the real role of a village PSO, while in Barrow most PSOS are involved in routine patrols and enforcement details.

From the observational information available from the villages, it is clear that most village residents do not want “do nothing” PSOS, but neither do they want PSOS who are primarily enforcement oriented. The **ideal PSO would** appear to be one who treated everyone equally, was more concerned with helping **people** solve their problems than with issuing citations, and who acted to protect the safety of village residents. It is accepted that with the protection of residents, the issuance of a certain number of citations, and the incarceration of a certain number of residents, is more-or-less inevitable. With very few exceptions, no villager wants to see another go to jail, so that they want to see as many problems dealt with in an informal and non-judicial way as possible. To the extent that the village PSO can **fit** within such a framework, he **will** find his work easier. Some PSOs find that it suits their personalities to work in this way and that the more “by the book routine of Barrow is less appealing. Other PSOS are the reverse, and see the de-emphasis of enforcement activity in the outer villages as an abdication of what they consider their primary **police** function.

Recent turnover in the department has been high and there have been a large number of new hires in the last 18 months. This is partially due to the fact that the department was understaffed for quite a period of time and has now returned to **full** strength.

I. **Schools**

1. History

Schools have had a long influence on the settlement patterns of the North Slope. The temporary demise of certain communities (Point Lay, **Nuiqsut**, Anaktuvuk Pass, and perhaps **Atqasuk**) has been at least partially attributed to the lack of a permanent **school** in those locations. Icy Cape maintained a relatively large population until its school was closed. Only the three North Slope communities that had mission **schools** established early in the 1900s have displayed a continuity of population up through the present. Point Hope, Wainwright, and Barrow were all also sites of precontact settlement (although the Wainwright area was not apparently a “permanent” settlement site). Kaktovik was not really a major settlement until the establishment of a DEW Line station there in the 1950s, but has existed as a settled village since the founding of a trading post there **in** the 1920s. The early schools were **all** associated with the missions and later taken over by the **BIA**. These schools were limited to the sixth grade, for the most part, and required that students leave the North Slope for high school. It has been often remarked that the loss of Native language proficiency is at least in part due to the insistence that English be used in school. This was certainly a factor on the North Slope, but there is no literature to indicate if mission schools were any better or worse than later **BIA** schools in this regard. In any event, when the NSB was formed in the early 1970s responsibilities for the schools were transferred to the NSB **School** District. **The** NSB School Board is controlled by Inupiat, but as will be discussed below the policies they set and the programs they have developed reflect more of a standard school curriculum than of one especially adapted to North Slope Inupiat needs.

Since the formation of the NSB, the provision of local educational opportunities through high school has been a priority item. At the same time, the provision of post-secondary educational opportunities has also been of interest. For a brief time there was a college functioning in Barrow, with the support of the NSB, but for a number of reasons it floundered. Currently, the higher education center program in Barrow is accredited through the University of Alaska at Fairbanks and offers classes to residents of Barrow and via telephone to residents of **the** outer villages.

2. Organization and Operations

The NSB School District comprises the entire NSB. Each village has its own school, comprising preschool classes through the twelfth grade. The school district is administered from Barrow, where the school district has its offices. The NSB **School** Board is also based in Barrow. The members of the **school** board are elected at large, but are predominately Barrow residents, resembling the NSB Assembly in representational composition. The lack of outer village representation on the NSB School Board is a recognized problem that the NSBSD tries to **deal** with through local school advisory councils (SAC) in each village. Each SAC is elected by the residents of the village in question and meets on a regular basis, with the principal of the local school, to discuss local issues. The **principal** then communicates any comments, suggestions, or questions to the NSB School Board and relays responses to the SAC.

The **local** SACS are essentially, powerless however, as they are only advisory in nature. Their formal liaison to the **NSB** School Board is through the local principal, an individual hired by the NSB School Board. Many members of local SACS feel that the SACS are more frequently used for the **local** implementation of decisions made in Barrow or as a tool in bargaining sessions between the local principal and Barrow over available resources than as a true conduit for the expression of **local** preferences and desires in terms of village education. **All** policy decisions are made in Barrow by the **school** board. All hiring is done by the administration in Barrow, with the approval of the school board. All teacher and principal assignments are made by the administration in Barrow, with little input from the villages and often not much more from the teachers (principals tend to have somewhat more influence).

The superintendent of the **school** district has always been **non-Inupiat**. Until very recently, all principals had been non-Native. Teachers continue to be predominately **non-Inupiat**, especially the certified staff. The few **Inupiat** teachers almost **all** teach either the **Inupiaq** language as recognized local experts or ECE **classes**. The support staff in most schools is predominately **Inupiat**, but the head of the physical plant is in every case **non-Inupiat**. Secretarial positions are mixed in terms of ethnicity. Custodial and maintenance positions are mostly **Inupiat** in nature.

The schedule for each school is determined by that school's SAC, with the approval of the NSB School Board. Such approval is not automatic, but is most commonly given. The school year usually begins in August and ends in May. School days are from about **9:00** to **3:00**, with recreation programs operating for various age groups from the close of school to **11:00** PM or so (with a break for dinner). Teachers go in earlier to set up for classes and to hold staff meetings. Some schools have educational programs in the evenings for **adults** (shop and craft courses mostly) and the school **library** is usually open one or two evenings a week.

There is also a continuing education program that operates in Barrow for adults, and a higher educational center that is centered in Barrow but that conducts many of its courses via teleconference linkages to allow people in the outer villages to participate. The relationship between these two programs is quite complex and in the process of change. They may very well merge into one program in the near future.

3. Issues

The major issue which underlies all others is the question of local control over the schools. Mixed into this issue is the debate over the proper curriculum for the North Slope, generally phrased as "Western" versus "Inupiat" in terms of cultural orientation and content focus. While it is by no means clear that local control would favor "Inupiat" content, it is certainly the current perception that the present NSB School Board is basically non-local for most of the district's schools and favors a "Western" curriculum. The school board in Barrow clearly sets policy at present. There are those who say that the school board, in turn, relies heavily on the non-Inupiat superintendent and staff that it hires for recommendations in this area. Given the recent turnover in the superintendent position, and the long-term tenure of the present superintendent with the school district in other positions, this may be an unfair perception. The school board apparently hires administrators who it feels can best achieve the board's goals. These goals have been phrased in standard educational measures as improved attendance and increased achievement. While the board has also been supportive of programs to support Inupiaq culture (language programs, crafts, oral traditions), it has been recognized that these programs have not met with much success, at least in terms of the measures that professional educators recognize.

Also confounded with these questions is the issue of Barrow schools versus the outer village schools. The NSB School Board does represent the interests of Barrow more than the outer villages, because their schools do differ. Barrow is large enough, and has enough students, so that it can support a variety of programs tailored to the needs of different groups of students. The student population in Barrow is also diverse enough to require such programs. A significant number of Barrow students can be expected to go on to college or other post-secondary schools, making a college preparatory curriculum a viable choice. The villages, on the other hand, have much smaller student populations with a smaller degree of diversity. On the whole, the village population is not as supportive of education after high school as the Barrow population. Students from the outer villages tend to attempt post-secondary education less frequently than Barrow students, and have a lower success rate. How much this may be due to ethnic differences is unknown since statistics of this nature were unavailable.

Information is not equally good on all village schools, but it appears that the smaller schools share a common set of serious problems. Their size limits the programs that they can offer. At present, their enrollment is heavily skewed towards the younger grades, so that teenagers and especially high school students are doubly disadvantaged by having few peers. In Kaktovik there is essentially no high school, as the few students of appropriate age have opted to attend school off-slope where they will have more social and athletic as well as educational options. In Point Lay, high school students have been very few in number and this year (1989) there are no upperclassmen at all. The one student who would have been a senior is attending a junior college under an oil company-sponsored program.

The Inupiat studies program is an especially sensitive issue. There is great local interest in supporting the transmission of **Inupiat** culture, and especially in the survival of the **Inupiaq** language. At the same time it is all too obvious that the present **school** language program is at best losing ground. There has been little attempt to integrate the program with support in the students' homes even though linguists say that only with such **parental** support is **Inupiaq** likely to serve as a functional language. Elders are invited into the schools periodically, but are not integrated into the daily teaching curriculum in a way that would demonstrate **the** school district's commitment to the successful transmission of **Inupiat** knowledge. In most cases Elders are expected to provide their time for free, although certain **materials** may be provided. **While** many Elders may be willing to help educate their children with little or no pay, perhaps reinforcing another **Inupiaq** value in the process, some cannot afford to do so as it **would** take time away from employment or subsistence activities with no recompense.

It may seem contradictory that at the same time that the school system is exerting a strong **influence** over the young **people** of the villages, in many ways reinforcing the **acculturative** influences of television, popular music, and increased **travel**, that the school is at the same time a marginal institution to many of the Natives of the outer villages. Most schools do little to encourage the participation of the parents of their students, let alone Inupiat **adults** who do not have children in school. The school's curriculum is seen as irrelevant to most of the employment opportunities in the village, and most village students want to remain within the village. The example they have is of most **people** obtaining training while on the job. The **college-oriented** curriculum is in many respects counterproductive in that it discourages more students than it motivates.

There is the fact that **basic skills** are not being taught by the school with much of a success rate, as measured by standardized tests. Statistics on test scores have not been released, other than to say that scores are improving but are still well **below** average. This underscores another debate current on the North Slope of college preparatory versus "vocational" education. Some would argue that basic skills can be best taught within an applied program (wood shop, **small** engine mechanics) rather than within a more academic or general program if the students are inclined more to the practical than the abstract. At times this issue has been combined with the "**Western**"-**"Inupiat"** distinction and the outsider-local debate. A solution is far from obvious.

SECTION IV: INFORMAL INSTITUTIONS

The general discussion of informal institutions on the North Slope is somewhat difficult, since by definition informal institutions are rather diffuse and **context-dependent**. We have attempted to provide reasonably detailed treatments for each of the communities in the separate village chapters. The following discussions are intended to suggest differences and similarities in the operation of informal institutions and values. The subject is not only diffuse, but also to a large degree speculative and potentially **overwhelming**.

A. Patterns of Change -- Formalization with the NSB

One common dynamic for at least certain aspects of many informal institutions is the degree to which the **NSB** (or some other regional entity) has acted to formalize or structure them. Thus, subsistence concerns are now vested in the NSB Department of Wildlife Management. The informal association of whaling captains has **developed** into the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission. This in turn has spawned interregional commissions for walrus, migratory birds, **beluga**, and perhaps other resources. The **NSB** has **formally** revived the annual Messenger Feast and has purposely avoided studying past records so that they **would** not be tempted to **try** to carefully reproduce the form but forget to infuse it with the present-day life and values that it is meant to embody. The week-long period of Eskimo games that has long been a part of the Christmas-New Year's celebration has also been formalized and somewhat changed to better fit into contemporary patterns of North Slope life. The NSB has also formally instituted a Commission on Language, Culture, and History which periodically holds Elders' Conferences. Houses, jobs, and other resources in the villages are increasingly being **allocated** by formalized, written guidelines based on previously unwritten but understood values. The NSB has institutionalized respect for Elders with the Elders' helpers program (paying people to **clean** house for Elders, **cook**, and so on), but at the same time this discourages certain family members from spontaneously helping with these tasks. Barrow **is** where these aspects of formalization are most evident, of course, since Barrow is the largest community and is the seat of the NSB government. Barrow is also where most of the newly revitalized regional gatherings are held and is the center **of** most of the formally organized institutions. Our discussion will address differences in formalization between communities where it **is** important, as well as the regional pattern in general.

One regional pattern that is quite obvious is the increasing degree to which activities are confined within and separated by temporal boundaries. Part of this is no doubt due to the importance of employment in the lives of most people and the schedule which such employment imposes. Another aspect is the increased regulation of vitally important resources and activities. The quota on bowhead whales is the most salient example. In some years, with good whaling conditions, the active hunting period on the ice may be over within one or two weeks. Other subsistence resources, such as caribou and musk **ox**, have also been subject to regulation. Cultural activities, such as the Messenger Feast and Elders' Conferences, tend to concentrate "**Inupiat**" behavior within a special frame. This encourages some cultural forms, such as Eskimo dancing, by increasing the outlets for the performances of the village dance groups which pass on the tradition. Less formally organized activities, such as stow-telling, seem to have become less of a part of everyday life. Whether this is partially due to the increased formal nature of public celebrations **is** not at all **clear**, but that is one possible contributing factor. It has been noted that until recently most

NSB villages maintained the tradition of a week of 24-hour Eskimo games from Christmas day until New Year's day. Few, if any, do so any more. Because of employment schedules, vacations, and other obligations, most people no longer have the time or desire to devote this large a block of time to these Eskimo games. Most communities have made the compromise of holding the games in the evenings during this week, with perhaps one day of 24-hour activity at the end. Increasingly North Slope Inupiat are taking vacations in the winter of a month or longer. Warm-weather locations such as Hawaii, Las Vegas, and California seem to be the destinations of choice. Vacations only serve to further the compartmentalization of activities, however, separating North Slope activities from those engaged on in vacations.

B. Subsistence

L. Seasonality and the Nature of the Hunt

Each NSB community is different and occupies a unique environment. The mix of resources available to each community is thus also different. This is true not only spatially, but also temporally. The same community can experience vastly different "subsistence cycles" from one year to the next. One perhaps unintended result of the great amount of subsistence research that has been conducted on the North Slope is the construction of normative "subsistence cycles" for each of the NSB villages (NSB Contract Staff 1979). While these are useful as delimiting probable time limits for when certain resources can be harvested, they do not actually contain all that much information about when resources actually are pursued and harvested. This statement is of course more true for resources hunted alone or in small groups (caribou, seal, forbearers) than for those which require large task groups (bowhead, beluga, to some extent walrus). While information in this regard is not complete, there is evidence to suggest that there is a common pattern to subsistence harvest activities in all North Slope villages. A tendency towards a similar pattern in all villages, even given differing local resources, is fairly evident. Much of this can be attributed to the wage labor economy, school schedules, and holidays, which influence this in several ways. Wage labor imposes a certain schedule on those who work, and the majority of those active in harvesting subsistence resources also work for wages at least part of the year. The effects of this seasonality may be counterintuitive, however, given the historic prevalence of summer construction work. The most recent seasonal round for Barrow was April 1987 through March 1988 (Stephen R. Braund and Associates 1990, personal communication). During that year, nearly all subsistence harvesting was done in the months of May through October, with April being used as a preparatory month. The same pattern evidently is holding true for both Wainwright and Barrow for the following twelve-month period (Loring, personal communication). Most of the seasonal round information available prior to this study (for instance, the charts in North Slope NSB Contract Staff 1979) are normative rather than behavioral and indicate more of a year-round pursuit of subsistence resources. It now appears that this is no longer the case. It should be remembered that this seasonal round information was collected before the NSB had embarked on its CIP program to any great extent and the wage economy as a whole was still rather undeveloped.

Wage labor, besides limiting the time available for subsistence pursuits, also provides those who work with access to the means by which to acquire equipment that enables them to successfully harvest subsistence resources within that limited period of time from an extended use area. Many hunters have enough disposable income that they can concentrate on preferred subsistence

resources (whale, caribou, forbearers, birds) and less so on other resources (seals, fish). While no study has had this question as its focus, it appears likely that with higher incomes individuals are harvesting “higher price” subsistence resources. This is especially **clear** in the case of bowhead whale. With the institution of the quota this has now become essentially a regional harvest (although quotas are assigned on a community basis). Even individuals from non-whaling villages travel to take part in the **hunt**, so that whaling **hàs** become a part of every community’s seasonal round.

It is also indisputable that hunters much prefer to hunt in pleasant conditions rather than in extreme ones and that winter hunting trips have become less frequent. The equipment that many hunters can now afford allow them to exploit preferred resources (especially caribou) essentially year-round. Furthermore, wintertime has now become a time devoted to indoor pursuits, festivities, and vacations. Many families now spend at least part of the winter off-slope, with Hawaii, California, and Las Vegas as common destinations. Many times these trips are scheduled in conjunction with **school** vacations around Thanksgiving or Christmas-New Year’s. It is easiest for students to pursue subsistence harvest activities in the summer. The school district has attempted to be flexible in its leave **policy**, but the **result** has been that for the most part students participate mainly in whaling and fall fish camp during the school year. While caribou hunts could fit into the time frame of time available to a student after **school** (after all, adult **males** go hunting after work and on the weekends), it is **difficult** to **learn** caribou hunting skills within this time frame. Inexperienced hunting companions are a disadvantage as they lessen the chances for success. At both whale camp and fiih camp there is much more time for observation/instruction, novices are generally assigned only tasks for which they are deemed ready, and (especially for whaling) seine long apprenticeships to prepare them for their eventual responsibilities. It is **also** interesting that both whaling and fall **fish** camp are subsistence activities that have relatively short temporal boundaries within which they **occur**.

2. Subsistence Ideology

If one set of activities were to be chosen to represent the **Inupiat** identity, it **would** have to be the pursuit of subsistence resources. Since most anthropologists find it difficult to equate culture with behavioral patterns, the ideology of subsistence and the relationship between the **Inupiat** and the land (and the resources of the land) should be added to this. The amount of energy, time, and money that **Inupiat** devote to subsistence pursuits is one measure of the importance of these activities. For the **Inupiat**, **whaling** represents the entire constellation of subsistence resource harvest activities better than any other. Historically, **90%** of the budget of the NSB Department of Wildlife Management has been devoted to bowhead whale studies. The NSB and **ASRC** support the activities of the AEWG not only in their efforts to obtain an increased quota but also in ensuring that all whalers adhere to the rules so that they are perceived by worldwide **observers** as responsible stewards of their resources. The recent (1988) “whale rescue” near Barrow, although it involved gray whales rather than bowhead, further illustrates the point. NSB **Inupiat** are fully aware of the importance of symbols, and have consciously made efforts to translate their relationship to the land and its animal resources into a single image, that of the relationship between the **Inupiat** and the bowhead. This process has perhaps been in progress for as long as **ethnography** has been done on the North Slope, but has been accentuated by the ability of the NSB to mobilize the latest technology in its dissemination.

Subsistence ideology is also evident in the resistance to **oil** development, especially to offshore development. Environmental degradation is opposed **on** that **ground** alone, but the **preservation** of opportunities for subsistence harvest activities further supports it. When development threatens what is perceived as the most important of subsistence resources, the bowhead, it is likely that ideology will win out. Marine resources may actually **contribute** fewer calories to **Inupiat** households than do terrestrial resources, especially once an account is made of the amount **harvested** but not consumed, the amount sent out of the village to relatives and friends, and the amount consumed by **visitors** at special feasts. The amount of time, energy, and cash devoted to the harvest of marine mammals, and **especially** whales, would hardly seem to make this a **cost-effective** activity.

There are also the undesired social effects of increased contact with outsiders, more pressure to work and less time for other activities, and potentially less land to travel on in the pursuit of game. It is no mistake that the official seal of the **NSB** pictures an **Eskimo** and various species of animals **harvested**, and a single oil well in the Prudhoe Bay area.

3. Attitudes Toward Development

This topic is probably more properly a subtopic of subsistence ideology. Ideologically, protection of the environment (for the preservation of subsistence resources) is the top priority of the **NSB**. Pragmatically, oil development must continue **if** the present system is to continue, and at a minimum must be phased out gradually so that the decline in revenues is gradual and predictable rather than sudden and catastrophic. **The** compromise of choice is **to allow** exploration and development on land **until** those reserves are exhausted, and only the offshore development. **Offshore** exploration **would** probably have to be allowed in the later stages of onshore reserve depletion under this scenario. Note that this compromise is consistent with the subsistence ideology that marine mammal resources are more **central** to the Inupiat hunter identity than terrestrial resources.

There is remarkable consistency in the degree to which this compromise is accepted among **Inupiat**. **Only** in **Nuiqsut**, which is in some danger of becoming surrounded by **oil** fields, and in **Kaktovik**, where a segment of the population (the size of which is really unknown) prefers that **ANWR** not **be** developed, is onshore oil development questioned on environmental grounds. Even in these communities many people favor or are neutral to onshore **oil** development. Most informants, when asked, will comment that the Prudhoe/Kuparuk field does demonstrate that **oil** development and the preservation of terrestrial subsistence resources need not be incompatible, since they say that the population of caribou in that area is larger than ever. They will then qualify this by remarking “that they (or most **people**) do not like to hunt in this area, or are not allowed to hunt in this area.

C. Traditional Sharing

The NSB clearly articulates the value of sharing and distributing that which one has. This is one reason for the revival of the Messenger Feast and holding Elders' Conferences. It is **very** important for individuals who are related to be able to know, at least in general, the nature of this

relationship. In Point Lay this is expressed as “We are all family.” In other villages it is similarly expressed. Even in those villages where political or other factionalism is most often expressed in terms of kinship (Point Hope, **Nuiqsut**), the ideology of kinship and sharing is expressed as the desired norm. The NSB job creation programs are sometimes justified in this way. The NSB (and the NSB Mayor as its titular head) is the distributor of desired resources to his kinsmen. In the case of the NSB, this “fictive kinship” relationship would extend to all residents. The negative aspects of this institution are interpreted in the Western world **as** corruption, graft, nepotism, or featherbedding. It is very difficult to discuss this on the North Slope, not because it does not happen, but because it is nearly impossible to obtain good information about it. One’s informant usually has an axe to grind, making interpretation difficult.

Different villages do certainly have different characteristics, some of which can be related to the kinship composition of the community. Size and **history** are also quite important. Point Hope has a long history as a community with a continuous population and is fairly large compared to the other villages in the region. As discussed in the Point Hope chapter, political issues and other community conflicts are often expressed in terms of kinship groups, but in everyday life the dominant social form seems to be the sharing networks of **households**, which are in turn based on kinship for the most part. These networks vary in size from only a few **households** to those which encompass a significant fraction of the village. The overall tone of the village is one of cooperation. It is interesting that Point Hope is one of the villages most isolated from Barrow in terms of transportation and communication, and this has been suggested as another reason for the relative harmony within the village. Most residents have tend to have an historical connection with the area and tend not to have conflicting economic (village corporation shareholder) ties elsewhere.

Perhaps the village closest to sharing this sort of “village tone” is **Kaktovik. Kaktovik**, or Barter Island, is another community that has been somewhat isolated from Barrow. When other groups were moving to Barrow, a core group of Kaktovik residents remained in **Kaktovik**. In fact, among Kaktovik residents many ties are stronger with Canada than with Barrow. Kaktovik has a core group of related families, ail with senior men, which helps maintain community harmony. Kaktovik is relatively small, and most **people** are related, so sharing networks are extensive. Contact with the outside **world** has also been part of the Kaktovik life experience since the modem village was formed (by means of a trading post, the DEW-Line, and oil exploration) so that people do not **feel** as dependent on Barrow and the NSB to mediate for them as perhaps some other villages might. **In Kaktovik**, a large percentage of the residents are shareholder in the Kaktovik village corporation.

Nuiqsut is perhaps the community on the North **Slope** with the most visible factional **politics**. **Nuiqsut** is a “reconstituted” village and thus drew **people** from a number of different places. Because of various circumstances (personal choice, lack of information, chance), current residents did or did not choose to enroll in the **Nuiqsut** village corporation. Many current residents are enrolled in **UIC** (Barrow) or other village corporations, and a fair number of non-residents are **Kuukpik (Nuiqsut)** Corporation shareholders. This causes some tensions in the village. Different people also have different degrees of past connection to the area, and different degrees of relatedness to each other. The population is younger than in some other villages, although there are a significant number of Elders. There are also a few individuals in **Nuiqsut** who are natural politicians, it seems, which leads to factions. There are several large kinship groupings in **Nuiqsut**, and factional politics is sometimes expressed in terms of those groupings. This expression of

divisions based on kinship appears to reflect reality in **Nuiqsut** much more so than do similar expressions in Point Hope.

Point **Lay** is another reconstituted community and is the smallest Native community on the North Slope. It is, in some ways, an opposite of Point Hope. Kinship is publicly expressed as the means of community integration (“We are **all** one family”) while at the same time problems are often behaviorally expressed and solved along kinship lines. People have come to Point Lay from many different areas, but most are related in **one** way or another. Those who came first, however, clearly distinguish between themselves and the “newcomers,” much as in **Nuiqsut**. As a complication, many of the “newcomers” are enrolled in some other (non-Point Lay) **village** corporation. The village corporation avoids this problem by deferring to the village IRA council, and the IRA council surmounts the **problem** by allowing any Native to vote on village matters. In **Nuiqsut**, there is talk of forming a tribal government, but the organizers are also talking about forcing individuals to choose to register either as residents of the Native village of **Nuiqsut** or elsewhere (that is, allowing no joint memberships). Only enrolled members of the **Nuiqsut** tribal government **would** be allowed to vote. This would clearly be another dividing force in **Nuiqsut**, whereas in Point Lay it has been used as one way to reaffirm fundamental **Inupiat** (and even Native) unity.

Wainwright is another older community where kinship and sharing networks are fundamental **social** units. Most of the statements made above about Point Hope would **apply** and the reader is referred to **Luton** 1986 for a more complete treatment. Ongoing work by Braund and Associates for MMS (the Barrow and Wainwright Subsistence Studies) may also have some information of interest in this area.

Barrow is the most complicated community to characterize. Because of the great diversity of the Barrow population, sharing patterns and networks are often greatly different from those in other villages. Non-Natives are more frequently incorporated into such networks, although the resources they contribute may be different from those contributed by Natives. This has not been investigated. There are also extended Native household networks in Barrow which are very much like those described for Point Hope, as well as more confined networks. Diversity is perhaps the key descriptive word. Because of the size of the Barrow population, people sometimes complain about the decline of the sharing ethic in Barrow. This **is** perhaps exemplified best by the common complaint that crew shares from whaling have been significantly reduced in size because of the large number of crews. This is actually a sign that sharing is perhaps too much adhered to. Those who produce the harvest often, in fact, feel that they receive too little. The true extent of this feeling or perception is not clear, but it certainly contributes to the ebb and flow of population between Barrow and the outer villages.

No current published information on kinship and sharing exists for the communities of **Anaktuvuk** Pass and **Atqasuk**. Given the complexity of the topic, investigation of this in these communities was well beyond the scope of field research for this project.

D. **Local** Control of the Schools

In the discussion of the schools in each of the village chapters, a common problem expressed in all villages was that the local community had little or no influence over what was taught or the operation of the local school. For the most part the only “local” person with any influence at all was the principal, an outsider hired by the central school board in Barrow. Nearly all teachers are **non-Inupiat**. The content of what is taught is nearly totally **non-Inupiat**. For the most part parents are not familiar with the school experience of their children. Even if they have completed high school, few **Inupiat** adults have any practical experience with a computer. Mathematics is avoided by most students, and few advance beyond arithmetic. It is interesting in this regard to note that the 1988 **NSB** census figures on highest educational level achieved suggest that current high school students (those ages 18-2S) are graduating at a significantly lower rate than those **people** who are slightly older than they are (ages 26-39, who in most cases would have attended high school outside of the village). It may be that some in the younger **category** who are actually still in **school** answer the census question as not having finished school. It is not possible to know which interpretation of the data is more **likely** to be correct. It is possible, however, that **people** in this younger age group are not graduating from high school at the same rate as has been true in the past. The smaller **NSB** villages (Point Lay, **Nuiqsut, Atqasuk, Wainwright**) seem to display this pattern, with the 1988 census indicating that for every three individuals in this age group who report graduating from high school, about two report that they did not. Again, this may be a systematic problem with the **census** data from the smaller communities. It could also indicate that graduation rates in those smaller communities are lower than in larger communities and for the **NSB** as a whole, and that the 18-2S age group has a graduation rate lower than the 26-39 age group.

The socialization of the young is also quite different from that of the past. In all villages the peer group has attained more importance than the immediate family for many teens. This is more pronounced in the larger villages, where there are a large number of similarly aged adolescents. In smaller villages with fewer individuals in each age group there is more interaction with a wider age range. This is **offset** by the lack of diversity available in a smaller village. Barrow is very much different in this regard than the other villages. Barrow offers more variety and greater size than any of the outer villages. **Access** to off-slope locations and resources is also substantially greater.

E. Language and Language Use

This portion of the report consists of four sections and was originally developed for the Point Lay Case Study (in draft). The first three are primarily the work of Dr. Lawrence Kaplan, a linguist specializing in **Inupiaq**. The last section is based upon field observations by the principal researchers. Dr. Kaplan notes that section three, “The Language of Point Lay,” can not be considered definitive because linguistic fieldwork was not possible. The findings in this section are based upon a limited number of tapes recorded for the oral history (biography) portion of the Point Lay case study. We have tried to make our discussion in part four as general as possible by including observations from **all** the villages. It nevertheless remains true that these **observations** are at best limited as none of the primary researchers speak **Inupiaq**, and time was very limited. Our best information on language use does come from the villages of Point Lay and Point Hope,

secondarily from Barrow and **Nuiqsut**, and **only** to a small degree from the remaining villages. The topic is **of** such regional importance, however, that we felt it worthwhile **to** attempt this regional treatment.

1. Orthography and a Brief History of North Slope Inupiaq Writing

The first dialect of **Inuit** to be written at any **length** was West **Greenlandic**, written in the mid-eighteenth century by missionaries. **A** practical orthography. was devised for that language by Samuel **Kleinschmidt** in the mid-nineteenth century, representing a landmark in Native American linguistics. Alaskan **Inupiaq** writing began with eighteenth century explorers in the Bering Strait area who first transcribed place names and lists of basic words in the dialects of that region. Some of the earliest examples of writing were done in the **cyrillic** alphabet by speakers of Russian. The earliest known writing on the North Slope also stems from explorers, beginning with a word list by Beechey **from** the 1820s. In 1885 Ray and Murdoch of the International Polar Expedition at Cape Smythe published a list of over 2,000 words, many showing features of the old Point Barrow dialect. Another important collection of **Inupiaq** words was made in about 1905 by Dr. **S.R. Spriggs**, a medical missionary in Barrow. Later, missionaries began writing **Inupiaq** for the purpose of translating religious writings, such as prayers, scriptures, and hymns. In 1923 a prayer book was printed for the Episcopal Church at Point Hope, probably the first publication in North Slope **Inupiaq**. This early writing involved individual attempts at symbolizing what the writer heard, usually according to the orthographic principles of the writer's native language. Much of the **Inupiaq** writing of the period was thus English-based and in no way standardized. The quality varied tremendously with the writer's ability to **apply** some sort of **consistent** principles in symbolizing what he heard. Some writers had a remarkable degree of linguistic skill and did quite well, so that their writings can be fairly **easily** interpreted by us today. Others were inconsistent and did not write in any systematic way, so that their writing is difficult to interpret.

An interesting chapter in **Inupiaq writing** involves the writing system developed **by** Helper Neck (**Uyaquq**), a Central Yupik Eskimo who wrote his language with **pictographic** symbols around the turn of the century. His pictographs soon became phonological and spread beyond the Yupik area. They became used by **Inupiat** in the **Kobuk** and Kotzebue areas, the first example of Native writing in **Inupiaq**.

The present standard orthography in use for **Inupiaq** was first devised in 1946 by Roy Ahmaogak, a Barrow man who later became a Presbyterian minister, and **Eguen Nida**, a linguist working with the Summer Institute of Linguistics and **Wycliffe Bible** Translators. The two worked together in Norman, Oklahoma, to **analyze** the sound system of **Inupiaq** and develop a writing system suitable to the language. Their orthography was phonemic and linguistically quite accurate. It has been revised as described below to give the modern system currently in use. Perhaps the main criticism of this work is the fact that it was done with no eye to compatibility with writing systems in use for other **Inuit** dialects **in** Canada and Greenland. Today, pan-Arctic cooperation makes a common **Inuit** writing system desirable.

The original system proposed by Ahmaogak and Nida had the following vowels:

Short vowels:	a	i	u
Long vowels:	aa	ii	uu
Diphthongs:	ai	au	
Vowel clusters:	ia	ua	
	ui	iu	

Their original consonant symbols may be arranged as follows:

labials	alveolar	spalatal	retroflexes	velars	uvulars	
p		c		k	k	stops
	t/s	ʈ	s			voiceless fricatives
v	l	ɭ/y	z	g	ǰ	voiced fricatives
m	n	ṅ		ŋ		nasals

After Ahmaogak finished his work with Nida, he became minister at Wainwright and published several **pamphlets**, including translations of religious material and a primer, all in **Inupiaq** using the new orthography. When the missionary Don Webster came to the North Slope in 1959 to help Ahmaogak in translating the New Testament (published in 1966), he made several changes to the orthography. **ʂ** was changed to sr, c to **ch**, and z to r to represent the voiced **retroflex** sound. This is significant, since r is used in all other **Inuit** orthographies to represent the voiced **uvular** fricative (**ǰ** in **Inupiaq**). This is a major and important difference between writing in **Inupiaq** and that in related dialects and languages. One further change in symbols was adopted at an **Inupiaq** language conference in 1972: k was changed to q, making **Inupiaq** similar to other Eskimo languages on that point at least.

The modern writing system is now in use for the **Inupiaq** language throughout Alaska. **Inupiaq** classes at school teach this way of writing, many churches continue to use it, and it is found in other sundry uses within **Inupiaq** Alaska. English-based, non-systematic writing still occurs, especially where usage has made that form familiar. Common names fall into this class, as do many “official” names. For example, the name “**Culfy**” Corporation would be spelled “**Kali**” in the standard orthography and the NANA Corporation’s hotel in Kotzebue, “**Nul-luk-vik**,” would be written “**Nullagvik**,” meaning “**place to stay overnight**.”

The era of **pan-Eskimo** cooperation was born in 1977 at the First **Inuit Circumpolar** Conference held in Barrow. Since then contact among Eskimo groups has increased, with new emphasis placed on old cultural and linguistic ties. Awareness of similarities in language among various **Inuit** groups has made differences in writing conventions appear glaring and unnecessary. In designing a writing

system, the choice of one symbol over another to represent a particular sound is to a great extent **arbitrary**, dictated largely by considerations of familiarity, i.e., the way a given letter is used in the European language found in a particular area. **Inuit** writing in Greenland thus bears some relation to Danish, while in Canada Latin-based alphabets have a relation to English and French. Early German missionaries also played a role in Eskimo linguistics in Canada and Greenland. It was quite natural for German, French, and Danish speakers to choose the symbol r to stand for the voiced **uvular** fricative, while in Alaska r was used for a **retroflex** sound as in English. The result has created a degree of discontinuity in writing across the Arctic, even where the same sounds are present in the same words. For example, the word for “woman” is pronounced the same in nearly all Eskimo languages, and most of them **spell** it **arnaq**. Only Alaskan **Inupiaq** and St. Lawrence Island Yupik do not use this spelling, using instead **agnaq** and **aghnaq** respectively.

Members of the **Inuit Circumpolar** Conference have in recent years suggested changes in local orthographies to promote standard usage. Alaskan **Inupiaq** has **the** smallest group of speakers and writers when compared with Canada and Greenland, and it was thus recommended that **Inupiaq** institute spelling changes. Two possibilities existed: either Alaska **Inupiat** could elect to change their writing or else the ICC **could** adopt an auxiliary international orthography for use in communication by **Inuit** around the **world**. This auxiliary system would not replace current writing, which would continue to be used locally as speakers desire. The ICC in 1983 passed Resolution 83-16 which stated that the **Inuit** speak one language and that written communication is impeded by the lack of a common writing system, the adoption of which could have the result of strengthening use of the Native language, especially in **Alaska**. “Differences in the writing systems impose **purely** artificial barriers to potential **Inuit** language unity,” the resolution stated. The Alaska **Inuit** were therefore called upon to make the following changes in writing 1) replace g with r, 2) replace **ŋ** with ng, 3) replace r with **z**, 4) replace **sr** with **š**, 5) replace **nŋ** with ring, 6) replace **ŋŋ** with **ngg**.

These changes would modify the features that make Alaska **Inupiaq** hard for other **Inuit** to read and represent in some cases a return to symbols used by **Ahmaogak** and **Nida** in their original orthography of 1946. Despite the advantages for **Inuit** unity, many **Inupiat** are unwilling to change the writing system to which they have become so accustomed and which was developed by a beloved member of their community and used in translating the holy scriptures. Many of the **Inupiat** who have become literate in their language have done so at great effort and do not wish to learn a new way of writing. **As** a result the proposal was not put into use in **Alaska**, and the **Ahmaogak-Nida** writing system continues in use.

2. The Status of **Inupiaq** in Alaska and Specifically on the North Slope

The **Status** of Alaska’s Native languages has undergone significant change over the past century. In almost **all** parts of Alaska, the use of English has increased while the use of Native languages has decreased. In some areas, the Native language has fallen off dramatically so that it is barely spoken today. This is the case of **Eyak**, traditionally spoken around Cordova but now known partially by only two people. Other Alaskan languages are still spoken by quite a number of people, although the vast majority of them are adults. This is the case of Alaskan **Inupiaq**, whose speakers are for the most part over the age of forty, with few or no children that speak the language fluently. Related **Inuit** dialects are spoken by young children, however, in Greenland and

most of Eastern Canada. Two other Alaskan Eskimo languages, Central Alaskan Yupik and St. Lawrence Island **Yupik**, are still used by members of all generations (including young children).

The decline in Native language use must be attributed to a number of complex factors, all relating to the coming of outsiders to Alaska. The history of contact was different in each area of the state, and yet many common elements are present. The first colonists in Alaska were Russians, whose presence apparently produced no serious decline in Native language use. There are several probable reasons for this. First, the actual number of Russians in Alaska was never **very** great, and what Russians there were stayed mostly in the southern portion of the state. Second, there appear to have been no policies discouraging or urging elimination of the Native languages. Third, Russian colonization preceded the technological era, so the Russian language was not spread by mass media and modern means of transport. Overall, the number of Alaska Natives in close contact with Russian was not great.

The American colonization followed the Russian period, with the purchase of Alaska by the **U.S.A.** in 1867. By the 1890s large numbers of English speakers flooded into Alaska, largely in connection with several gold rushes, whaling, and **fishing**. During **World War II** military personnel arrived and many remained following the end of the war. The number of non-Natives in Alaska now far exceeds the number of Natives, who make up less than 15% of the **total** population. The English language is very strongly present, even in predominantly Native areas of the state. Schools, courts, and government agencies, as well as media and publications are overwhelmingly in English. There is some broadcasting in Native **languages**, notably **Inupiaq** language radio in Barrow and Kotzebue and Yupik radio and television in Bethel, but such programming is the exception rather than the general case even in those areas. There are also school **programs** in Native languages. In North Slope Borough schools, **Inupiaq** classes are taught **daily** for an hour. English is used for all other school purposes, and most parents consider the **school** to be much more effective at teaching English than it is at teaching **Inupiaq**.

Airplanes have increased ease of travel. Residents of Alaskan villages which used to be quite isolated have been brought into contact with more and more people who do not speak their language. English has become the *lingua franca* which is used for communication among Natives from different language areas as **well** as by Natives communicating with non-Natives.

As American institutions came to Alaska, they **of** course brought more English, and this was true of the schools in a particularly important way. Many school officials believed that it was extremely important for Native schoolchildren to speak only English, for a variety of reasons. Most obviously, it **would** benefit their education, since instruction was exclusively in English. Many educators and school **officials** **felt** in addition that Native people would be better off speaking English, believing that Native languages were inferior forms of speech. This unreasonable prejudice was probably due to the inability of these educators to respect a language they could not understand and especially that was not traditionally written, i.e., that had “only” an oral tradition and no widespread literacy. In the Western world education has been so **closely** identified with literacy that Native people were seen as uneducated, rather than educated and skilled in their own traditions. In school, children were discouraged from speaking their Native language and many were punished for it. Many adults tell stories of the **ill** treatment they received for speaking their Native language, even when this was the only language they knew. To this day many people

harbor bitter memories associated with restrictions placed on their use of their native language in school.

This misunderstanding of Native culture on the part of white educators is important to the subject of fluency in Native languages. The negative attitude of some administrators and educators and their willingness to proclaim the superiority of English over Native languages has had a lasting effect on many Alaska Natives and is responsible at least in part for the declining use of Native languages in Alaska today. The most obvious manifestation of the decline is found in the fact that most young Native people are no longer capable of speaking a Native language and know **only** English. A major factor that has given rise to this situation is that many parents speak English at home rather than the Native language, even when they are **bilingual**. Many Native parents are monolingual English speakers and do not have the choice of which language to speak with their children.

The phenomenon may be rooted, at least partially, in the **school** policies discussed above. Adults who were propagandized about the **value** of learning English over the Native language probably often assimilated this message and stressed English with their children. One **Inupiaq** mother says that she never wants her child subjected to the humiliation that she felt as a child for speaking her language in school. As a result she would be quite happy for her **child** to learn only English. Some parents also espouse the “practicality argument,” which says that English is a much more **useful** language in the modern world than Inupiaq and that children should be maximally proficient in English if they are to have access to all the advantages society has to offer. There is much truth to this argument, but learning English does not preclude bilingualism with **Inupiaq** as the home language. **In** fact, most of the middle-aged generation is **fully** bilingual and **able** to function successfully in both languages, providing an excellent **model** for their children and grandchildren. **In** many parts of Alaska, however, English is taught to the exclusion of the Native language, both at home and in school. This situation may **also** stem from negative attitudes presented in school. Even today, many school officials do not recognize the value of learning another language besides English and **place** little emphasis on programs to teach Native languages (or foreign languages, for that matter). On the other hand, a new breed of teachers and school officials do recognize the **value** of learning languages, especially as publicity is given to the idea that the U.S. lags behind the rest of the world in this area.

On the North Slope, parents have shown support for the teaching of **Inupiaq** in school. A **survey** was conducted about ten years ago which showed that a great majority of **Inupiaq** parents wanted their language taught in the school alongside English. This strong support made it possible to fund an **Inupiaq** language program, with **local** teacher training and materials development components. Most local parents regard the success of this program as far from adequate, however, as few (if any) students can be considered fluent in **Inupiaq** by the time they graduate from high school. The **Inupiaq** teacher position tends to be one where there is rapid turnover, and often the choice must be made between a person who knows **Inupiaq** well but has little formal teaching training or experience and a person who does not know **Inupiat** (or at least the **local** dialect) that well but who is more formally trained. The mixed results obtained so far clearly indicate that **Inupiaq** teachers need to possess both skills in **Inupiaq** and in teaching. It may well be that more time and resources will need to be devoted to the learning of **Inupiaq** if this is really to be one of the missions of the public school system. Such an emphasis would require an enormous increase in the support students receive from their home environment as well.

Bilingual education -- or more accurately, Native language teaching in school -- has had the positive effect of elevating Native languages in status, since they were earlier denigrated or simply ignored. There seems to be confusion, however, on the question of how children “acquire” a first language, which is one that they **will** learn to speak with native fluency. First languages are generally learned at home from one’s parents or primary care givers or in some other situation where the **child** is immersed in language. It is usually not taught in a pedagogical way. While we all learn our native language through this “juvenile immersion” method, we may learn second languages through formal instruction -- or by immersion -- generally somewhat later in life. While everyone learns a first language, the success **of** second language instruction” varies tremendously with the methods employed by the teacher and the motivation **of** the students. It is generally acknowledged today that methods based on comprehension and oral production work better than those based on translation, grammar, and vocabulary memorization.

Native language teaching in the **Inupiaq** area of Alaska is of the **second** language variety. First language “immersion” type activities at home take place largely in English, and the active language of children is thus English in almost all cases. Radio and television as **well** as peer speech are included in the “early language input” which helps determine what language(s) a child will learn. The most a successful school program could possibly be expected to do would be to impart some degree of **second** language knowledge to schoolchildren. It is very unlikely, or even impossible, that native fluency could be developed in a language which is only heard and practiced during one **class** period a day. If **Inupiaq** language teachers use memorization **of** vocabulary to teach language, rather than **oral** communication methods, it is even more improbable that pupils **will** learn to speak the language. (It is, however, possible to teach fairly fluent spoken language at school. There are special language immersion schools outside of Alaska whose **goal** is to teach fluency in a second language, but this involves having most or all **school** instruction in the language.)

Native language loss among younger generations **of** Alaskan Natives has given rise to non-standard English as an attendant phenomenon in most rural areas **of** the state. Children brought up in English by parents for whom English is a second language often learn many of the features **of** their parents’ English. The result is that they learn a Native language-influenced variety of English which has been called Village English. This English shows aspects of pronunciation and grammar that may be directly traced to the Native language of the parents or to other sources of non-standard English, such as whalers, trappers, or miners who were among the first whites to visit Native areas **of** Alaska. In linguistic terms there is nothing “wrong” with Village English, since linguists value **all** dialects **of** a language equally.

However, non-standard English is by definition at variance with what may be called “educated” or “standard” English. As a result, teachers feel the necessity of stressing standard English in the classroom, especially if students are to be prepared for college or occupations requiring writing or communication skills. Frequently, educators consider Village English a problem or a deficiency which must be corrected. If the original policies which discouraged Native languages and even recommended replacing them with English intended to give Native people easy access to a variety of institutions within the society at large, the **policy** was a failure. Not only is the survival of many Native languages in Alaska now threatened, but also many children have ended up speaking Village English.

If **Inupiaq** is not the first language of young **Inupiat** on the North Slope or elsewhere in Alaska, it is unlikely that it **will** be retained as the first language of the region. School programs will foster some degree of competency in **Inupiaq**, and a well-taught program can even produce speakers of the language. Learning a language in school, however, will almost never give one native fluency, and this fact is crucial to understanding the situation of most Alaska languages today.

The above remarks address the history and current situation of Alaskan languages in general and of the **Inupiaq** language more specifically. The information presented above is based in part on experience in **North Slope** villages, especially in Barrow, Wainwright, and Point Hope. As for the particular case of Point Lay, it has been reported to be similar to Point Hope in terms of the **Inupiaq** fluency of its residents. The youngest fluent speakers are generally in their forties by now, with occasional exceptions of people in their thirties. The “language shift,” as linguists call it, from **Inupiaq** to English in younger generations has resulted from the sorts of influence described above. An **Inupiaq** school language program has the **usual** and expected effect of imparting some knowledge of the language without producing fluent speakers, a situation common with school second language programs.

In a recent article Louis-Jacques Dorais discusses the potential for loss of the **Inuit** language in the Eastern Canadian Arctic, where use of this language is generally much stronger than in Alaska. On the North Slope a monolingual generation of elders, those who speak only or **nearly only Inupiaq**, is followed by a generation of **bilingual** middle-aged people. This addition of a new language (English) where there was previously only one (**Inupiaq**) seems promising as first, but **Dorais** warns of “subtractive bilingualism” in the case of Canadian **Inuit**. “In the Eastern Arctic, a majority of the **Inuit** under 40 years of age are now bilingual, a very positive factor, objectively speaking, as these individuals are able to use two different linguistic codes. But when taking a **closer look** at how such bilingualism works, one is struck by the fact that very often the knowledge of English seems to displace, or even replace that of the first language, rather than simply compliment it. This is what linguists **call** subtractive bilingualism” (Dorais 1989:199). As applied to Alaska, Dorais’s article explains how the desired goal of bilingualism can turn out to foster **monolingualism** in English, rather than continued bilingualism in succeeding generations. Use of the Native language may be very much desired in theory, e.g., surveys, interviews, and speeches show strong support for **it**. Everyday life, however, **has** its own reality, and Native language supporters often find themselves on a par with the rest of the community, engaging in activities which promote English, **e.g.**, speaking English rather than **Inupiaq** at home or in the community or allowing long hours of English television to enter their home.

Although the survival of **Inupiaq** as a spoken language in Alaska is gravely threatened because it is not being passed on from parent to child in the traditional manner, this is not to say the **Inupiaq** culture and identity will not be maintained in other ways. Many small groups around the **world** are experiencing language shifts in the twentieth century and discussing what degree of cultural “assimilation, if any, this change must entail.

3. Dialect Differences in Inupiaq

The Alaska **Inupiaq** language **consists** of two major dialect groups. North Alaskan **Inupiaq** is found in the area of the **Kotzebue** Sound, **Kobuk** River, and North Slope. Seward Peninsula

Inupiaq is spoken on the Seward Peninsula and **offshore** islands and along the shore of Norton Sound as far south as **Unalakleet**. North Alaskan **Inupiaq** comprises two dialects, North Slope and **Malimuit**, which includes **Kobuk** and **Kotzebue** Sound. Seward Peninsula comprises the Bering Strait and **Qawiaraq** dialects.

In Point Lay, North Slope **Inupiaq** is the Native language which has been spoken by residents and their ancestors for generations. The North **Slope** presents a rather complex picture in terms of dialect difference, because there has been a lot of migration and population movement, especially over the past century. Nevertheless, several distinct dialects can be recognized. The **Nunamiu** dialect spoken at **Anaktuvuk** Pass, is in many ways transitional between the general North **Slope** dialect and the dialect of the **Kobuk** River. **Nunamiu** closely resembles the **Inupiaq** of the **Noatak** River, and indeed, many ancestors of the **present-day Nunamiut** came from that area. In addition, **Nunamiu Inupiaq** is virtually identical to the dialect of **Aklavik** in the Canadian Northwest Territories, since that village was settled by Alaskans. The **Nunamiu** dialect is illustrated well in the book **Nunamiut** Texts, published by the North **Slope** Borough Commission on History, Language, and Culture in 1987 and containing an introduction by Knut Bergsland, presenting salient features of the dialect.

The **Inupiaq** of Point Hope is also quite distinctive when compared with the majority North **Slope** dialect. First, there are lexical differences, which distinguish Point Hope: the verb stem meaning 'awake' is **iqiiq** -- rather than **itiq** - as in Barrow. 'Yes' is **aa** rather than **ii**. In addition, there are phonological differences: Point Hope **Inupiaq** has no voiceless fricatives except **s**, and what are elsewhere clusters of voiceless fricatives are voiced: **siksrik** 'ground squirrel' is **sigrik** and **ak taq** 'brown bear' is **aglaq**. The process of **palatalization** is different in Point Hope from the rest of North Alaska, and **palatal** consonants, while they occur, are not distinctive or **contrastive**. Whereas **ini** 'place' generally contrasts with **iñi-** 'hang up to dry' in that the latter has a **palatal** nasal, there is no contrast for most Point Hope speakers. Assimilation of **t** to **s** or **ʃ** occurs consistently throughout the North **Slope** except in Point Hope, where it is irregular and somewhat marginal, even for the **oldest** speakers. Where there is no alteration, i.e., stem internally, the assimilation is found, e.g., 'four' is **always sisamat** rather than **sitamam** as in Seward Peninsula dialects which lack assibilation completely. But 'he arrived' can be either **tikittuq** or **tikitchuq** [tikitʃuq], and the latter form does not seem to be necessarily more conservative as in other North Slope **Inupiaq**. Plurals in Point Hope are quite distinctive, since they do not end in **-t** but in a voiced **alveo-palatal** fricative **ʒ**.

Since Point Hope is the next village down the coast from Point Lay, one might expect to find linguistic similarities, especially in terms of the special dialect features found in Point Hope. This is apparently not the case, however, and the particularities of Point Hope **Inupiaq** are not shared by Point Lay. **The** only feature mentioned above also found in Point Lay is the voicing of clusters of voiceless fricatives. Although this process is quite consistent in Point Hope, it is merely a tendency in Point Lay and also in **Wainwright**.

Otherwise, the **Inupiaq** of Point Lay appears to be linguistically quite similar to what is spoken in Barrow and on the majority of the North Slope. At first glance, this fact may appear surprising, since Point Lay is quite far from Barrow, and in Alaska this sort of distance usually signals significant dialect variation. Dialect variation ought to be greater in this case, and there are two possible reasons why it is not. (1) Point Lay **Inupiaq** speakers have mostly spent time living in

Barrow and are influenced daily by the language of Barrow, heard on the radio and found in publications; Barrow Inupiaq may thus have strongly affected the original dialect, which has all but ceased to exist. (2) Most or many of the features of what we call **Barrow** dialect originated in Point Lay and the surrounding area, so that is actually Point Lay **Inupiaq** that has influenced Barrow.

The second possibility would appear to be the more likely. Although there has been some leveling of dialect features throughout all of the North **Slope**, and modern Point Lay speech may bear influence from other areas, it seems **likely** that the modern **Barrow** dialect bears a great deal of influence from Point Lay. The original dialect of Barrow was that spoken at Point Barrow, which was the **oldest** settlement in the area. During whaling days, large numbers of people moved to Barrow from elsewhere on the North **Slope**, and many came from Icy Cape and the **Utokok** River area. We know that the Point Barrow dialect has been largely replaced by other North Slope dialects -- only a few people speak Point Barrow today. It seems quite probable that the **Utokok** River/Icy Cape dialect is the one that took precedence in Barrow and is what we call today Barrow **Inupiaq**. The **Inupiaq** dialect currently spoken in Barrow -- and Point Lay -- is quite well documented and described in terms of phonology, **syntax**, and lexicon; there is thus no need to present a description of it here.

4. Language Use and Sociocultural Change

Introduction

Use of **Inupiaq** in public varies widely by context. At some public gatherings it is used almost exclusively, and at others hardly at **all**. In Point Hope, for example, at the 1988 annual Tigara Corporation shareholders meeting, **Inupiaq** was the language of choice with very little of the meeting **conducted** in English. The one adult who wanted to speak at length and could not speak **Inupiaq** was at a marked disadvantage and, in fact, his inability to speak **Inupiaq** was the subject of a **self-deprecating** comment. The virtually exclusive use of **Inupiaq** was interesting, because there are a significant number of **people** who do not speak or understand **Inupiaq well**, especially the younger shareholders. This seems to be a way to assert the **Inupiat** identity of the corporation, as well as perhaps a way of the elder shareholders to retain control. Based on a few comments, it seems likely that younger shareholders **feel** that they ought to know their native language, and this prevents them from demanding that corporation business matters be presented equally in **English** and **Inupiaq**.

Similar observations were made at a NSB meeting held in Point Hope. The NSB Mayor said that things would be done in **Inupiaq** first, and then translated fully into English. Many things, however, did not get translated, meaning that monolingual **English speakers** were effectively disenfranchised. Interestingly, this contrasts to an analogous NSB meeting held in Point Lay, where most of the business was conducted in English. This provides a rare example of outside (Barrow-based) **Inupiaq** speakers going into both communities and in one (Point Hope) conducting business in **Inupiaq** and in the other (Point Lay) conducting business in English. In Point Lay **public** meetings are always in English. On occasion there is something that must be said in **Inupiaq**, either as a joke to be hidden from or made at the expense of **non-Inupiaq** speakers or because someone is **present** who can contribute who does not know English. It is recognized in

Point Lay that there are many more people who have trouble understanding **Inupiaq** than those who have trouble with English. There are a significant number of **non-Inupiat** Alaskan Natives living in Point Lay, as well as a few Caucasians. Most young (age **twenty** and below) **Inupiat** in Point Lay do not readily comprehend **Inupiaq** because they did not grow up hearing it in the home. If they are to be **encouraged** to **come** to meetings and participate, the meetings almost have to be in English. This is a “Catch-22” of language retention that the residents in Point Lay are fully aware of but have no real answer for.

The use of language at City Council meetings can also be **discussed**, at least for a subset of the villages for which such observations exist in the literature. Not **all** City Council meetings are functionally equivalent, **of course**, since often the language of choice depends on the business to be conducted and who is in attendance. **These** factors can be taken into account in a narrative discussion, however, and **will** seem to illuminate some of the contextual features which help determine the language of choice. Language use at church **services**, at public hearings, and in other contexts, can also be addressed.

Language Use at City Council Meetings

In Point Hope, all City Council meetings **observed** were conducted primarily in English. This may have been due to the common presence of monolingual English speakers with whom the City Council had to **deal** at that meeting (primarily NSB functionaries). As mentioned above, **Inupiaq** is the language of choice at other public forums in Point Hope where topics that **could** be considered to affect only **Inupiat** are discussed.

In Point Lay, all **IRA** Council meetings are held predominately in English. If Elders are present an attempt is made to translate for them when necessary for them to follow what is being discussed. Comments are sometimes made in **Inupiaq** and short discussions are sometimes conducted as asides in **Inupiaq**, but **all** business and most discussion **is** in English.

In Wainwright, most parts of City Council meetings are held in **Inupiaq**. The only exceptions are those issues where monolingual English speakers (local **PSOs**, contractors discussing the progress of local projects, certain NSB functionaries) make presentations to the council. These presentations are made in English and questions are addressed to them in English. Most of the time these presentations are not translated into **Inupiaq** as those present can fully understand them. Those points that are not **clear** to certain board members are discussed in **Inupiaq**. This corresponds well with the observations of other public meetings in Wainwright, where the **primary** presentation was made in English but a **full** translation into **Inupiaq** was also made because people were present who did not understand English **well**.

No City Council meetings were observed in Barrow, and the literature does not document language use at these meetings. NSB Assembly meetings, also held in Barrow, are conducted almost totally in English. Again, asides may be made in **Inupiaq** and especially problematic English terms may be glossed with an **Inupiaq** expression, but most people in attendance have good fluency in English. Many have no knowledge of **Inupiaq**. The church most closely identified with Barrow **Inupiat** conducts much of its **service** in **Inupiat**, and takes pains to translate the English portions of the service (notices and the sermon, since the pastor does not speak **Inupiaq**) into **Inupiaq**.

Nuiqsut is uninteresting case because in 1983-w City Council meetings were conducted primarily in English while currently they are primarily in **Inupiaq**. The village corporation annual meeting in 1983-84 was conducted in both English and **Inupiaq**, but the most difficult issues were discussed totally in **Inupiaq**. The City **Council** in this period had a non-Native clerk who may have exerted a pressure to conduct meetings in English. Whatever the reason, the current council has evidently made a decision that is in the best interests of the village to use **Inupiaq**. Several of the members are the same as in the earlier period, so differential knowledge is not a good explanation. Although the clerk had changed, the position was still **held** by a non-Native with little knowledge of **Inupiaq**. It **could** well be that this is a mechanism by which the council ensures that it controls what is recorded in the minutes, as the present clerk needs the help of **council** members to write the minutes of **council** meetings. A **common complaint** about non-Native clerks in such situations is that they often exert too much influence over council members and record too much of the discussion (and disagreement) leading to a decision which is most often formally unanimous. The current City Council in **Nuiqsut** seems to be more concerned with local control than was the council in 1983-84. Most church services in 1983-84 were conducted in English and this remains the **case** as of 1989.

Public meetings were not observed in **Kaktovik**, but the knowledge that **until** recently the Mayor was non-Native implies that meetings were most often in English. Church services are predominately in **Inupiaq**, however, so it is clear that **Inupiaq** is also used in public meetings. It may be that **Inupiaq** is used unless there are overwhelming reasons for the use of English such as having a non-Native Mayor.

Little information exists in the literature on language use on public occasions in **Anaktuvuk** Pass and **Atqasuk**. Our fieldwork in these locations did not correspond with any public meetings and informants considered the topic a strange one to discuss. In any event, no generalized statements on language use were obtained from local informants.

Language Use and Church Services

During Episcopal church services in Point Hope the prevalence of **Inupiaq** use varies from week to week and is, in part, dependent upon whether or not several **non-Inupiaq** speakers are present **or** high-status individual **non-Inupiaq** speakers. For example, when the bishop's assistant, the highest church **official** who visits the community on a regular basis, was in Point Hope, services were almost entirely in English. During "typical" weeks, **Inupiaq** was used predominantly throughout the service, particularly for the sermon, but there was some variation in this that could not be accounted for merely by examining the number of **non-Inupiaq** speakers present. Few **non-Inupiaq** speaking **Inupiat** individuals, other than young children, attend the services on a regular basis. As noted in the discussion of the church itself, on any given Sunday, the congregation is in large part composed of elders and other older adults and their grandchildren. The Episcopalian religious functionaries in Point Hope are presently **all Inupiat** whose first language was **Inupiaq**. The Assembly of God Church in Point Hope uses English for the most part, with an occasional **Inupiaq** hymn or testimony given in **Inupiaq**. The minister is non-Native, which accounts in part for the use of English. The congregation is also smaller and, on the average, younger than the Episcopalian congregation.

Episcopalian Church **services** are not frequent in Point Lay, as there is no church and no resident minister. Episcopalian services are conducted whenever an outside functionary is in the village and are usually held in the community center. The services are in English except for an occasional hymn in **Inupiaq**. A Baptist Church has recently been established in Point Lay and the services are entirely in **English**. The pastor is non-Native, as is most **of** his small congregation. The Baptist pastor says that his role in ministering to the villagers in their everyday lives can be as important as anything he says in church services, however, so that the **small** size of his congregation is not necessarily the best measure of his **effect** on the village. Baptist services are conducted at least once a week.

Wainwright has two established churches, both with **Inupiat** identities. The Presbyterian Church currently has a non-Native minister, but **services** are frequently led by local Elders and conducted primarily in **Inupiaq**. The Presbyterian church has been led **Inupiat** ministers in the past and is the largest church in **Wainwright**. The Assembly of God Church is smaller, and has services led by a local lay **Inupiat**. Informants say that the Assembly of God congregation tends to be younger, on average, than the **Presbyterian** congregation. There is also a Baptist Church in Wainwright with a non-Native pastor, but his congregation is almost entirely non-Native. On occasion a few **Inupiat** will attend Baptist **services**. These **services** are entirely in English. The Baptist Church is the only church in Wainwright that operates a Sunday school, and many **Inupiat** children do attend these classes. The Sunday school has apparently had little effect on the parents of the children who attend, however, and the long-term effect on the attenders themselves is uncertain.

The religious situation in Barrow is the most complex on the North Slope and we **will** confine ourselves to language usage in this section. Both the Presbyterian and Assembly of God Churches in Barrow have primarily an **Inupiat** identity. The Assembly of God has much less of a formal hierarchy than the Presbyterian Church. The leaders of the Assembly of God Church are **Inupiat** whereas the Presbyterian minister is non-Native. Language use in Assembly of God **services** is not clear, as no information exists in the literature and no services were attended. The first Assembly of God pastor on the North Slope arrived in Barrow in 1954. He was a non-Native, as was his successor. It is clear, however, that **Inupiat** converts soon became quite important in the spread of that church, especially to **Wainwright** (Bills 1980:138-150). It is most **likely** that much of the service is in **Inupiat**, however, as the **principal** component of services are testimonies from members of the congregation and singing. In the Presbyterian Church, on the other hand, **services** are structured around a sermon. For the morning **service** the sermon is delivered in English and then translated into **Inupiat**. In the evening a senior lay **Inupiat** delivers the message and much more of the **service** is in **Inupiat**. The pastor reports that attendance is greater at the morning **service** than at the evening service and that on the average evening attenders are older than morning attenders (and a certain core group attend both services). The Episcopal, Catholic, and Baptist Churches **all** conduct services in English and up to this point have predominately **non-Inupiat** congregations.

Nuiqsut has two churches, but only the Presbyterian Church is active. The Assembly of God has a building and at least a few families who are members, but services are not held with any regularity. In the past there have been resident Assembly of God ministers, both **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat**, but no single individual stayed for very long. Apparently the congregation in **Nuiqsut** is not large enough to support a local church. The Presbyterian Church, on the other hand, is

considered the established church in **Nuiqsut**. An ordained, fluently bilingual, **Inupiat** minister conducts the regular morning service primarily in English. He translates the notices for the benefit of those who do not understand English well, and on certain occasions will also translate the sermon as he delivers it. Semites are sometimes also held in the evening, but if so are usually led by someone other than the ordained minister and are conducted mostly in **Inupiaq**. There is also a service that is regularly held on Wednesday evenings which is conducted almost exclusively in **Inupiaq** and is organized by the Elders who are members of the congregation. Attendance is highest at Sunday morning **services** and lowest at Wednesday evening **services**.

The Presbyterian Church is the major church in **Kaktovik** and services are conducted in **Inupiaq**. Senior **members** of the congregation lead the **services**. Little other information is available. There is no information available on language use in church **services** in **Atqasuk** and **Anaktuvuk Pass**.

The generalizations that can be made about language use and church **services** are fairly straightforward. **Services** conducted by locals, regardless of denomination, tend to be in **Inupiat** while those conducted by **non-Inupiat** or ordained pastors tend to be in English. Services in English tend to be better attended, all other things being equal, than **services** held in **Inupiaq**. This seems to be **related** to age and language competency, in that older people will attend **services** held in either language whereas younger people are **observed** to attend services held in English more often than they attend **services** held in **Inupiaq**. **Services** held in **English** sometimes provide translations for those who do not **understand** English all that **well**, but seldom do services held in **Inupiaq** provide English translations. This seems to reflect the perception that those who attend services held in **Inupiaq** are all **Inupiaq** speakers, whereas those who attend **services** conducted in English may **well** not be fluent in English. It is a common observation by **local** informants that the young are not acquiring a high degree of fluency in **Inupiaq**.

Language Learning in the School

The school is a place where **Inupiaq** language instruction for children and young **adults** takes **place** and, it is hoped, where the pace of language loss can be slowed. However, on the North Slope it is almost universally agreed that the **Inupiaq** language program in the school has been ineffective. Major reasons for this are the high rate of turnover of the **Inupiaq** teacher, the frequent lack of formal training for this teacher, the lack of integration of what this teacher does into the other curriculum, the irregular work habits of past **Inupiat** teachers, and the lack of reinforcement of the **Inupiaq** language in most of the students' home environments. There is strong School Board support for teaching **Inupiaq** (and other aspects of **Inupiaq** culture) in the schools, but it is not uncommon to observe less than whole-hearted adherence to this policy in the village schools. This is a complex issue and involves many different issues. Educational philosophy, NSB politics, the realities of level of staffing and available money, differing village characteristics, and even the personalities of the people involved are **only** some of these issues. It is not, however, a problem unique to any single village, and no village has that much of a higher success rate that it can be said not to have a problem in this regard.

Perhaps the most common observation of village (outside of Barrow) schools is that in many cases they are trying to do too much, or expected to do too much. In the best of **all possible worlds** all students would, at a minimum, have the options of vocational (or career) education, "college

preparatory” education, and/or culturally enriched education. In the practical world of a small village and a very limited teaching staff, it is rare if just one of these options can be presented well. North Slope teachers outside of Barrow are by necessity generalists -- they simply have too many different teaching responsibilities to allow for the luxury of specialization. The right to small, local schools has its price, and that price is most often the narrowing of choice. We are not qualified to say if the present lack of achievement in NSB schools is due, at least in part, to the small size and village setting of those schools. Such achievement problems are evident in schools throughout America and there are any number of confounding factors. Certainly it is recognized on the North Slope that village schools are not educating students as well as they should be, which is one reason why a regional high school is once again receiving serious consideration.

In Point Lay and those other villages for which information is available, the lack of success of the Inupiaq language program has not created any large scale community problems, at least up to present time. The most commonly expressed attitude is that it is not the role of the school to teach Inupiat culture in any event. Parents are held responsible for the ability (or lack of it) of their children to speak Inupiaq. Parents are held responsible for the transmission of subsistence skills. While language classes in the school are supported, sometimes it seems this is because of the professional jobs they create for local people in what is otherwise a nearly totally non-Inupiat environment. The field trips to subsistence harvest sites (mostly fish camp) that used to be sponsored by the village schools are remembered with fondness, but for the most part no longer take place. No one has wanted to take charge of such an undertaking recently (the last attempt in Point Lay was canceled due to extreme weather conditions). It may seem strange that parents are not held accountable by other villagers for the attendance of their older children at school, but are held responsible for their language and subsistence skills. This becomes clearer once it is realized that it is the expectation that the choice of whether to learn or not still rests with the individual child or person, but that the opportunity to learn is expected to be provided by the parents (or community) in the sphere of language and subsistence. Relations between the school and community have been said to be very good in most villages, yet the School Advisory Council meetings in those same villages are also acknowledged to be very poorly attended. The strongest evidence for this generalization comes from the Nuiqsut and Point Lay case studies, but conversations with school personnel in the other villages for this project has made it clear that this is true in general. It appears to be the case that the education the Inupiat people of the North Slope still value the highest is not the “book learning” of the school but the subsistence skills of the hunter.

Language Use and Age

In Point Hope, almost no people under the age of 22 use Inupiaq by choice, and when they do they are not fluent. People 30 and older are generally fluent in both languages, but English is the language used in almost all public contexts. Discussions with Elders are typically in Inupiaq, as well as some discussions between adults. Inupiaq is rarely heard being spoken to a child other than by Elders. The only jobs in the community that would appear to more-or-less require fluency in Inupiaq (other than for Inupiaq-specific programs, such as the bilingual program at the school) are those jobs that involve continual interaction with Elders, such as the Elder housekeeping positions. There are a number of significant (in terms of functions) adults in the community who do not speak or understand Inupiaq.

In Point Lay, few young people use **Inupiaq** as their language of first choice. Most students in the school are not at all fluent, while those between the ages of 20 and 25 are usually somewhat more able to communicate in **Inupiaq**. People over the age of 30 are usually fairly fluent in **Inupiaq**, but will still **converse** in English unless they wish to ensure privacy of their conversation from non-Inupiaq speakers, or unless the person they are speaking with does not know English very well. The few **people** in Point Lay over the age of 50 are **all** primarily speakers of **Inupiaq**.

While **field** information from the other villages is not as rich as that from Point Hope and Point Lay, the general pattern is the same. Children in general are simply not learning **Inupiaq** with any degree of fluency. One teacher who taught in Wainwright for several years remarked that the transition between those who knew **Inupiaq** and those who did not was dramatic. Those above a certain age (grade **level**) were proficient and those **below** that age were not. The transition point was attributed to when the modern high **school** was built in Wainwright and the increasing influence of television and other media. This teacher also agreed that the **adolescent** peer group was perhaps becoming more important in terms of socialization than it may have been in the **past**. In **Nuiqsut**, those young people who have **learned Inupiaq** with the greatest degree of fluency are those people whose parents were primarily speakers of **Inupiat**. Their parents may well have understood English well, but did not speak it fluently and used **Inupiaq** as their language of choice, and certainly in the home. These same young people often use English as their language of first choice, so that their children learn English as their first language. The same dynamic can be **observed** in Barrow and is likely to exist in all the NSB villages.

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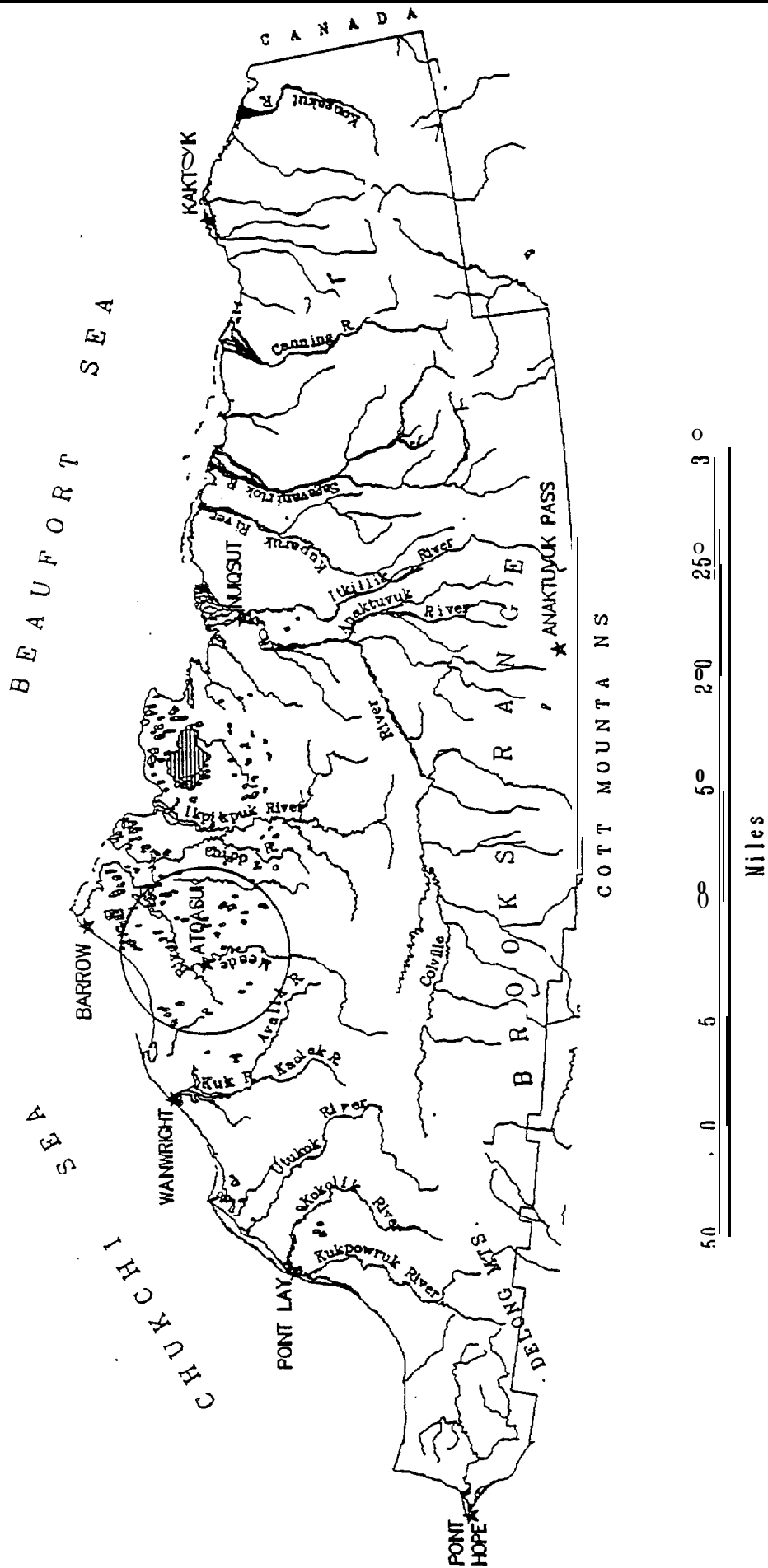
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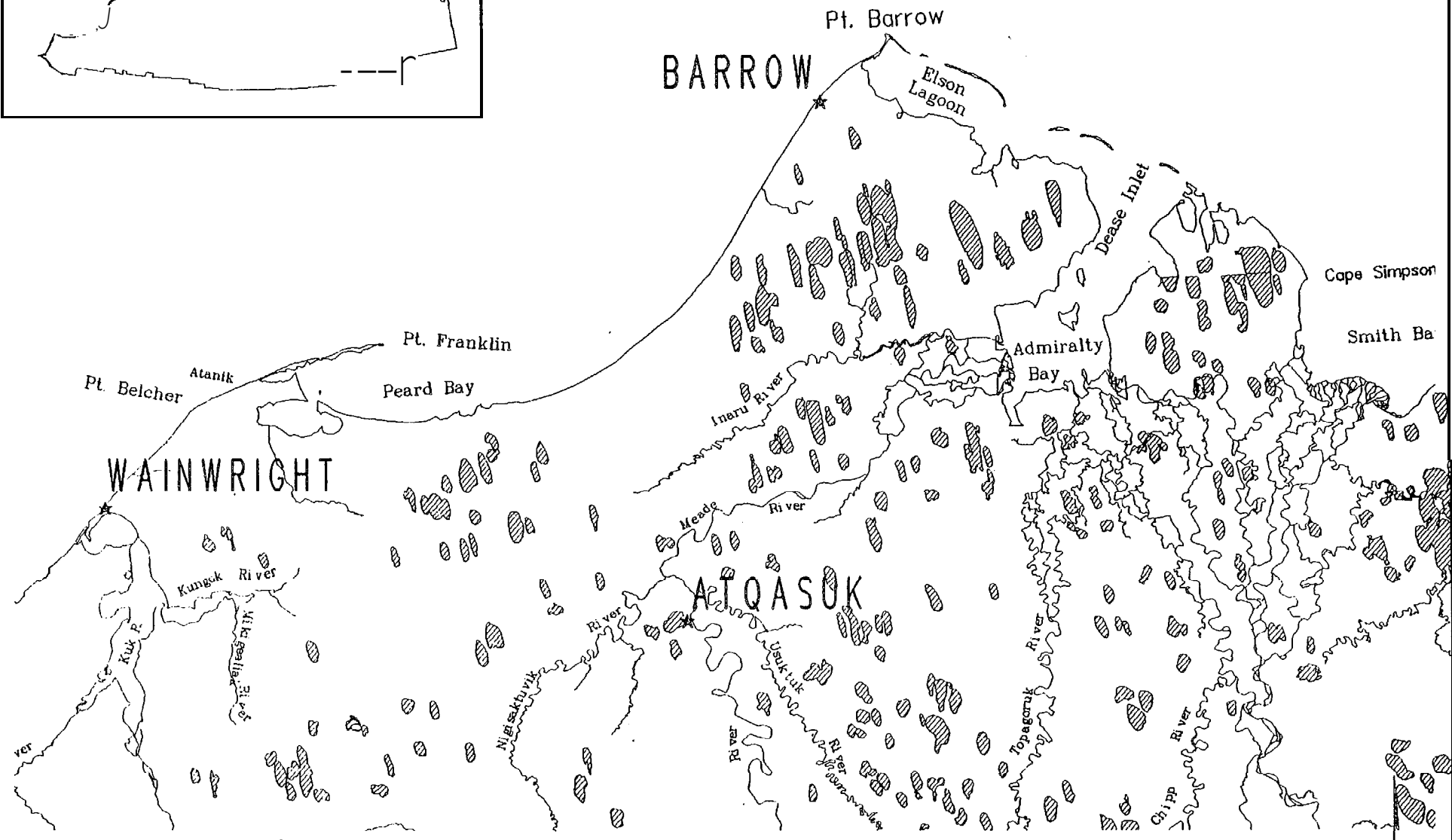
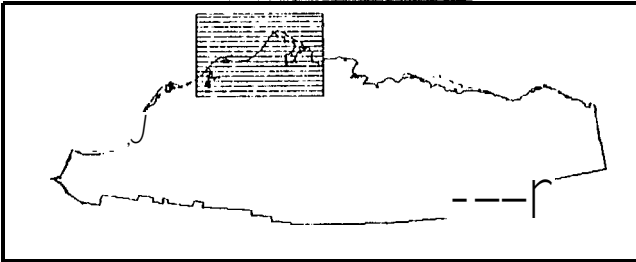
The Subarctic Indians and the Fur Trade, 1680-1860. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

ATQASUK



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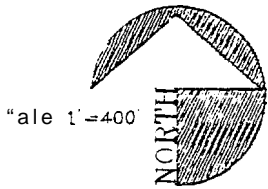


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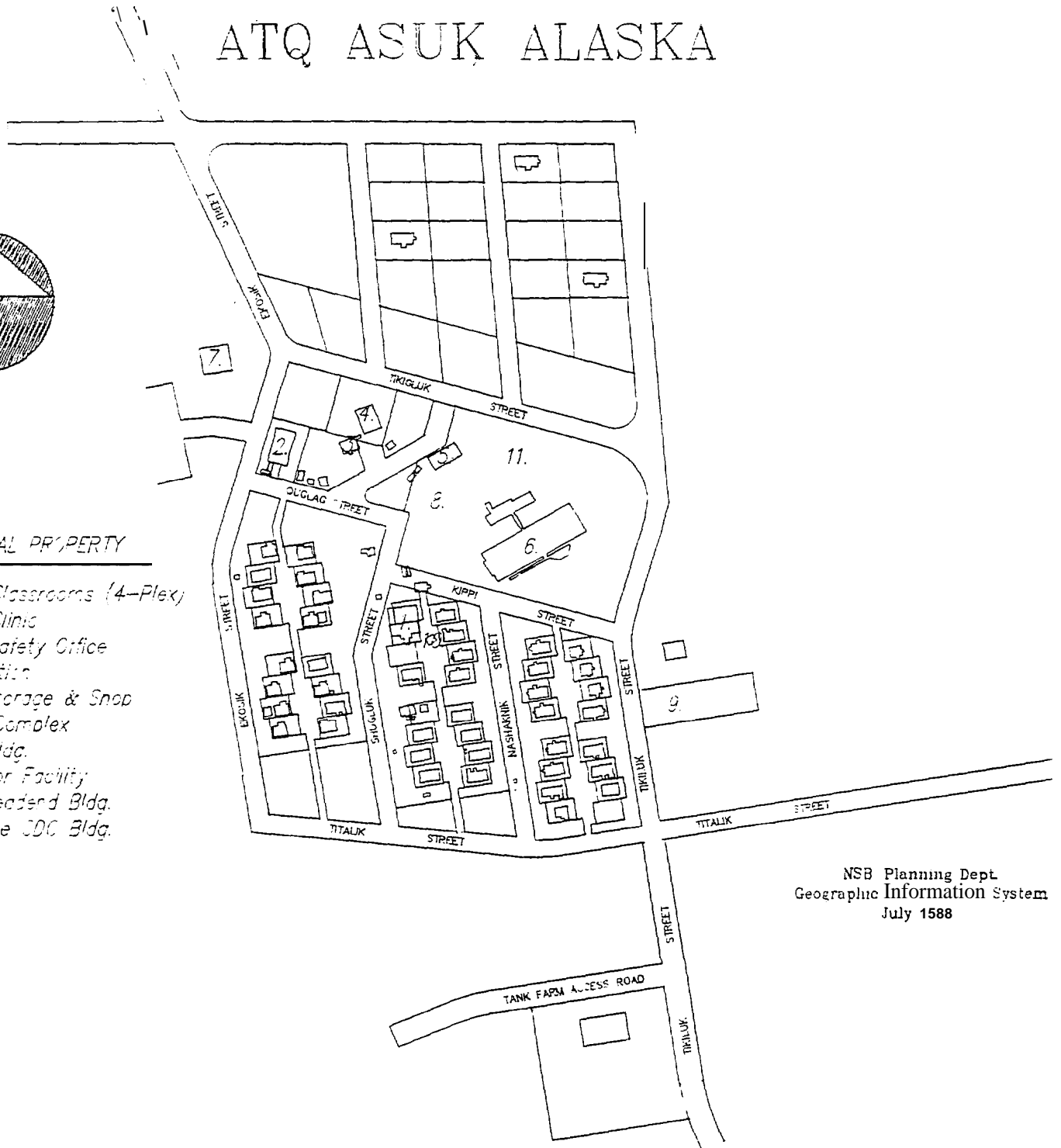
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LEGEND:

NSB REAL PROPERTY

1. School Classrooms (4-Plex)
2. Health Clinic
3. Public Safety Office
4. Fire Station
5. Warm Storage & Shop
6. School Complex
7. Utility Bldg.
8. Generator Facility
9. CATV Headend Bldg.
10. Telephone JDC Bldg.
11. Storage



NSB Planning Dept.
Geographic Information System
July 1588

ATQASUK

SECTION I: POPULATION	1
A. Population Background	1
Tigalook (Tikigluk, Tikikluk)	8
Panikpatchiak	8
Isuqtuum Paanga	8
Nigisaqtugvik	8
Nasiqsrugviich	9
Qaglugruaq (Qaglakruaq)	9
Niksilik	9
Uatuq (Watuq)	9
Aatut	10
Qayaaq (Kayaaq)	10
Atoruk	10
Kinnaq	10
Uqpiksuu	11
Qaviarat (Qaviora)	11
Ugiak	12
Kalayauk (Kaleak)	12
Payugvik (Payukvik)	13
Iviksuk	14
Pulayaaq	15
Pulayatchiaq	15
Nauyalik	16
B. The Development of the Present Village of Atqasuk	16
C. Formation of New Atqasuk	23
D. Population Movements and Migration	24
E. Present Population	26
F. Housing	32
SECTION II: ECONOMY	34
A. Overview	34
B. Characteristics of Households	40
c. 1989 Employment	44
D. Projection to 1994	49

ATQASUK

SECTION III: FORMAL INSTITUTIONS 52

 A. Overview 52

 B. City of Atqasuk 53

 Observation of a City Council Meeting, April 3, 1989 55

 Relationships between City and NSB 58

 Relationships between the Village and Corporation 60

 Relationships Between the City and Community Institutions 60

 The City and Employment 61

 C. Atqasuk Corporation 61

 ANCSA 14(c)3 Reconveyances 64

 Contributions to Village Organizations 66

 D. Search and Rescue 66

 Observations of a Search and Rescue Meeting, April 14, 1989 68

 Trail Markers 69

 E. Churches ' 69

 F. The Issue of Alcohol and Drugs. 70

 Village Ban on the Possession of Alcohol 70

 The Rainbow Group 70

 G. Future Development Projects.. 71

SECTION IV: CULTURAL ISSUES AND INFORMAL INSTITUTIONS 0 72

BIBLIOGRAPHIC SOURCES: ATQASUK 76

List of Tables - **Atqasuk**

Table I-ATQ	17
Atqasuk Population History	
Table 2-ATQ	18
House Type by Construction Date and Builder	
Table 3-ATQ	19
Population Composition-May 1980	
Table 4-ATQ	19
Changes in Household Size 1980-1983	
Persons Per Household	
Table S-ATQ	20
Age of Head of Household for Alaska Natives, Non-Natives, and All Groups - June 1980	
Table 6-ATQ	21
Atqasuk Household Composition -1980	
Table 7-ATQ	27
Age, Sex, and Race Composition -1988	
Table 8-ATQ	30
Ethnic Composition Atqasuk Population -1988	
Table 9-ATQ	33
Marital Status by Ethnicity -1988	
Table 10-ATQ	36
Household Income and Spending- 1988	
Table 11-ATQ	37
Composition of Employment by Race and Sex -May 1980	
Table 12-ATQ 0	38
1982 Employment, August Count (FTE)	
Table 13-ATQ	38
1980 Household Employment	
Table 14-ATQ	39
1980 Household Employment by Household Size Non-Native Households	

List of Tables - **Atqasuk**

Table 15-ATQ39
 1980 **Household** Employment by Household Size,
 Construction Workers Excluded

Table 16-ATQ39
 Size of Native Households Containing Construction Workers Exclusively

Table 17-ATQ 40
 Number of Households Having Various Characteristics

Table 18-ATQ 41
 Composition of Employment by Age, Race, and Sex- **May 1980**

Table 19-ATQ42
 Household Size- 1988

Table 20-ATQ43
 Household Characteristics- 1988
 By Categories of **Household Size**

Table 21-ATQ 45
 Highest Level of Education by Age Group
Inupiat Residents- 1988

Table 21-ATQ (continued)^{*}
 Highest **Level** of Education by Age Group
Non-Inupiat Residents- 1988

Table 22-ATQ . . . 00.47
 Occupation Composition of Employment by Sex and **Ethnicity** - 1988

Table 23-ATQ 50
 Industry Composition of Employment by Sex and **Ethnicity** - 1988

Table 24-ATQ74
 Household Characteristics -1988
 By **Levels** of Household Income

Table 25-ATQ 75
 Household Characteristics - 1988
 By Levels of Subsistence Participation



List of Figures - **Atqasuk**

Figure I-ATQ28
Inupiat and Total Population in 1988

Figure Z-ATQ29
Population Characteristics -1988

Figure 3-ATQ31
Ethnic Composition Atqasuk Population -1988

Figure 4-ATQ35
Average Household Income Distribution
Native and Non-Native Households by Household Size

Figure 5-ATQ51
Population, Labor Force, and Employment- 1980, 1988, and 1994 (Projected)

ATQASUK

The community of **Atqasuk** has been treated differently from the other villages of the North Slope for the purposes of this report. Rather than provide a profile of the village in the same format as the other **villages**, data collection for **Atqasuk** focused on the relationship of the community to Barrow. This is because **Atqasuk** has a more direct relationship with Barrow than any other village on the North Slope. Located less than sixty miles apart, **Atqasuk** and Barrow are closer to each other than are any other **Inupiat** communities on the North Slope. This physical proximity has facilitated **social** interactions between residents of the two villages. Individuals have relatives in both communities so they move back and forth between the communities, their subsistence ranges overlap, and so on.

SECTION I: POPULATION

A. Population Background

Although the interior of northern **Alaska** was inhabited in earlier periods, the inland caribou-hunting people who became known as **Nunamiut** are a recent population, as compared to the coastal **Inupiat** (**Oswalt 1977**). Archeological evidence indicates that these groups moved into the unoccupied Brooks Range and **Colville** River basin from the **Noatak** and **Kobuk** River region sometime after **A.D. 1400**. The increasing utilization of dog teams after 1600 by north Alaskan Eskimos has been suggested as the major catalyst behind the exploitation of this interior region. “By the end of the sixteenth century the western part of the interior was relatively heavily populated as evidenced by a number of lakeside villages of well-built, deep semisubterranean, rectangular houses with long entrance passages” (**Hall 1984:339**).

Following **Burch**, **Hall (1984)** takes the position that distinct societies were present by the 1850s. “Though considerable fluidity in terms of social units and territorial utilization has pertained throughout the period the interior has been occupied, by 1850 several distinct demes or societies had been formed, characterized by high levels of endogamy, identification with a particular **territory** that was occupied by the members as [**sic**] least during the fall (and usually the winter) of every year, a distinctive yearly **cycle**, and a distinctive dialect” (**Hall 1984:339**). Most of **Hall’s** subsequent discussion is a description of traditional life of the mountain **Nunamiut** (**Anaktuvuk** Pass people), based primarily on ethnographic information. This group, which had left the area and migrated to the coast (Barrow) by 1920, returned to their traditional lifestyle in the mountain area 20 years later with improved technology and an altered economy. According to this author, three **riverine** groups were the other “most important” **Nunamiut** societies and lived in larger, more permanent villages with semisubterranean sod houses; a **Meade** and **Ikpikpuk** Rivers group was one of the three. Unlike their mountain counterparts, members of the **riverine** groups usually spent the fall and winter inland and the summer on the coast, trading with their coastal partners (**Hall 1984:344**).

A different view of **Nunamiut** territorial groupings is suggested by **Gubser (1965:337-43)** in his study of the caribou hunters of Anaktuvuk Pass. In his discussion of the **early** historic settlements of inland Eskimo, he reports that the population and settlement pattern fluctuated significantly according to prevailing ecological conditions. **As** a consequence, groups and territories were not

constant and fried through time. In his reconstruction of **Nunamiut** society during the late 1800s and early 1900s, the Nunamiut were organized into bands of 50-150 people and were composed of four major groups, associated temporary groups, and several other small bands. The major groups fluctuated substantially in size and habitation areas, depending on the availability of resources. Any of these major groupings “could be represented by only one or two bands (in which everyone had **all** the meat, fat, and skins he needed) or, for a short time, by four or five bands (in which case the decimation of caribou resulted **ultimately** in a reduction of the human population)” (Gubser 1965:340).

Oswalt also remarks on the importance of ecological fluctuations in the dynamics of **Nunamiut** settlement patterns. In inland areas, “slight changes in ecological patterning, such as the development of a shallow off-shore area or a decline in caribou numbers, could be disastrous and lead to the coalescence of a **people** or to their extinction.” Saying that the **inland** Eskimo caribou hunters “lived on the margins of **survival** and failed repeatedly,” and citing archeological evidence from the Brooks Range, he suggests this was a long-term pattern extending over the **last** 10,000 years: whenever inland caribou hunters disappeared, their area **was** sooner or later occupied by a new group of caribou hunters who moved in from the coast (Oswalt 1967:242-43, 252).

Gubser (1965:337-44) reconstructed the locations of major settlements and smaller groups, including temporary bands, in northern Alaska for the historic period between 1850 and 1920. Temporary bands formed when one of the major groupings expanded and some families moved to another river or **valley** for a period of time. Settlers along the Meade River (listed as **Koluguragmiut**) and the **Ikpikpugmiut** are both identified as small bands not associated with one of the major groups. Moreover, these groups, in contrast to other inland populations, were comprised of “primarily Point Barrow Eskimos who had moved inland for a short time to hunt and trap” (Gubser 1965:343). This is an important point that **will** be discussed more **fully** below.

It is possible that Gubser used Lt. **P.H.** Ray as his source for this information regarding the historical inhabitants of the Meade River area, since Ray provides the first written observations based on his journey inland **along** the river in 1882. This record indicates that the stability of social life among **the** Meade River **Nunamiut** was sensitive to environmental conditions and that **the** area was then in use by the **coastal Inupiat** from Barrow. Ray was told that the original inhabitants of the upper Meade River had migrated out three generations previously, and that the area was now used by hunters from **Nuvuk** and **Utqiagvik** (“**Uglaamie**”) **who** came there to hunt caribou and **fish** for whitefish through the ice with **gill** nets during February and March. Prior to this prehistoric migration, the area was inhabited by **people** who lived by **fishing** and hunting caribou, and did not travel to the **coast**, but when the **fish** and deer disappeared, and it grew very cold, the people were forced to move away by the **cold** and starvation. Some of these people went to the **Colville**, and others joined coastal bands. On his trip, Ray followed the Meade River towards the south, and it is interesting to note that he had difficulty with his guides who were from Barrow. He was forced to return after two days of travel beyond **Atqasuk** because he could not convince the men to go into **country** they were unfamiliar with.

Ray camped on the Meade River near the present site of **Atqasuk**, possibly at **Tigalook**. He reckoned his position was on the **Meade** four miles upriver from the confluence with the Usuktuk **River**. The location of this camp several miles above the Usuktuk River, opposite an area of sod

house ruins, suggests the party **was** encamped at **Tigalook**. His report included the following account:

I found an **Uglaamie** native here in camp; he was engaged in **fishing**, and **told** us his nets *were set just* opposite to the camp. We obtained from him some fine whitefish; having no rifle he had been unable to take any deer. I ascended the **bluffs** on the right **bank**, which were here fifty **feet** high. On them found the ruins **of** several winter huts, built entirely of **turf**; the natives say that three generations ago all this region was inhabited by a people that lived by **fishing** and hunting reindeer, and did not come to the **coast**, but that the deer and fish grew scarce and there came a very cold season and the people nearly ail **died** from cold and starvation; the few that survived went away to the **Colville** or joined the little bands on the coast, so that now this whole region is not inhabited and is never visited except by the hunters from **Nuwuk** and **Uglaamie**, who come here for deer during the months of February and March; each year a few **fish** are also taken with gill-nets in the deep **holes** along Meade River, the fish being here confined by the river freezing solid on the bars; all movement of water on the water-shed is suspended during the winter, there being no rainfall or **melting** of snow from October to May, and springs are unknown (Ray 1988 [1885]:lxxvii).

This camp was two days journey, 90 **miles** in all, from the station in **Browerville**.

After one more day's travel upriver, he reached a camp **which** was **being** used as a deer hunting camp by a man he had supplied with a rifle and ammunition to hunt deer for the station. (Ray wrote, "Found he had a fine supply on hand, and he **very** proudly showed us ten as our share" -- note use of the share concept). It is interesting to note also that Ray needed to enlist another guide before he could continue on his trip, because the **Inupiaq** who had brought him from **Browerville** refused to go further **inland**; he had never been beyond this camp. Ray found a man willing to take him further, but at the end of the next day's travel, he, too, refused to go on, informing Ray "that he did not wish to go further south; that he was unacquainted with the country, never having been so far **in** the interior before." Ray noted, "Beyond this he peopled the country with imaginary **enemies**. Nothing I **could** offer would induce him to go further" (Ray 1988[1885]:lxxviii). Ray was forced to turn back. **As** he traveled up the Meade River to the south, Ray and his **Inupiaq** companion *were* approaching the habitation of the Upper **Colville** Nunamiut, the **Kangianigmiut**. Apparently, his guides had never visited this area nor were they willing to risk an encounter with the Nunamiut inhabitants, which suggests that they had reached the limit of the geographical area in use by the **Utqiagvingmiut** in the **early** 1880s.

It is worthwhile to point out the observations of Ray and Murdoch that the **Inupiat** had changed very little from their indigenous state at the time of their visit (1881-1883), as compared to subsequent decades (see **Gubser 1965:10**). Since the 1850s, whaling ships had brought trade in

guns, ammunition, tools, some food items, liquor, lumber from wrecked ships, and gonorrhoea and other diseases to the **Inupiat** at Barrow. “Murdoch felt that the guns, food, and tools were of positive benefit to the Eskimos and that liquor, diseases, and sexual relations [with whalers] were harmful” (*ibid*:10). However, with the development of more intensive, shore-based whaling enterprises, the effects of contact increased substantially after 1885. Charles Brewer had introduced major and lasting changes in aboriginal whaling techniques and institutions by the late 1880s, and further social and economic changes were encouraged by the commercial whalers in the 1890s. **The** massive killing of whales, **seals, walrus,** and caribou resulted in long-lasting population reductions by the late 1890s. Continuing epidemics since shortly before the turn of the century afflicted both coastal populations and inland groups who **would** come to Barrow temporarily. Finally, there were the effects of alcohol that became more pervasive after the **Inupiat** learned to make home brew by 1890.

The use of the Meade River intensified with the movements of **Nunamiut** and other groups **to** the coastal areas which occurred after 1885, including the villages at Barrow and camps **on** the northern coast, in *response* to (1) declining caribou and sea **mammal** populations (from natural causes and commercial whaling pressure), (2) increasing dependence on European items of trade, (3) **social** and economic changes in Barrow which altered traditional trading relationships and availability of needed coastal goods, (4) population decimation from introduced diseases, and after 1908, (5) opportunities for trapping **along** the northern **coast**. The introduction of reindeer herding around 1900, and of trapping in **1908,** promoted **new** uses of areas near Barrow, particularly along the northern coast and in lower **Meade** River. Excellent graze for reindeer was located in the **inland** area on the lower **Meade** River, and some camping **places** on the **Meade** River which had been used for hunting caribou and fishing under the ice became trapping camps **at** which people maintained sod houses.

A reported **consequence** of this period of rapid and intense change was the disappearance of the original population at **Utqiagvik** and the formation of a community comprised **of** diverse groups from inland, and coastal communities to the south. According to Charles Brewer, “the original Barrow population, which comprised the Barrow community when he **first** went there, about 1890, had almost **all** died in the course **of various** epidemics, and that the population of the early 1930s was almost completely **inland** Eskimo who had **come** from the interior - from the drainage **of** the **Colville,** and other rivers to the **east.**” **The** same assertion about the **Barrow people** was made by Diamond **Jenness** after his work in the region from 1913-1916 (**Oswalt 1967:234-35**). However, the interior was not the **only** source **of** immigration. There is little consideration given to the community at **Nuvuk** which did not amalgamate completely with Barrow **until** after 1940. In addition, there are the Barrow families whose ancestors originally migrated from the south, from **the Wainwright,** Point Lay, and Point Hope areas, and from as far away as **Shismaref** and the **Diomedes.** Similarly, the **Kobuk, Noatak,** and **Selawik** communities were another source of immigration during this period. All of these groups intermixed at **Utqiagvik, Nuvuk,** and temporary camps at **Pigniq,** and some settled along the **Meade** River. This transformation was defined in terms of language change by Barrow elders, who say that the language is **no** longer one dialect; all different dialects are spoken **in** Barrow, **as** in the villages. “Barrow is **like** the United Nations because people from **all** different places gather here” (**Kisautaq 1981:121**).

The history of the Meade River area in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is closely tied to that of the twin communities at Barrow and to the movements of **Nunamiut** and other

groups who were being disturbed by the changes in Barrow. **Nunamiut** groups from the **Colville** River and its tributaries, and the Brooks Range, traveled to Barrow more frequently than in the past, as their traditional trade was disrupted and they sought to participate more directly in whaling and the new trading opportunities. The Meade River delta **would** have been used more heavily by these groups than areas further upriver, as they moved back and forth along the northern coast and settled in closer proximity to the Barrow communities. Other immigrants to the Barrow area from **riverine** areas south of the Brooks Range **would** be motivated to continue their practices of inland caribou hunting and fishing on the Meade River. Compared to the pattern of **temporary** winter use observed by Ray in 1882, the Meade River probably had more sustained settlement after the period of rapid change began in Barrow after 1885.

The sudden collapse of the whaling industry, and the shift to intensive trapping of furbearers in 1908, brought more intensive use of inland areas particularly along rivers flowing into the north **coast** east of Barrow. Families left Barrow and joined relatives who were already out on the land. Barrow and **Atqasuk elders** have described their early memories of going inland to live on the Meade River in sod houses in this time **period**, living alongside (and learning from) their grandparents. They reported that families spread out eastward along the coast from Barrow and trapped **fox**, occasionally hunted polar bear, and lived at good **fishing places along** the rivers. **Although** some **people** remained in the Meade River delta on a year-round basis, the more typical practice was to return to Barrow in the spring for whaling and trade, and again in the fall. Sometimes families traveled to Barrow for Thanksgiving and Christmas celebrations. On the other hand, some Barrow families spent their summers on the Meade River, catching and drying **fish** for use during the winter in Barrow.

For the people living along the Meade River, participation in whaling at Barrow was essential for living **inland** during the winter months. In addition to the enjoyment of **festivals**, it was crucial to acquire the blubber and seal oil which was used to ward off starvation during severe conditions inland. As with the traditional **Nunamiut** societies, blubber and seal **oil** was a necessity for their survival since it was used for food, heat, and light. These resources were particularly important when the adult men **would** sometimes go off hunting or trapping for long periods and their **timely** return was not always predictable. Although families usually stored a **supply** of food resources and had willows to burn for **fuel**, blubber and **oil** were critical food resources when the **cold** was severe and food was scarce. This situation was alleviated somewhat in about 1915, when the **Inupiat** learned that the "**black stones**" on the Meade and **Colville** Rivers could be burned for heat.

One later resident of **Atqasuk** spent part of his youth in a family camp at **Payugvik** on the Meade River **delta**, and provides a description of the annual round in about 1910. According to this gentleman, several sites on the delta -- historically a hunting area for caribou -- served as base camps for winter hunting and have consistently been productive **fishing places** in summer and **fall**.

Traveling from Barrow, families commonly entered the area by the winter trail that terminates on the **Inaru** River a short distance from **Iviksuk** "(identified in the **Atqasuk** Traditional Land Use Inventory [TLUI] as site #35). From here, individual families branched **out**, building sod houses at favorite hunting and **fishing** areas around the delta at Payugvik (TLUI #35), **Nauyalik** (TLUI #41), **Pulayaaq** (TLUI #36), as well as **Iviksuk** itself (see sites evaluated). Fall **fishing** with nets under the ice provided a steady supply of food for scattered small **family** groups. This freed hunters from the immediate need to supply food for their families. They could range out on long

caribou hunting expeditions as far away as the Brooks Range, leaving the **old** people and **small** children behind on the **delta**, reasonably well-assured that the good **fishing**, the **fuel supply** of dwarf willows, and the seal oil and blubber they had brought from the coast would keep those left behind from starving. A similar pattern was followed by the **Kuukpigmiut** on the lower **Colville** River in another prolific **fishing area**.

While some people stayed on the delta permanently, it was common practice to return to Barrow for spring whaling around mid-April. Some **people** would summer on the Meade River delta, **build** up a supply of fish in their ice cellars and storage pits, and then sled their catch back to the **coast** on the winter trail as needed in the fall and winter (Schneider et al. 1980:42-43).

In the **early** 1900s, there was no hesitation on the part **of** families to go all the way to the mountains to hunt caribou. This differs from the practice of a generation earlier, when (as reported in the statements by Ray above), adults from **Barrow** were unfamiliar with areas near the mountains and refused to proceed far into the interior. As more people moved into Barrow from the outlying areas in the 1880s and 1890s, there was an amalgamation of groupings, **possibly** a sharing of knowledge, and the fears associated with more distant “enemies” declined. It also suggests that use of the interior in the Barrow-Atqasuk area was more frequent and expanded in range. By the time that the routines of reindeer herding and trapping were adopted, **Barrowites** moved **freely** over large tracts of inland areas.

Members of another family talked about living along the Meade River as children. Walter **Akpik** and his **older** sister, **Nannie** Woods, spoke to an Elders Conference about growing up there at **Meade** River, when they were “little ones” living with their grandparents (**Kisautaq** 1981:106-110, 112-13, 189-91, 258-59, 380). The roots of this family are in the **Kobuk** area. Their grandfather (**Qakiq**) **is descended** from **Selawik** people, and his wife (**Anugauraq**) came from the **Kobuk** area; they came to live in Barrow. It may be that they felt more comfortable living inland, fishing and hunting caribou, which is more like their homeland than the sea mammal and sea ice hunting of Barrow. Walter’s comments are interesting, concerning his sense that he came from a different area: “But I have **always** been made to feel very comfortable among the people of Barrow. Among the **people** of Barrow I have **always** been made to feel comfortable. Although I am **of** a different **place** the people of Barrow have always caused me to feel as comfortable as I want among them” (**Kisautaq** 1981:109). He also remembers how his father-in-law **really** endeavored to educate him about the dangers of the ice, when he started to spend more time on the coast after he was married.

Walter **Akpik** is considered a very knowledgeable individual about the land and subsistence practices along the Meade River, as a result of his childhood experiences and his extensive use of the area. He and his sister also lived in Barrow with their parents. **Nannie** recalled moving out east from Barrow in 1921 or 1922 with her parents “when they were still whole,” towards Barter Island, and living in a different place each winter. Presumably her parents trapped throughout the winters, and utilized the trading posts which were established at different locations along the coast in those years. Later she lived with her family (when she was married) at the **Colville** River (**Nigliq**), when her husband wanted to settle down, after most of the residents had vacated that site. Members of the **Akpik** and **Kippi** families were among the first to relocate to the new village of **Atqasuk** when it was resettled in, 1977-1978.

settlement **along** the Meade River probably dropped after the fur markets collapsed during the depression. One could argue that the decline in the fur business in the 1930s increased the emigration of Barrow families into the Meade River area, just as it apparently motivated several **Nunamiut** families to return to the Brooks Range in 1938 and 1939 (**Gubser 1965:24**). But the habitation of the Meade River communities appears to have been highest during the good trapping years, between 1910 and the early 1930s, as indicated by the number **of** sod house ruins and descriptions of the inhabitants by Barrow elders (this information is summarized below). However, families continued to live in **Meade River villages** throughout the 1930s. In 1939, while enumerating for the U.S. Census, Waldo **Bodfish** traveled to at least three small settlements on the Meade (Schneider et al. 1980). The 1939 population *figure* for **Meade** River was 78, representing the dispersed houses and camps situated **along** the **Meade** River. There was no mention of **Meade** River, **Tigalook**, **Tikikluk**, Old **Atqasuk**, or **Atqasuk** in **earlier** census years.

A **coal** mine on the Meade River, near the present village **of Atqasuk**, supplied **fuel** to the households and hospital in Barrow for about 20 years, from the mid-forties to the mid-sixties. This commercial mine was developed and operated by a white man who obtained start-up capital **from** the **BIA**. Widespread use of **coal started** in Barrow when people began “picking up jobs” in the community as the development of the Naval Arctic Research Laboratory (**NARL**) and other facilities brought new wage-paying opportunities to the town. One elder said, for example, that he was able to purchase coal after he took a job at the hospital. Once townspeople began making money, they **could** buy coal from the mine operator who transported the coal to Barrow using “Cat trains” across the snow (**Libbey 1982:113-16**). Some Barrow residents were **employed** at the mine, or worked on the Cat trains. However, the success of the operation depended on larger institutional buyers of coal, and the mine ran into financial difficulties when the institutions, such as the hospital, purchased their own coal supply because the Cat train deliveries were not **always** dependable. **The** dates of operation are estimated from 1944 to 1964, to within a year or so of when **Barrowites** were successful in lobbying the federal government to provide gas to their homes **from** the Barrow gas **fields**.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the census data **apply** to the community associated with the **coal** mine at **Tigalook**. There was a post office established here during this period. Shortly after the mine **closed** in the mid- **1960s**, the village was vacated. As described below, a new village was developed at a site nearby the older settlements commencing **in** 1977.

The lower Meade River and delta was the primary inland resource area in the Barrow-Atqasuk area, and it continues to be used intensively by current Barrow residents. Clusters of **fixed** hunting and fishing camps maintained by **Barrowites** are located on the Meade and **Inaru** Rivers in this area (see **Worl** and Smythe **1986:165**). The **following** discussion of historical sites on the Meade River is a summary of the site-specific work presented in the report entitled **The Barrow-Atqasuk Report: A Study of Land Use Values Through Time** (**Schneider** et al. 1980).

Information on historical use, the names of individuals and families associated with the sites, as **well as** Patterns Of current **use involving Atqasuk** and Barrow residents as recorded in 1978, is presented. As will be noted in the site descriptions, **Atqasuk** residents are the primary users of about half a dozen sites on the upper **river**; the larger and more productive downriver and delta sites are used almost exclusively by **Barrowites**.

Tigalook (Tikigluk, Tikikluk)

The site is located approximately one mile upstream **from** the present village of **Atqasuk** at the mouth of a small stream that enters the Meade River. **Tigalook** is a **deepwater** fishing site where people set gill nets in summer and early fall and jig through the ice in winter. Sod houses were here to be used for fishing, caribou hunting, and trapping. From here, **people** made trading trips to Barrow. **One** later **Atqasuk** resident who worked on the collection of the **1940** census recalls that there were three or four houses at **Tigalook** when he went through. An ice **cellar exists** at this site which is still used today by a resident of **Atqasuk**. A cemetery **with 14** graves continues to be used by **Atqasuk** residents. The house belonging to the family that operated the coal mine employing local residents to transport **coal** to Barrow with Cat trains from about 1944-1948 **still** stands as a prominent landmark. A NARL camp and airstrip is located nearby.

Remains of sod houses from historic and possibly prehistoric periods are present. **It is likely** that this is the site visited by Ray **in 1882**, which had been inhabited by **people until the early 1800s** (see above).

Panikpatchiak

The site is located on the Meade River a few **miles** downstream from the present village of **Atqasuk**. It is important to **Atqasuk** residents, who **gill** net and jig through the ice in fall and winter months for **grayling, ling** cod, and **whitefish**. They also camp here **in** summer for the good **fishing**. At least one **family** from Barrow travels here by plane or **snowmachine** for winter **fishing** each year. The site is named for an **old** woman who lived in Barrow **many years** ago. According to the **story**, there was a food shortage in the fall one year, and she left Barrow walking **inland** with her fishnet. When she reached this site, she **built** a snow house and set her net through the ice. She **survived** on the fish she caught, and the site was given her name.

Isuqtuum Paanga

This site is located further **downriver**, at the junction of the **Isuktuk** and Meade Rivers. It is well-known to **Atqasuk** residents as an excellent fishing, camping, and hunting site. There **is** good

the winter -- is good along the north bank of the Meade River. High cut banks and sand dunes provide good lookouts for spotting game. The site name means “where you go to eat hearty,” **The** area was **also** used for ground squirrel and fox trapping. The remains of **sod** houses that belonged to two known families are found north of the **Nigisaktuvik** River. **Ice** cellars are located at the river mouth. The general area was used by the reindeer herders for grazing.

Nasiqsrugviich

The site is **located** on the Meade River about four miles below the Nigisaktuvik River on a steep, sandy-cut bank. The significance of the site is as a lookout spot for hunters. The name means “where you look out for food,” and is similar to a word for a game lookout.

Qaglugruaq (Qaglakruaq)

This site is also on the Meade River, about seven **miles** downstream from the **Nigisaktuvik** River, where a stream enters the Meade, creating a deepwater place along the cut bank. The **place** is noted for good fishing in summer and winter. It is also an excellent location for spring goose hunting, with the bluffs providing a natural blind. Caribou hunting is productive here. It is used as a camp, and pellets of coal are found along the river.

The site was occupied at different times since the 1920s **by** one elder of **Atqasuk**. Three houses and two families were located at this site according to the 1940 census. Another elder had been using the site since 1934, when he first built winter houses. He reported uncovering old bones about a foot under the ground while digging to construct the houses, indicating extensive prehistoric **use**.

Niksilik

Located about three miles **below** **Qaglugruaq**, this site lies at the mouth of a **small** stream that enters the Meade River. **Niksilik** is a **fishing** place where people jigged for **grayling** through the ice early in the fall.

Uatuq (Watuq)

Uatuq is located at the mouth of a small stream that enters the Meade River through a **cut** bank approximately five miles downstream from **Qaglugruaq**. It is used by both Barrow and **Atqasuk** residents for spring goose hunting, caribou hunting year round, and ice (gill net) fishing.

Aatut

The site is located on the Meade River approximately nine miles below **Qaglugruaq**. It is a major **fishing** site used jointly by people from Barrow and **Atqasuk**. Barrow residents fly in here in **fall** and winter for fishing, landing on the beach. Fishing in nearby lakes is also noted. Caribou hunting and spring fox trapping is considered good here, and the site is frequently used for spring goose hunting. There **could** be “lots of people camped here for fall fishing at freeze-up.” Another productive fishing and caribou hunting location was identified about a mile **downriver** from this site, where a small stream enters the Meade. An ice **cellar** belonging to one **family** is located at this site. Extensive archeological evidence indicates historic and prehistoric significance; the **21** major archeological features include many sod houses.

Qayaaq (Kayaaq)

This site is located about three miles below Aatut on the **Meade River**. The area is used extensively by Barrow hunters who come here by **snowmachine**. Across the river is a well-known caribou hunting area, particularly in the **fall**, and a winter fishing place (jigging for **grayling**). Walter **Akpik** recalled that he “used to stop here to catch fish for his dogs when he traveled the river.

The site itself, which consists of a sand dune visible for a considerable distance, is used as a landmark and game lookout. It was named after Anne **Kayaaq**. She was traveling with a group of people from a camp on the **Isuktuk** River, on their way to Barrow to participate in the Christmas celebration and go to the store. Anne **Kayaaq**, a young woman at the time, was running ahead of her dog team with her head down because **there** was a storm with whiteout conditions. **She** did not see her approach to the **hill** and, when she finally looked up, she had to stop suddenly to avoid bumping into the **bluff**. Her team and the others in the group were also forced to *stop* suddenly. **When** the entire party realized what had happened, they had a laugh and commemorated the spot with her **name**.

Atoruk

This site is situated about three miles downriver from Qayaaq, at the mouth of a small creek. It is a winter **fishing** spot, resembling Aatut further upriver.

Kinnaq

The site **lies** at the mouth of the **Kinnaq** River, where it enters the **Meade** about four **miles** above the junction of the Meade and **Okpiksak** Rivers. The mouth of the **Kinnaq** River is considered a good **fishing** spot during freeze-up, but it is too shallow for winter fishing.

Uqpiksuu

Uqpiksuu is located at the mouth of the **Okpiksak** River, where it enters the **Meade**. The **Okpiksak** River drains a large lake region that is the spawning area for many **fish** species as well as a duck and goose nesting area. **Formerly**, inhabitants of the area traveled **up** the **Okpiksak** River to this region. The site **also** includes a large growth of willow, which provided a **useful** source of **fuel** and shelter **materials**, and much drift willow is brought **down** and deposited here from the **Okpiksak** River drainage during spring break-up. "**Uqpik**" means "willow." There are archeological features of prehistoric and historic significance.

Currently, this area is used heavily by Barrow residents, who fly here by air taxi to the sandy beach on the **Meade** River. Subsistence activities include summer, fall, and winter **fishing** for **whitefish**, **grayling**, and **ling** cod; year-round caribou **hunting**; and spring waterfowl hunting. It was also described historically as a productive fox trapping and furbearer hunting area in late winter and spring (see below). The **Okpiksak** River has many good fishing places, the sandy beach attracts caribou in summer, and flat areas nearby attract waterfowl in the spring. The **Uqpiksuu** Summer Camp is situated here, providing environmental and survival education to the youth of Barrow. The camp is operated as a summer youth program of the NSB Department of Health and Social Services. Activities such as **fishing**, hunting, food preservation, games, and **supervised** exploration provide group experiences out on the land for Barrow youth. Two buildings for the camp were sledged here from Barrow.

Phoebe **Kippi** recalls that she lived here in winter and summer with her parents in their sod house, when she was young (in 1938 or 1948). They jigged for **fish** as well as set **gill** nets under the ice, and cut ice blocks to store the **fish** on the river. In summer, they dried **fish** and stored them in seal pokes. Phoebe's father ran **traps** for white fox in the area. They cut willows and tied them together for burning, to provide heat. Walter **Akpik** had a **fish** camp here, where he caught fish for his family and his dogs in the summer. He, too, spent some winters trapping white fox along the **Okpiksak** drainage.

Earlier, the area around **Uqpiksuu** was used by reindeer herders, and it is recalled that **Alalok** and his family lived here. Roxy Ekowanna, a Barrow **elder** and former reindeer herder who passed away in 1986, said his parents used the **Okpiksak** River as a **travel** route to the mountains in summertime, where there was good **fishing** and caribou hunting. On the way, they would **stop** where the river goes through the lakes. **They** returned in the **fall** when the **daylight** hours became shorter.

About a **mile** upstream from the site on the **Meade** River, there is a **plywood** cabin which is used in spring for waterfowl hunting and in summer and **fall** for **fishing** at **Uqpiksuu**.

Qaviarat (Qavira)

This place is located on both banks of the Meade River two miles **below** **Uqpiksuu**, where two streams enter the larger river. Mainly used by Barrow residents in the **present**, the site is a popular deepwater **fishing** spot in winter and summer. It is also used for caribou and goose hunting, and formerly for fox trapping and furbearer hunting. There are numerous house pits and

ice cellars; one of the ice cellars has been recently refurbished for current **use**. On the opposite bank is the modern camping site, by a sandbar used by *small* planes. In 1978, two **people** from Barrow were fishing for **whitefish** from a permanent tent camp, at **which** they were drying their **fish**. A short distance downstream is a cabin with equipment for jigging **fish** and trapping furbearers. In front of the cabin, at the mouth of a **small** stream, there are signs of long-time use as a spring waterfowl and caribou hunting campsite.

The **old** sod house ruins are associated with three known families. From this point, the river is very shallow and difficult to navigate by motor boat, indicating the limits that modern boaters from Barrow can travel up the **Meade**.

Uigiak

The **site** is located 2.5 miles downriver from **Qaviora** on a bend in the **Meade** River where a channel of the **Akqte** River enters from the west. Uigiak is a deepwater **fishing** site, used for fishing in the summer and winter. Sod house ruins with storage pits and historic implements, including an **Eskimo** oil lamp fashioned from a tin can, were present on the site. The sod house ruins were attributed to the families of **Kalayauk**, **Qunusig**, and **Alivruna**. A short distance upriver is the mouth of a channel of the **Atqte** River, which is dry in summer. In the early summer when the channel is reported to be **navigable**, hunters moved through **Uigiak on** their way to and from the **Inaru** River through this **waterway**. Today, few follow this route in this season, but it remains important for winter travelers. A recent camping area and storage pit was located downstream on the Meade, with weasel tracks.

Kalayauk (Kaleak)

This **site** is located **3.5** miles below **Uigiak**. Presently, it is by and large a place used by Barrow residents in the spring for goose and eider duck hunting, both in the Meade River and in the lakes which lie a short distance behind the river. Other subsistence activities **include** caribou and furbearer hunting. **The river** is too **shallow** for productive fishing. A **well-used** camping **place** was observed at the lakes, and a **willow** duck **blind** was situated on the bank of the **Meade**.

Phoebe **Kippi** said that her father used to hunt goose at this **place** when he was living at Barrow (possibly prior to 1921). The **place** is named after her uncle, Leo **Kaleak**, who used the site for hunting goose in 1933 or 1934.

Payugvik (Payukvik)

The site is located on the bank of another channel of the **Akqte** River, where it joins the Meade River. The **Atqte** waterway is an intermittently flowing channel of the Meade River that connects with the **Inaru** River. Payugvik is a major historic and current fishing and waterfowl hunting site important in the Barrow subsistence cycle. There are fish camps, caches of fishing gear and camping equipment, and a plywood cabin **hauled** from Barrow belonging to Robert Aiken (**observed** in 1978). A large sandbar is available for landing small **planes**, and the water is good. There are numerous sod house ruins located here. **Travelers** to Barrow followed the **Inaru** River to its source, crossed several lakes to another stream (the **Sinaru** River) which took them to the **coast**, and then trekked north to Barrow. Today, as in the past, the trail between Barrow and **Atqasuk** passes close by this site, and travelers often stop here to rest or partake in subsistence activities before continuing on their way.

The archeological features include 25 sod house ruins of prehistoric and **early** historic structural types, and 14 storage pits for meat and **fish**. Elderly discussants remembered many of the families that lived here. Horace Ahsogeak lived here when he was a boy in 1909-1910. He noted that areas of the site had **older** structures which had been abandoned by this time. He thought one of the **older** structures, estimated to be over 110 years old, was large enough to have been a karigi. Seven families *were* living in sod houses at Payugvik while he lived here, which he apparently remembers because it was in that year that they **all** moved into Barrow for a part of the year (to Pignig, the Shooting Station). His grandfather, **Kulugruak** or **Kunugaruk**, had built a sod house and lived here with his family (**Atuaqutaq**, **Kaleak**, Siakuk, and **Kuuguk**), along with other families.

One older set of ruins reportedly **belongs** to Bert Panigeo. There are two sod house ruins that belonged to Qinaktak and his wife Kugsraaq (adopted parents of Vincent **Nageak**) and **Tuvaatchialuq** and his wife Agnik (parents of Kenneth, Dora Roland, Greta **Akpik**, and Jane Patkotak). Qinataq was from the Noatak area. **Tuvaatchialuq** is probably the same person as Tovaak (Walter **Akpik's** father-in-law), who reportedly **fished** here from January through April and trapped white fox in the area. Tovaak's parents also lived at this site, indicating prior roots for this family. These two families had sod and framewood houses suitable for year-round use, but they wintered in other locations where there was abundant food sources, such as the Tupaagruk River area. These families went to Barrow for the whaling season and in the early fall.

The good fishing attracted **people** in the summer and winter. Ahsogeak reported that he traveled upriver to the site with his family by **dogsled** before freeze-up, and stayed through the winter. They also hunted for caribou, which he recalled were unavailable in this area in 1909-1910 (they *were* further inland -- this shortage possibly motivated the group to move to Pigniq in the spring of that year). Besides **fishing**, the major activity was trapping **fox**, and occasional polar bear hunting along the sea ice on the north coast. Families traveled along the coast "trapping any **place**" during this period.

Then after the trapping was over -- up to whaling, whaling time -- going up by dog team to Barrow. Everybody at whaling time goes to Barrow with a dog team . . . in the spring. Trapping and whaling -- April 15 trapping is over and after that [they] go up and do

whaling. Try to catch some blubber. No man is going to **live** without blubber, eat some blubber all the time. Get . . .2. 1.5 pokes of seal or whale oil and there's no danger for starving, no starving to death if you have the whale (Schneider et al. 1980:143-44).

Ahsogeak remembered when they started to use the "black rock" that was available to them on the Meade River. **Coal** was adopted as a source of heat for **the** family in about 1915, he said, after an **Inupiaq** learned from observing a **sailor on** a whaling ship that coal was **useable** as a fuel. **Prior** to this time, heat was provided by **whale blubber**, or by heating stones on the cooking fire outside the house and then bringing the hot stones inside. **Coal** was also available up the **Colville** River, and his family also stayed up there with his father (probably trapping and **fishing** as described on the **Meade**).

There were people living here in 1939 when Waldo **Bodfish** passed through making the census count for the Meade River area, suggesting the recent period of residence extended at least from **1909** to **1940**.

Iviksuk

This place is situated on the **Inaru** River close to the Meade River delta. It is **widely** recognized in Barrow as the **place** of their first ice fishing in the early **fall**. Just after the ice has formed on the river, large numbers of **Barrowites** come here to jig through the ice, and secondarily to hunt caribou. Sometimes as many as **20** tents are **observed** along **the** river at this time. Caches near the site contain camping, trapping, and **fishing** equipment.

The site is close to Barrow, 1.5 hours by **snowmachine** or 20 minutes by air taxi. The fishing is enhanced here because two small streams flow into the **Inaru** River at the site, providing good fishing in summer, fall, and winter. Summer **fishing** produces primarily **whitefish** (broad and humpback), least **cisco**, and **grayling**, with some **ling** cod, Arctic char, and pink salmon. Late fall/early winter provides **grayling** and **least cisco** with some **whitefish**. **Whitefish**, **grayling**, and **ling cod** are moderate to low in winter. There is both jigging and **gill net fishing** through the ice. The area also has excellent year-round caribou hunting, spring waterfowl hunting, and winter and spring furbearer hunting and trapping.

The archeological components of the site are extensive, including 20 sod house ruins and several meat pits and ice cellars. Old sod house ruins used to belong to **Keevik**, **Okpeaha**, Uniiyaq, and **Nasukpaurak**. The **old** cabin on the river belongs to **Ina Kalayauk**. Historically, the site was used by reindeer **herders** from Barrow, Kanigak location. Horace Ahsogeak recalls that Harry Brewer was fishing here in 1909-1910, when he (**Ahsogeak**) lived at **Payugvik**. Phoebe **Kippi** said that her family used to **fish** here, and trap for white fox in the fall, when she was a girl. The history of this site is **also** identified with Phoebe's parents, Owen Keevik and Fannie **Ketdick**, and her **uncle** Robert **Kaleak** and his wife, **Aina**. People **living** here often went back and forth to Barrow to participate in whaling and other activities. The site **is** a recognized stop on the **trail** from Barrow to **Atqasuk** today, as it was in the past.

Pulayaaq

The site is located on the Meade River **delta**, on the northernmost channel, about a half-mile above the junction of the Meade and **Inaru** Rivers, and below **Iviksuk**. The delta is “almost exclusively the dominion of Barrow residents” at the present time (1978). This is a good **fishing** place for whitefish, grayling, ling cod, Arctic char, and some pink salmon, as **well** as two fish species not found upriver from **Payugvik**: Arctic **cisco** and **sculpins**. It is **also** a good caribou hunting site because the caribou gather **along** the coast in summer seeking relief from insects. The numerous stream channels, **low** marshy tundra, and abundant lakes attract **waterfowl** and hunters in spring and summer. Furbearers, particularly white **fox**, are abundant during late winter and spring. These resources mean that use of this location is nearly year-round, and the easy boat travel from Barrow makes it attractive for summer camping trips. **Whitlam** Adams erected a cabin here in 1978.

There are extensive archeological features at this site, **including** 26 sod house ruins as well as meat caches, sod quarries, and a burial site. **Pulayaaq** is noted for ghosts and some **people** are reportedly afraid to camp here. The former residents used driftwood from the **coast** for framing their houses and made their hallways with ice. The families of **Oyuturaaq, Tobuk, Amokak, Oyayuk,** and **Anayeraloq** are remembered as having houses here. Five house ruins belonged to the families of **Ingatchugaaq** and his wife **Illuguaq**, Long John **Anutigrauaq** (**Sielak's** adopted father) and his w-ife **Agnavima**, **Numnik** and **Quupak, Uttuayuk** and **Maligialuk**, and also **Nasunuluk** and his wife **Tuugluk**, who wintered here. Some wintered here permanently, according to the Traditional Land Use Inventory (TLUI) report.

These families went to Barrow to trade, to celebrate Thanksgiving and Christmas, and during whaling and whaling festivals. They also had burials in Barrow. Apparently this site was used heavily during the trapping era, when the inhabitants trapped foxes (main trading item) along the Meade River. It is also known for good caribou hunting, and goose hunting in the spring.

Pulayatchiaq

Also located along the north **channel** of the Meade River on the delta, this site is “not far” downriver from **Pulayaaq**. Lake Sirgavik is **close** by. Similar to **Pulayaaq** in resources, the site may be in use at any time **of** year, and it is associated with Barrow residents. It has particularly high use in **fall** when **fish** are abundant in both the main river and nearby channel. Arctic **cisco** and **sculpins** are caught regularly here, and char and pink **salmon** harvests are more dependable in late summer and fall than further upstream. The site is also popular in spring when waterfowl pass through in large numbers, and for fox trapping in late winter. A recent tent camp and two cabins were present in 1978. The remains of seven sod houses with associated storage pits and sod quarries denote previous **habitation**.

Nauyalik

The site is located on the southernmost channel in the **Meade** River delta, and is surrounded by an extensive stream and lake system. It is a good **fishing** and caribou hunting spot currently used by Barrow residents. Access to the site is available by boat or small plane. Whitefish, **grayling**, and a few pink **salmon** are caught **here**. Other well-established subsistence practices include spring goose hunting, summer and fall caribou hunting, and furbearer hunting and trapping in late winter and **spring**.

A Barrow family has developed an extensive camp here including two **wall** tents, an airstrip, **CB antenna**, and fish drying racks. This family, older residents **of** the Barrow community, prefer to spend the spring, summer, and fall months at this camp (**Worl** and **Smythe**, unpublished Barrow fieldnotes). **In** 1978, the family was fishing with five nets, and sold their dried fish in Barrow through family members. The fish were transported to Barrow by returning charter aircraft bringing **supplies** and family members to the camp. This practice was continuing in 1985. David Brewer is also reported to **fish** and hunt here on some occasions.

Historical use of the site **is** indicated by the remains of eight sod houses, associated with meat storage pits and sod quarries, one tent ring, two ice cellars, and the grave of **Ayagruk**. Compared to other sites on the delta, this one was never inhabited by many people, although it was known as a **fishing** campsite and fox trapping location. The area was used by at least one **family** as early as 1909. Later, Andrew Oenga and his wife fished here. Phoebe **Kippi** related that she stayed here one year in the late **fall**, "many years ago," and many people were camped here net **fishing** for whitefish through the newly formed ice. She reported they were catching lots of fish. More recently, one elder, who has an ice **cellar** in the area, and another couple fished here during the summer.

B. The Development of the Present Village **of Atqasuk**

Formerly a small, traditional settlement situated inland on the Meade River, which later was the location of a **coal** mine that provided **fuel** to Barrow households, **Atqasuk** was vacated during the early **1960s** as residents moved into the growing community at Barrow. After the passage of **ANCSA**, and formation of **ASRC** and the North Slope Borough, the communities of **Atqasuk**, **Nuiqsut**, and Point Lay were resettled by former residents and their descendants, and by others in search of employment opportunities **newly** available in the resettled communities. **Atqasuk** was the last of the three to be developed in this pattern, the first homes were constructed on the new townsite in 1977.

The present village of **Atqasuk** is located on the upper Meade River about 60 miles inland **from** Barrow, to the south and **east**. The community was the last of three communities that were reestablished by **local** residents, with the institutional sponsorship of ASRC and the NSB, in the **1970s**. The present village is situated in an area that has been used by Barrow residents throughout the historic period for **fishing**, caribou hunting, and hunting or trapping furbearers. Former prehistoric and historic settlements and camps are situated **on** the Meade River close to **Atqasuk**, including **Tigalook**, "Old **Atqasuk**," and others described above.

The resettlement of **Atqasuk** commenced in the mid-1970s, when a few families erected tents at the present site and occupied old houses at **Tigalook**. In 1977, the NSB began constructing houses and other community facilities in the village, and there was an estimated population of 86. The resettlement was sponsored and encouraged by the **ASRC**, the NSB, and the **Atqasuk** village corporation. Unlike the other **two** resettled villages in the region, **Nuiqsut** and Point Lay, the village layout and initial development was managed by the NSB rather than ASRC (Alaska Consultant et al. 1984405). A school was built in the community in 1977, and the village corporation received an interim conveyance of 68,652 acres in 1978 (Schneider et al. 1980:26).

The population figures for **Atqasuk** give the impression of a relatively stable population between 1939 and 1980, with accelerated population growth after 1980. Residents tend to **share this** perception with the claim that this period has been one of very rapid change and population fluctuation.. Table 1-**ATQ** below summarizes the population **history** of the community between **1939** and 1983.

Table 1-ATQ

Atqasuk Population History

1939	78	Meade River Area	(Us. census)
1950	49	Tikikluk Village	(Us. Census)
1960	30	Meade River	{U.S. census)
1970	--	--	(no entry)
1977	86	Atqasuk	(NSB Population Estimate)
1980	108	Atqasuk	(Alaska Consultants Survey results)
1980	107	Atqasuk	(Us. census)
1982	210	Atqasuk	(Ak Consultants Household Enumeration)
1983	231	Atqasuk	(Ak Consultants Household Enumeration)
1988	219	Atqasuk	(NSB Census)

There were 14 **houses** in **Atqasuk** and two teacher apartments in the **school** in 1978. Community facilities included a school with a community **hall** inside, a village corporation store (located in the president's **kunnichuk**), a power plant, heavy equipment and a maintenance shop, a dump, airstrip, two radios (**belonging** to Public **Health Service** and **ASRC**), and a radio telephone. Two of the occupied houses were located at **Tigalook**, and half a dozen permanent structures that were occupied seasonally at Old **Atqasuk** (Schneider et al. 198025). Two years later, there were 27 single family houses and 2 other residential structures (including one or two houses located in **Tigalook**) (Alaska Consultants, Inc., unpublished **survey** results). A summary of the houses that were constructed between- 1950-1980 are show-n in Table 2-**ATQ** below.

Table 2-ATQ

House Type by Construction **Date** and Builder

<u>Construction Date</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>House Type</u>	<u>Builder</u>
1950	1	SF	private (in Tigalook)
1 9 7 7	1	SF	private
1977	1	Other	NSB
1978	14	SF	NSB
1979	11	SF	NSB
1980	1	Other	NSB

(Source: Alaska Consultants, **Inc. survey** results)

What is striking about the above table is the fact that only one house has been built by a private party since 1950. This demonstrates the overwhelming influence of the NS13 in funding housing improvements in the community.

According to **Table 3-ATQ**, the population rose 86 in 1978 to 108 in 1980 (Alaska Consultants, Inc. **1981:3**). Comparing these data with those from **Table 4-ATQ**, it is apparent that the population stabilized at slightly more than double the 1980 figure within the next few years. NSB household enumerations counted 210 **people** in 1982, and **231** in 1983 (in July of both years) (Alaska Consultants et al. **1984:406-7**). **The** rate of increase in households was lower than that of the population between 1980 and **1983**. **The** number of **households** increased from 24 to 43, or **79.1%**, as compared to a 115.9% increase in population. This trend is reflected in average household densities, which increased from 4.5 persons per household **in** 1980 to 5.4 persons per household in 1983. For 1980, the average household density for Native households was 5.0, but comparable figures are not available **in** 1983 (analysis of Alaska Consultants, Inc. **survey** results).

Table 3-ATQ

Population Composition *
Atqasuk -May 1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Under 5 years	5	6	11	1	0	1	6	6	12
5-9	4	3	7	1	0	1	5	3	8
10-14	1	6	7	0	0	0	1	6	7
15-19	2	8	10	0	0	0	2	8	10
20-24	6	7	13	0	1	1	6	8	14
25-29	4	1	5	1	0	1	5	1	6
30-34	4	4	8	4	1	5	8	5	13
35-39	3	2	5	1	0	1	4	2	6
40-44	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	2
45-49	2	1	3	0	1	1	2	2	4
50-54	4	3	7	2	0	2	6	3	9
55-59	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
60-64	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
65-69	2	3	5	0	0	0	2	3	5
70-74	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
75 and over	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	2
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>88</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>101</u>
<u>Median Age</u>	282	<u>21.2</u>	23.0	<u>31.0</u>	315	315	<u>30.2</u>	<u>21.7</u>	<u>24.8</u>

* Figures **exclude** a total of 7 persons (4 Alaska Native **males**, 3 Alaska Native **females**) for whom no age information was provided. Thus, a **total** of 108 persons in **Atqasuk** was surveyed by Alaska Consultants, Inc.

Source Alaska **Consultants, Inc.**, North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 4-ATQ

Changes in Household Size 1980-1983
Persons per Household

		<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>Total</u>
Number of	1980	1	4	5	3	2	3	5						24
Households	1983		4	5	10	9	7	1	1		2	2	2	43

(Source Alaska Consultants, Inc. survey results)

Table 5-ATQ shows that the average size of the 24 households in **Atqasuk** in 1980 was 4.5 persons (Alaska Consultants, Inc. 1981:92-94). For Native **households**, the average density was 5.0 persons. By 1983, the average **household** size increased to 5.4 persons (43 households).

Table 5-ATQ

**Age of Head of Household for
Alaska Natives* **, Non-Natives***, and All Groups
Ataqsuk, June 1980**

Household Size	<u>14-24</u>			<u>25-34</u>			<u>35-44</u>			45-64			<u>65+</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Native	Non-Native	Total	Native	Non-Native	Total	Native	Non-Native	Total	Native	Non-Native	Total	Native	Non-Native	Total	Native	Non-Native	Total
1 person	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	2	3	0	0	0	1	3	4
3 persons	1	0	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	4	1	5
4 persons	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	2	1	3
5 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	2
6 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	3
7 persons	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	4	0	4
8 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
10 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	1	0	1	2	2	4	3	1	4	6	2	8	5	3	5	17	5	22

* For purposes of the housing survey, the adult Alaska Native in combination Alaska Native/non-Native households was always designated head of household.

** Figures exclude 2 heads of household (both Alaska Natives) for whom no age information was obtained.

*** Includes one unit used as group quarters.

Source Alaska Consultant[s], Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department, Anchorage, September 1980.

The type of household unit (single person, nuclear family, couple, or compound household) for **Atqasuk** in 1980 is shown below in Table 6-ATQ. At this time **Atqasuk's** population was 88% Native (95 individuals), and 12% non-Native (13 persons).

Table 6-ATQ

Atqasuk Household Composition -1980

Non-Native, unrelated individuals	3
Non-Native, couple	1
Non-Native, nuclear family with children	1
Native, single person	1
Native, nuclear family with children	5
Native, compound household	12
Native, single household head with child	<u>1</u>
Total Households	24

(Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc. **survey** results)

The available household information is much more substantial for 1980 than in subsequent years because the NSB sponsored a major household housing and employment **survey** in 1980 in **all** the villages, including Barrow. This data source provides much detailed information about **Atqasuk**, but it should be noted that the village had more than doubled in size in the next 2-3 years. The 1980 data is **useful** for showing initial population and employment trends in **Atqasuk**.

According to the available literature (principally Alaska Consultants et al. 1984), the new village of **Atqasuk** was initially settled by people from Barrow whose families were descended from or married to former residents of the inland area surrounding **Atqasuk**. Some of the older individuals grew up in camps on the land in this area, **fishing**, hunting, and trapping with their parents and grandparents. Also, some of the migrants to **Atqasuk** were descended from families who spent summers at **fish** camps along the Meade River. In 1980, **Atqasuk** residents were asked their prior place of residence, and of the **13** of 14 Native **households** which answered this question, all were from Barrow (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984). Fieldwork in 1983 provided additional information **on** the origins of **Atqasuk** families and their' motivation for going to the new village:

- o Over half of the people interviewed were born in the **Atqasuk** area, married to **someone** who was born there, or had traditionally spent their summers at fish camps in this area. According to local residents, the initial **re-establishment** of the village was undertaken **almost** entirely by people who had family ties to the area. Since then, in-migration of **Inupiat** [sic] to **Atqasuk** who were attracted here by employment opportunities rather than by family ties has also taken place.
- 0 Two main reasons were given by **Inupiat** persons interviewed in 1983 for moving from Barrow to **Atqasuk**. The **first** was family ties to the **Atqasuk** area, while the

second was more related to a desire to get away from Barrow. Reasons given for the latter primarily related to social changes which have been occurring in the community, including a significant increase in the proportion of non-Natives and a resulting feeling of cultural alienation. The selection of **Atqasuk**, aside from family ties, appears to have been related to the high level of construction activity in the village and convenience to Barrow. As elsewhere in the North Slope Borough, the main reasons given by “whites” for moving to **Atqasuk** were related to opportunities for professional and financial rewards (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:408).

The same reasons for migration to **Atqasuk** were stated by Schneider et al. (1980:25): the village “is largely comprised of individuals and families who once lived at **Tikigluk (Tigalook)** or old **Atqasuk**, settlements in the immediate vicinity of the new village, or persons wanting to move out of Barrow for social and cultural reasons.” The desire to escape the growing ethnic differentiation in Barrow is also a motivation for migration frequently given by **Nuiqsut** residents. The preference for quieter, more homogeneous communities is a valued alternative to Barrow residence for inhabitants of most of the North Slope villages; this sentiment probably pre-dated the recent expansion of Barrow’s population. The importance of newly available opportunities for housing and employment should not be underestimated.

It is interesting to note that over half of the 12 households interviewed during the 1983 fieldwork reported that they maintained residences in Barrow (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:414). Some of the Barrow residences are rented out, creating additional income for their owners; but more are occupied by family members left behind. The report suggested that the movement to **Atqasuk** resulted in the splitting of most family units: only one household out of the 12 respondents had moved to **Atqasuk** as a unit (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:448). In some of these cases, the elder adults (parents) had moved to **Atqasuk** while the adult children remained in Barrow. The reason for this behavior was that the young adults wished to remain in Barrow because there would be little for them to do in **Atqasuk**. In two cases, one spouse moved to **Atqasuk** while the other remained in Barrow, creating a situation involving “a great deal” of commuting between communities. Observations in Barrow affirm there is frequent movement back and forth between the two communities, with individuals and families often staying for several weeks or months in Barrow before returning to **Atqasuk** (Worl and Smythe, unpublished Barrow fieldnotes). This pattern appears unique to **Atqasuk**. Although it is not uncommon for visitors from other villages to stay with their family in Barrow for extended periods, **Atqasuk** residents seem to travel more frequently and to remain longer in Barrow. With such close proximity to Barrow, it is easy and convenient for **Atqasuk** residents to make the short trip. Also, the maintenance of residences in Barrow, which are often occupied by close family members, is conducive to this behavior. Temporary movements between **Atqasuk** and Barrow appear to be characteristic of social life in **Atqasuk**; even the village mayor moved to Barrow for a while in 1983 (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:448). The implications of this behavior for community and family stability are potentially profound, but we do not have sufficient data to fully explore them.

C. Formation of New **Atqasuk**

According to one of the village elders, the impetus to resettle **Atqasuk** came from Eben Hopson, first mayor of the **NSB**. Hopson approached this elder, who was a member of the family that had a sod house at **Tigalook** in earlier decades of this century, with the idea that **Atqasuk** should be built because “people lived there before, and they wanted them to go back there.” There was a small community at **Atqasuk** during the coal mine days, and it was large enough to have a post office and **BLA** school for a few years. “They” probably refers to both the borough and regional corporation. **ASRC** was also involved in the initial stages; it was **ASRC** that encouraged and assisted with the formation of the village corporation several years before the new village was constructed. However, unlike **Nuiqsut** and Point Lay, it was the **NSB** that erected the first houses and community facilities. Perhaps that was because **Atqasuk** was resettled later than the other two villages.

According to the same elder, the site of the new village was selected at Hopson’s request by the land manager of the village corporation at the time; this individual was also from a family who had a sod house in the area. The townsite is located between the **Meade** River and a large lake about a mile from the historical site of **Atqasuk**, which has been referred to in the literature as “Old **Atqasuk**.” An **Atqasuk** elder stated that the village was located by the lake because the area was high and flat, in contrast to the area surrounding Old **Atqasuk**. Also, the lake served as a landing area for planes bringing in building material for the first houses. The construction of the first 13 houses began in 1977, and was completed in 1978. A small school and basic utilities, such as a power plant, were also erected.

A reconstruction of the original inhabitants of these houses indicates that they were of the families who resided at the coal mine community known as **Meade** River, at the historical site of **Tigalook**. The first households were headed by individuals who had themselves worked in the mine (with their parents), or were descended, or married to descendants, one generation removed from mine workers who lived here previously. Another individual, who built his own home in **Atqasuk** at this time, was married to a sister of an **Inupiat** school teacher at the **Meade** River mining community. All but one of the original households were living in Barrow prior to moving to **Atqasuk**; one household was from Wainwright.

Subsequent population growth has maintained a similar pattern, with most families tracing relationships one or two generations removed from people who lived (and worked) at the mining community. Presently, among the 44 residential households in the village, 36 or 82% have heads or spouses that either lived here or can trace lineal descent one or two generations removed from prior residents, during the coal mine period (the total number of households used here excludes **NSB School** District housing). Most of the remaining households have kinship relationships with individuals in the “core” houses. Nearly all of the individuals interviewed in the village could identify a relative, or one of their spouse’s, who lived in the mining community; many of the current residents remember living here, attending school, or moving into Barrow after the **Meade** River school closed.

Among the original residents were descendants of two families who had resided at the Old **Atqasuk** and **Tigalook** sites prior to the operation of the mine. All but a few of the 44 current households are comprised of descendants of inland families, that is, descendants of persons who lived at least

seasonally in **inland** areas prior to the 1940s. A lot of these families moved into Barrow in the 1930s. One reason was to put their children in school; but they maintained their use of **inland** areas for trapping, hunting, and fishing. When **the** mine opened in the 1940s, it was a period of a general shift toward a more sedentary lifestyle and increasing employment, centered in Barrow. Workers for the coal mine were hired principally from Barrow families throughout the life of the operation (c. 1945-1962).

A **BIA** school was operated at the mining community from 1951-1955. **Atqasuk** residents who were descended from miners reported that they moved back to Barrow when the **BIA** school closed. However, these families remained in a close association, and continued to use the Meade River area in summer and fall. "It was a favorite place of many of them. They came out here for several months in summer, camped, fished, picked berries, etc.; lived in tents. They were **close** for many years." The **common** history and continued association among these families is an important component of the **social** cohesion in the new village of **Atqasuk**, which is comprised principally of descendants **of** these families. At the same time, **Atqasuk villagers** maintain many relationships with their extended families in Barrow. The majority of current **Atqasuk** residents, although having ties to the area from the mining period, consider themselves to be from Barrow, and have active relationships with substantial family networks in that larger community.

D. Population Movements and Migration

There is a regular pattern of population movement into and out of the community which is due to the proximity of the village to Barrow and the close relationship of **Atqasuk** residents to people in Barrow. **As** described above, nearly **all** of the **Atqasuk** residents were **formerly** residents of Barrow, and **all** have family members who live there. These factors are conducive to frequent travel and movements between **Atqasuk** and Barrow, as has been reported in the literature. During winter months, when travel over the tundra by snowmachine is possible, there are frequent trips to Barrow and **back**. Villagers go for shopping at **Stuaqpak** and to visit friends and relatives. Most villagers have parents and siblings in Barrow.

In the winter of **1988**, there was an ice road **between** Barrow and **Atqasuk** which was used by people going back and forth **between** the two communities. Also, villagers used to take their vehicles on it for fun, according to one **Barrowite**. Since there are **only** three or four vehicles in **Atqasuk**, this road probably saw greater use from the Barrow side. One **Atqasuk** resident reportedly brought his car to Barrow by this road and left it there. The road was not a deliberate project by any **agency**; it was formed by the tracks left by a **rollodon** train which the borough used to transport **fuel** to **Atqasuk**. In 1989, the village mayor noted that **Atqasuk** residents will have to buy **Barrow registration stickers for their snowmachines now, since the city of Barrow is requiring all snowmachines** in Barrow to be registered.

Another reason for travel to Barrow and other communities are meetings of boards and commissions. **Atqasuk** has its share of representatives on "a lot of regional organizations" who are involved in meetings and training sessions. For example, one resident serves on the NSB Health Board, ASRC Board, and works for a village organization. She goes to Barrow about twice a month, usually for meetings. She likes serving on regional boards; "it kind of makes up for living in a small

village.” She likes living in **Atqasuk**, her boys live in the village and they have their own place. Her husband has found jobs in the community as well.

In the spring, there is participation in whaling which draws people to Barrow and, to a lesser extent, **Wainwright**; villagers also attend **Nulakataq** in both communities. **Atqasuk** villagers go to Barrow for the newly revived Messenger Feast in **January**. “It was a big deal last year [1988] and promises to get bigger.” The annual October meeting of the Alaska Federation of Natives, and the need for Christmas shopping, takes people to Anchorage and Fairbanks in the **fall** and early winter. Finally, people are removed from **Atqasuk** to the **jail** in Barrow on a “more than occasional” basis.

There is regular interaction with households in **Wainwright**, but the frequency of interchange is much less than with Barrow. As mentioned above, there is one household that migrated to new **Atqasuk** from **Wainwright**. This one household, comprised of an older couple, actively maintains ties with members of that community. For example, in April 1989 they were in **Wainwright** for the spring harvest of smelt. Other **Atqasuk** households have links to **Wainwright**, but they are much less numerous than ties to Barrow. Some of the relationships are through kinship connections in Barrow households. For example, two individuals stated that they have opportunities to whale either in Barrow or **Wainwright**; when asked about the circumstances of their **Wainwright** opportunity, they explained that through relatives in Barrow, they also have kinship ties with a **Wainwright** whaling captain. In another example, a resident indicated that she makes an annual contribution to her cousin’s whaling crew, and receives a share of the whale if he is successful. She considers herself to be from a Barrow family, however, and her parents and siblings live there.

It is more frequent for people to leave **Atqasuk** for a short period of time, than it is for outsiders to come into the village for short visits. This view is based on statements that **people** would leave **Atqasuk** for a specific purpose, such as to go to Barrow for shopping, or go to Barrow or Fairbanks for meetings. It seems that **Atqasuk** villagers more regularly had a reason to leave town for a short time, than they did to receive visitors from outside. One local discussant estimated that every person gets to Barrow four to six times a year, and to Anchorage or Fairbanks once or twice a year. Residents enjoy going to the larger cities, particularly for Christmas shopping.

Key informants commented that, while there was a definite pattern of population movement into **Atqasuk**, it was usually of a **temporary** duration. “We get a lot of movements in and out of the village, but not for very long.” A significant constraint to long-term immigration is the shortage of available housing. “There are some houses that are overfilled, and we don’t have any more houses to expand into. So this means that people moving here have to move in with others.” Key informants estimated that while there are one or two houses with a single individual in residence, there are ten that have multiple families in residence. So the unavailability of housing units, and the lack of housing construction since 1982 or 1983, is a constraint to immigration. The housing issues -are discussed more fully **below**.

There has been a decline in the number of people coming to **Atqasuk** in search of temporary employment opportunities. Residents reported that fewer people are coming to the **village** for jobs than two years ago (1987). They would come to **Atqasuk** and get jobs because the local villagers **would not always** stay on the job. At present, the **corporation** has joint ventures with any **contractor** that comes to town. Also, there are very few large projects which created opportunities for outsiders in the past. On the other hand, the slowdown has not resulted in a significant

population outflow. When asked if many people left town after the construction jobs began to slow, individual villagers responded that not many people left. **Local** leaders reported that the population **has** been stable for the last two years (1987-1989) or so. According to one estimate, "maybe one person **left**."

During various discussions, it was **suggested** to villagers that employment and subsistence were motivations for outsiders coming to the village for periods **of** time. A key informant offered another explanation about population movement **into Atqasuk**. The village includes people who are in **Atqasuk** to get away from abuse by their parents (principally Barrow people), and people who are in the **community** while they are in the **middle** of judicial processing -- before their trial or after their trial but before sentencing. A current example is the people here who were involved in a drug bust in Barrow in January 1989. According to one informant, "this explains a lot of the moving back and forth" between Barrow and **Atqasuk**.

There is a **sizable** influx of people from mid-September to the end of **October**; one person estimated "up to 100 people." They set up tents and camp, fishing through the ice for **grayling** and **burbot**. These people are from Barrow and **Wainwright**. People **also** come in the spring and summer for **fishing**, geese hunting, and camping out. Another regular set of visitors includes officials from the NSB, **NSBSD**, etc., who occasionally travel to **Atqasuk** for borough business. Also, since the **Atqasuk** Presbyterian church does not have a minister, church elders from Barrow come out to lead services. Usually it is one elder, the father of one of the villagers, who makes the visit.

E. Present Population

Quite a bit of information on the demographic characteristics of **Atqasuk** are available **from** the **NSB** Census of Population and Economy, 1989. The current city population is approximately **219** individuals. **Local** residents indicate that the population has been stable for the past two years. As indicated on Table **7-ATQ**, the sex ratio in both the Inupiat and **non-Inupiat** populations favors males. **If** one looks at the **Inupiat** component of the population by itself (rather than as a part of the general population as presented in **Table 7-ATQ**), the ratio of **males** to females is 54.7 to 45.3. This figure contrasts with those from Barrow where the sex ratio among **Inupiat** is closer to being **equal**. Among **non-Inupiat** the male to female ratio is 60 to 40. This figure is similar to the sex ratio in Barrow which is 57 to 43. The age distribution is very similar in **Atqasuk** and Barrow. Both the ethnic and age distribution of **Atqasuk** are illustrated graphically in Figure 1-ATQ. This same information **plus** the sex ratio **of** both ethnic groups is illustrated in Figure 2-ATQ.

Although the ethnic diversity of **Atqasuk** does not nearly match that of Barrow, the exact number of Filipino and other Alaska Native, is recorded in **Table 8-ATQ** and illustrated graphically in Figure **3-ATQ**.

Table 7-ATQ

**Age, Sex, and Race Composition -1988
Atqasuk**

**AGE, SEX, AND RACE COMPOSITION OF POPUUTION -1988
ATQASUK**

	INUPIAT			NON-INUPIAT			TOTAL			% TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	
UNDER 4	10	11	21	1	1	2	11	12	23	11.4%
4 - 8	17	10	27	2	1	3	19	11	30	14.9%
9 - 15	11	12	23	1	0	1	12	12	24	11.9%
16 - 17	5	2	7	0	0	0	5	2	7	3.5%
18 - 25	17	13	30	1	0	1	18	13	31	15.4%
26 - 39	16	17	33	3	3	6	19	20	39	19.4%
40 - 59	18	12	30	4	3	7	22	15	37	18.4%
60 - 65	4	2	6	0	0	0	4	2	6	3.0%
66 +	1	3	4	0	0	0	1	3	4	2.0%
TOTAL	99	82	181	12	8	20	111	90	201	100.0%
%	49.3%	40.8%	90.0%	6.0%	4.0%	10.0%	55.2%	44.8%	100.0%	
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS									18	
TOTAL POPULATION									219	

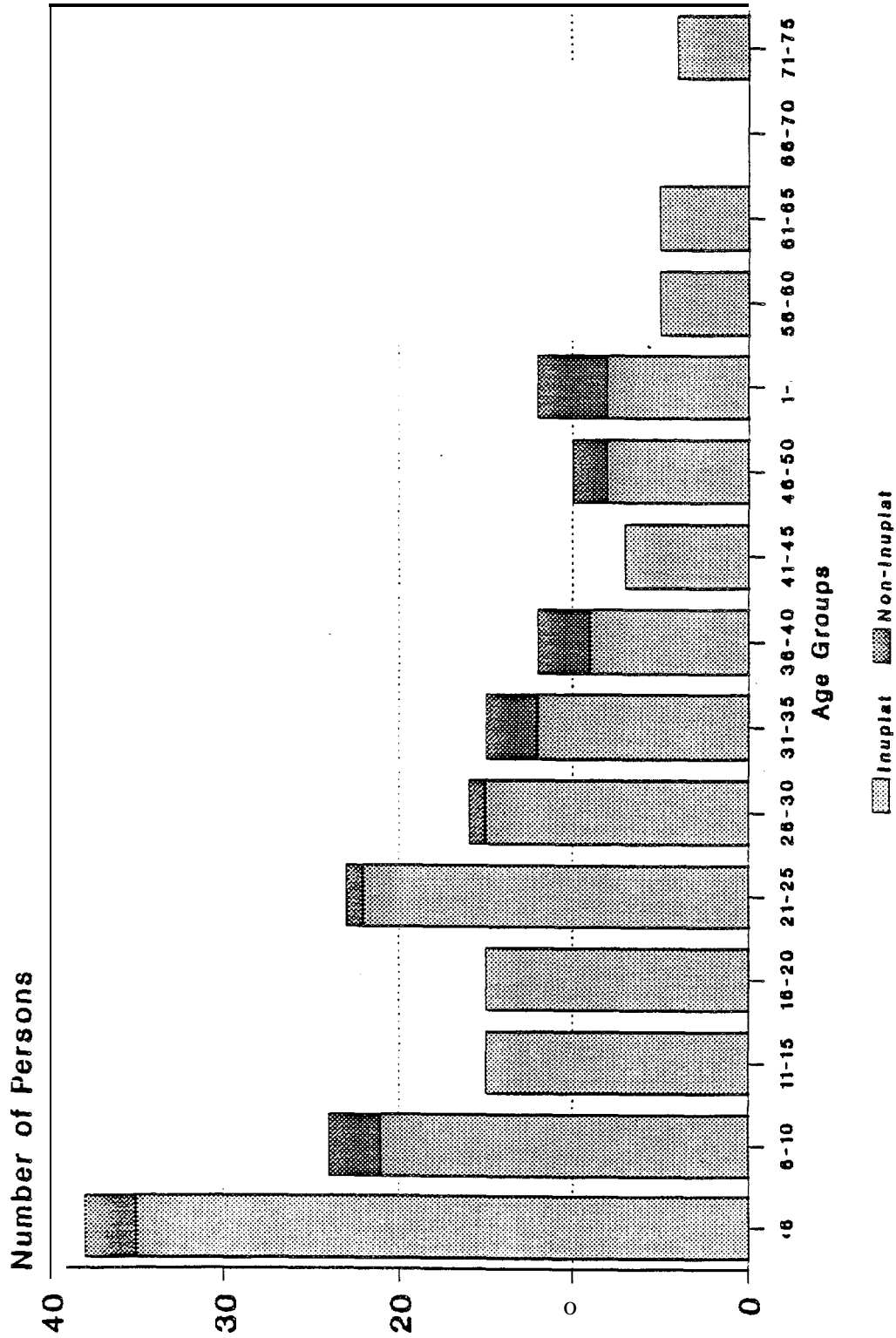
**AVERAGE AGE
(years)**

ENTIRE POPULATION	24.8
MALE	24.6
FEMALE	25.2
INUPIAT	24.3
NON-INUPIAT	29.8

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Figure 1-ATQ

**Inupiat and Total Population in 1988
Atqasuk**



NSB CENSUS OF POPULATION AND ECONOMY

Figure 2-ATQ

Atqasuk Population Characteristics
1988

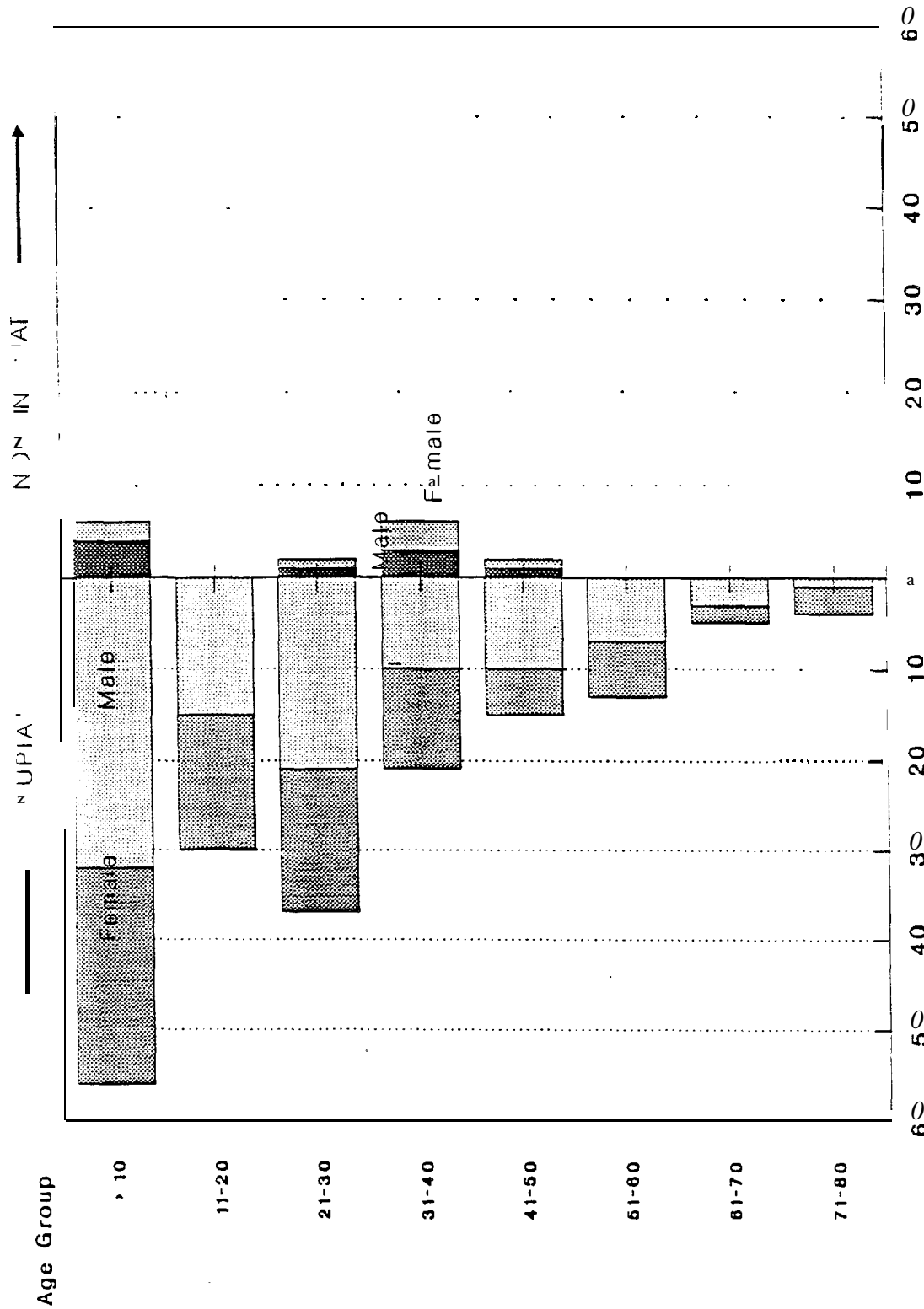


Table 8-ATQ

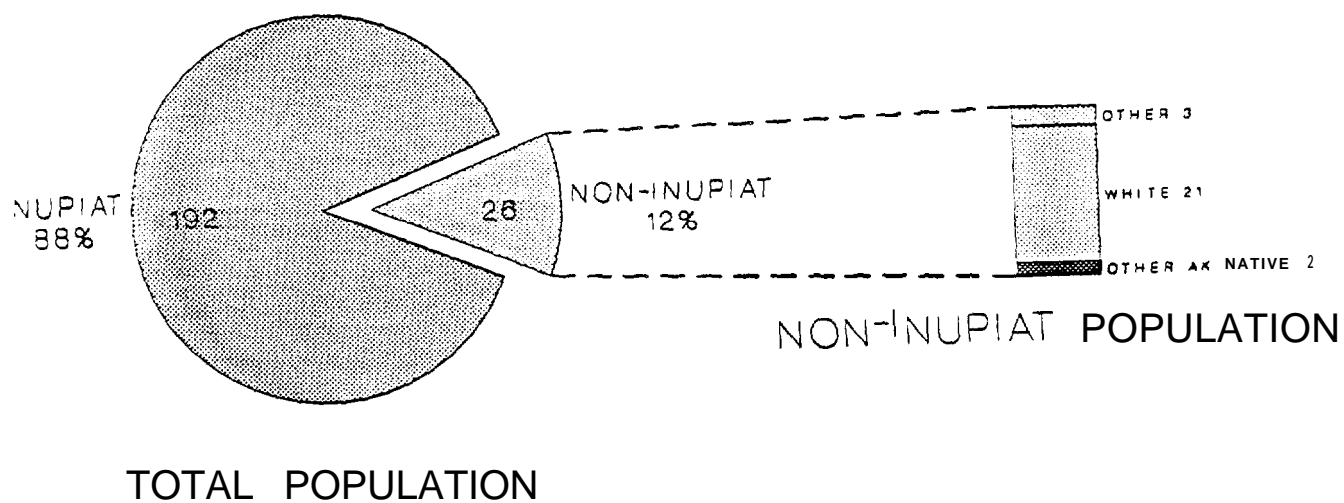
Ethnic Composition of Population -1988
Atqasuk

ETHNIC CATEGORY	TOTAL POPULATION			% OF TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	
INUPIAT	107	85	192	88.1%
OTHER AK NATIVE	1	1	2	0.9%
WHITE	13	8	21	9.6%
FILIPINO	1	0	1	0.5%
NOT ASCERTAINED	1	1	2	0.9%
TOTAL	123	95	218	100.0%
%	56.4%	43.6%	100.0%	
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS			1	
TOTAL POPULATION			219	

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Figure 3-ATQ

Ethnic Composition Atkasuk Population
1988



NSBCENSUSOF POPULATION AND ECONOMY

The most prominent **characteristic** of Table 9-ATQ, "Marital Status by **Ethnicity - Atqasuk**," is that the largest proportion of individuals in the community have never married. It appears that this is so because the total population from which these figures are derived include all age categories, even individuals less than 18 years old. If **all** individuals less than 18 years **old** are subtracted from the never married **category**, only 45 **Inupiat** (as opposed to 123) have never married out of a **total** population of 192. The same general pattern of marital status is evident in Barrow.

F. Housing

Houses in **Atqasuk** were built in order of assigned **block** numbers. Block 1 contains **eight** homes, Block 2 contains eight homes, Block 3 contains the former school (now a **four-plex**) and six houses, Block 4 contains the church and seven homes, Block 5 contains eight houses, and Block 6 contains eight houses. Everyone who described the beginnings of the new village stated that there were thirteen original homes constructed in the first phase, in 1977-1978. The **final** houses were under construction at the end of 1981, indicating that the housing construction was completed by **1982**. The exceptions are three homes **built** in the subdivision north of town, which were **built** by the school district.

Table 9-ATQ

Marital Status by **Ethnicity**
Atqasuk -1988

<u>MARITAL CATEGORY</u>	<u>INUPIAT</u>			<u>NON-INUPIAT</u>			<u>TOTAL VILLAGE</u>	<u>% OF TOTAL</u>
	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>		
"NOW MARRIED	30	26	56	4	4	8	64	51.6%
WIDOWED		5	5			0	5	4.0%
DIVORCED	2	2	4	2	2	4	8	6.5%
SEPARATED	1		1	1		1	2	1.6%
NEVER MARRIED	28	16	44	1		1	45	26.3%
TOTAL	61	49	110	8	6	14	124	100.0%
%	49.2%	39.5%	88.7%	6.5%	4.8%	1.3%	100.0%	
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS							0	
TOTAL POPULATION (age 16+)							124	

Note: Figures include persons age 16 and she.

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
 Census of Population and Economy, 1989

SECTION II: ECONOMY

A. Overview

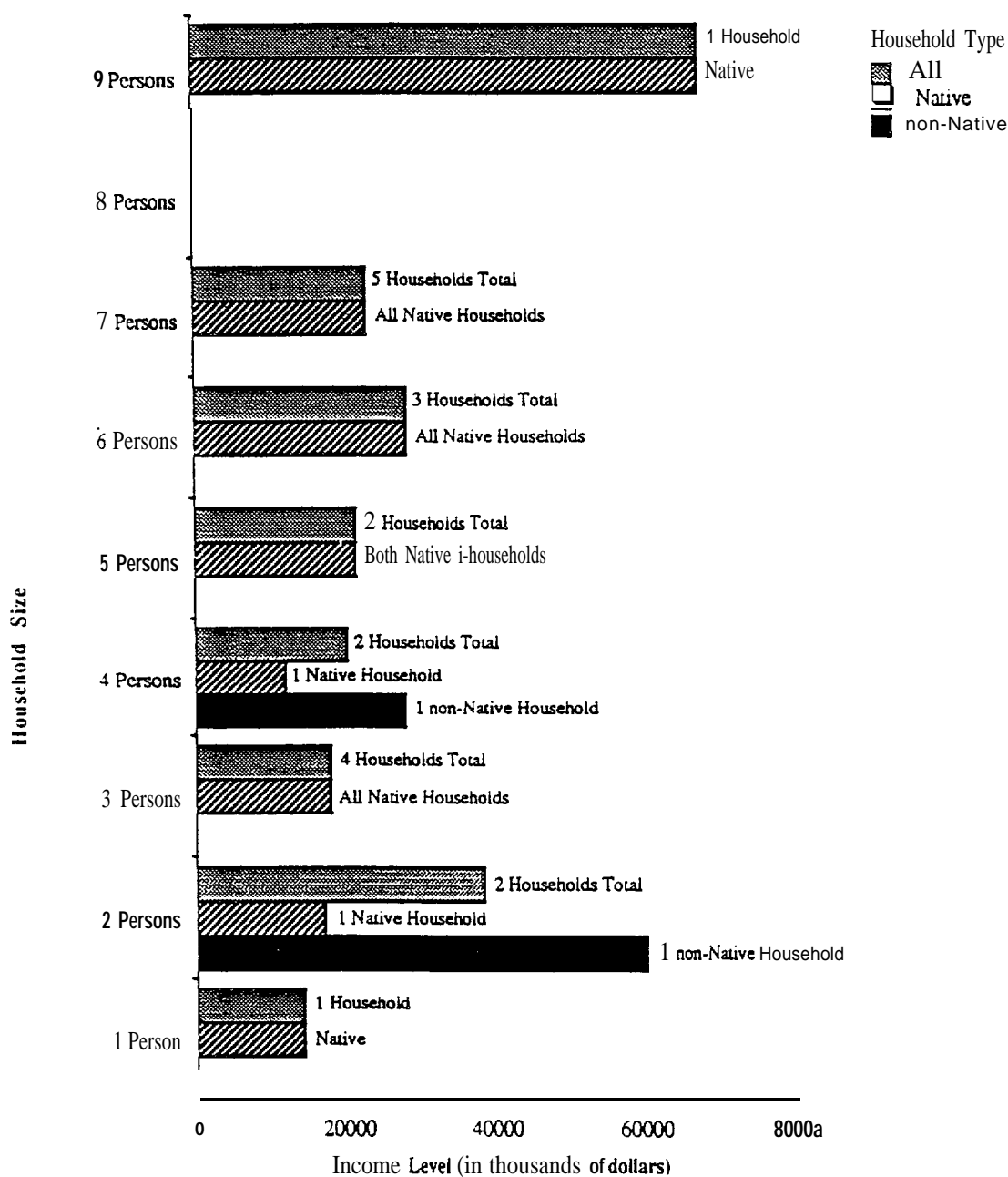
Income figures available in 1980 from the same **NSB survey** state that, for twenty households, the average income was \$25,606. The distribution of household incomes in terms of household size and ethnicity is shown graphically in **Figure 4-ATQ**. There was a substantial difference between Native and non-Native household income, with an average of \$23,563 for eighteen Native households and \$44,000 for **two** non-Native households. **This** compares with **an** average household income of \$31,378 in the NSB and \$21,865 for **Alaska** Native households (U.S. Census, reported in **Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:422**). The average utility expenses for **Atqasuk** households in 1980 was \$272 in summer and \$468 in winter. Further, five households reported receiving employer/agency-assisted rent; **all** were non-Native (3 NSB, 2 **NSBSD**). Finally, the **survey** results stated that three Native households received Social Security/Public Assistance/Tension Income, in addition to employment income.

In Atqasuk, most Inupiat households, 30 out of 36, earn \$40,000 per **year** or less (please refer to **Table 10-ATQ**). It is striking that there are no **non-Inupiat** in this income category. Of the eight non-Native households in **Atqasuk**, five earn between \$40,000 and \$60,000 per year and three earn \$60,000 per year or more. In Barrow, household **income** among **Inupiat** is more evenly distributed than in **Atqasuk**. However, among non-Natives there is a concentration of high average incomes with only 5.7% of **households** having an annual income below \$20,000 and 53.9% having incomes exceeding \$60,000.

Detailed employment data are available in 1980 from the NSB Housing and Employment Survey carried out by Alaska Consultants, which can be compared with some aggregate information collected in 1982 (reported in Alaska Consultants **et al.** 1984). The composition of employment in **Atqasuk** for 1980 is shown in **Table 11-ATQ**. There were 27 unemployed Native residents (aged 16 and over) in 1980, of which 21 were female. This compares with 71 full-time equivalent (**FTE**) positions counted in 1982, as shown in **Table 12-ATQ**. Although the number of positions was much higher in 1982, the proportion of total employment accounted for by construction jobs was equal. In 1980, construction constituted 47.8% of total employment, compared with 47.9% in 1982. **All** of these data support the contention that the economy of **Atqasuk** is supported in large part by **the** NSB.

Figure 4-ATQ

Average Household Income Distribution* **
Native*** and non-Native Households by Household Size
Atqasuk, May 1980



Total Number of Households: 20
Income
All: \$25,606
Native: \$23,563
Non-Native: \$44,000

* Includes one unit used as group quarters.
** Figures exclude 4 households (one Alaska Native and 3 non-Native) for whom no income information was obtained.
*** For purposes of the housing survey, the adult Alaska Native in combination Alaska Native/non-Native households was always designated head of household.

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc., Norris Slope Borough Housing Survey.
Prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department, Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 10-ATQ

Household Income and Spending -1988
Atqasuk

HOUSEHOLD INCOME CATEGORY	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS			
	<u>INUPIAT</u>	<u>NON- INUPIAT</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>% TOTAL</u>
UNDER \$20,000	14		14	31.8%
\$20,000 - \$40,000	16		16	36.4%
\$40,000 - \$60,000	4	5	9	20.5%
\$60,000 & ABOVE	2	3	5	11.4%
TOTAL	36	8	44	100.0%
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS			11	
TOTAL OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS			55	

FOR ALL VILLAGE HOUSEHOLDS

	<u>MEDIAN</u>	<u>AVERAGE</u>
HOUSEHOLD INCOME	\$32,500	\$35,057
PROPORTION OF TOTAL HH INCOME SPENT IN VILLAGE (1)	80.0%	71.0%
MONTHLY HOUSING PAYMENT (2)	\$100	\$185
MONTHLY HEATING COSTS	\$269	\$307
MONTHLY ELECTRICITY COSTS	\$61	\$107

Notes: (1) For food, clothing, and other household goods.
 (2) Includes rent and mortgage.

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1969.

Table 11-ATQ

Composition of Employment by Race and Sex * **
Atkasuk, May 1980

Employment Sector	Alaska Native			Non-Native			TOTAL		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Mining	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Contract Construction	0	0	0	5	0	5	5	0	5
Transportation, Communication, and Public Utilities	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trade	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	2
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Services	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Government									
Federal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
State	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Local	25	5	30	3	3	6	28	8	36
Construction	(15)	(2)	(17)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(15)	(2)	(17)
Non-Construction	(10)	(3)	(13)	(3)	(3)	(6)	(13)	(6)	(19)
TOTAL	26	8	34	8	3	11	34	11	45

• Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.
 • Employment figures exclude 3 Alaska Natives (1 male and 2 females) who listed various forms of assistance, primarily Social Security, as their major source of income. Employment figures also exclude 28 Alaska Natives (6 males and 22 females) aged 16 and over for whom no employment information was provided or who claimed to be unemployed.

Source Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 12-ATQ

1982 **Atqasuk Employment, August Count (FTE)**

Construction	34
Trade (Corp. Store)	2
Finance (Village Corp.)	2
Services (AIC constr. camp)	4
Government (NSB)	28
Transportation (air taxi)	1
TOTAL	71

(Source: Alaska Consultants **et al.** 1984418-20)

Average number of employed individuals in each household in 1980 was 1.9 persons. The following tables (Tables 13-ATQ through 18-ATQ), which were compiled from the 1980 **survey** results, present the distribution of employment by household size, or simply number of households (Table 19-ATQ).

Table 13-ATQ

1980 **Atqasuk** Household Employment by **Household** Size

		Household Size									
		<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>
Number	0			1							
of	1	1	1	2	1	2	1				
Employed	2		3	1	2		2	2			
Persons	3			1				2			
Per	4						1				
Household	5									1	

Table 14-ATQ

1980 **Atqasuk Household** Employment by Household **Size**, Non-Native Households

		Household Size									
		<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>
Number	0										
of	1										
Employed	2		3		1						
Persons	3			1							
Per	4										
Household	5										

Note: These households include 2 comprised of unrelated construction workers and 3 with .
NSB employment.

Table 15-ATQ

1980 Household Employment by Household **Size**, Construction Workers Excluded

		Household Size									
		<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>
Number	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			
of	1			3	1	1	2				
Employed	2		2		1			4		1	
Persons	3										
Per	4										
Household	5										

Table 16-ATQ

Size of Native Households Containing Construction Workers **Exclusively**

		Household Size									
		<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>
# of Native Households	1	1			1	1	1	1			

Table 17-ATQ

Number of Households Having Various Characteristics

Number of Native households with construction workers	11
Number of Native households with construction workers exclusively	6
Number of Native households with both constr. and FT workers	5
Number of Native households with FT workers exclusively	7*
Number of Native households with no employment	1
Number of nort-Native households with FT employment exclusively	3
Number of non-Native households with constr. workers exclusively	2

***Note:** includes two temporary and seasonal positions

In addition to the type of employment available in **Atqasuk** in 1980, Alaska Consultants (1981:27) collected data on the composition of employment according to age, race, and **sex**. These data are shown in Table 18-ATQ. In terms of sex differences, there were about three times as many men in the work force as **women**. This trend held true for both Natives and non-Natives. However, the age distribution of employment was not consistent across **ethnicities**. While 5 out of 11 (45.5%) of employed non-Natives were between the ages of 30-34, only 5 out of 34 (14.7%) of employed Natives were between the ages of 30-34. The category with the largest number of employed Natives was the **20-24** year age bracket.

B. Characteristics of Households

To put the data above in a context, tables concerning household size, household income, and spending, and tables about the relationship between household size and **levels** of subsistence and subsistence sharing are included here. According to Table 19-ATQ the average household size among **Inupiat** in **Atqasuk** for 1989 is 4.4 persons. This contrasts with Barrow where the average household size among **Inupiat** is 3.9. The average household size among **non-Inupiat** is 2.2, slightly below that of Barrow which averages 2.5 persons for **non-Inupiat** households.

Table 20-ATQ, "**Atqasuk** Household Characteristics by Categories of Household Size," illustrates the relationship between household size and various household characteristics. The relationship between household size and income indicates that opposite trends are occurring between the **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** populations. While **Inupiat** households increase in size, their incomes decrease. But the incomes of **non-Inupiat** households appear to increase as the size of their households increases. In the section of the table that shows the average proportion of household income spent in the village based on household size, one sees that as **Inupiat households** increase in size, the amount of income that is spent in the village also increases. The opposite **holds** true for **non-Inupiat households**.

Table 18-ATQ

Composition of Employment by **Age, Race,** and Sex •
Atqasuk - May 1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
15-19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20-24	5	4	9	0	1	1	5	5	10
25-29	3	0	3	1	0	1	4	0	4
30-34	4	1	5	4	1	5	8	2	10
35-39	3	1	4	1	0	1	4	1	5
40-44	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	2
45-49	2	1	3	0	1	1	2	2	4
50-54	4	1	5	2	0	2	6	1	7
5.5-59	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
60-64	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
65-69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70-74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Age unknown	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	2
TOTAL	26	8	34	8	3	11	34	11	45

* Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Source Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 19-ATQ
Household Size- 1988
Atqasuk

NUMBER OF PERSONS	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS			% TOTAL
	INUPIAT	NON-INUPIAT	TOTAL	
1	2	4	6	10.9%
2	6	3	9	16.4%
3	6	1	7	12.7%
4	9	3	12	21.8%
5	7		7	12.7%
6	10		10	18.2%
7	2		2	3.6%
8	1		1	1.8%
9	1		1	1.8%
10			0	0.0%
11			0	0.0%
12			0	0.0%
TOTAL OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLD	44	11	55	100.0%
AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD SIZE	4.4	2.2	4	

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Table 20-ATQ

Atkasuk Household Characteristic -1988
By Categories of Household Size

	HOUSEHOLD SIZE			
	SMALL	MEDIUM	LARGE	ALL HHs
Average HH Income (\$):				
Inupiat HHs:	\$28,500	\$27,500	\$20,000	
Non-Inupiat HHs:	\$69,500	\$75,000		
All HHs:	\$42,167	\$33,200	\$20,000	\$35,057
Cases:	15	25	4	44
Average HH Size (# Persons per HH):				
Inupiat HHs:	2.3	5.0	7.8	
Non-Inupiat HHs:	1.7	4.0		
All HHs:	2.1	4.9	7.8	4.0
Cases:	21	29	4	54
Average Meat & Fish Csmptn from Own HH Subsistence (%):				
Inupiat HHs:	39.5%	58.7%	50.0%	
Non-Inupiat HHs:	37a%	6.7%		
All HHs:	38.7%	52.7%	50.0%	47s%
cases	15	26	4	45
Average Meat & Fish Csmptn from Other HH Subsistence (%):				
Inupiat HHs:	16.0%	14.4%	10.0%	
Non-Inupiat HHs:	20.0%	0.0%		
All HHs:	17.3%	12.8%	10.0%."	14.0%
Cases:	15	27	4	46
Average Meat & Fish Harvested and Given Away (%):				
Inupiat HHs:	16.0%	11.4%	16.3%	
Non-Inupiat HHs:	20.0%	0.0%		
An HHs:	17.3%	10.2%	16.3%	13.0%
Cases:	15	27	4	46
Average Proportion HH Income Spent in Wage(%):				
Inupiat HHs	71.0%	82.2%	87.5%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	35.0%	15.0%.		
AH HHs	59.0%	75.0%	87.5%	71.0%
Cases:	15	28	4	47

Now Household size categories measured as follows:

SMALL: Under 4 persons per household

MEDIUM: 4-6 persons per household

STRONG: 7 or more persons per household.

Total cases (households)= 55.

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
 Census of Population and Economy

Educational differences between the Inupiat and **non-Inupiat** populations are clearly shown by table 21-ATQ. There are one hundred **Inupiat** older than seventeen, of which forty-three (43%) have graduated from high school. Only two (2%) have been to **college**. Of the fourteen **non-Inupiat** older than seventeen, all have graduated from high school and **twelve** (86%) have been to college. It is important to note when analyzing trends by ethnicity that **non-Inupiat** in **Atqasuk** constitute only 9% (20 out of 219) of the population. Of the total population, 58% is **either** still in school or has never graduated from high school. This excludes **13%** who are not **old** enough to be in school or are not certain of their level of education. There is some indication from Table 21-ATQ that younger age groups of **Inupiat** in **Atqasuk** are completing high school at a higher rate than older groups **did**, but this trend is by no means certain. In any event, the educational difference between **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** is sharp and distinct. There are no uneducated **non-Inupiat** in **Atqasuk**. The **non-Inupiat** who live in **Atqasuk** are there for employment reasons, and their education is one of their qualifications for that employment. **Inupiat** may eventually fill these positions, but this is not likely to happen for some time in **Atqasuk** unless educated **Inupiat** move **in** from elsewhere. **Inupiat** from **Atqasuk** apparently are not drawn to education past high school.

C. 1989 Employment

Both the mayor and the corporation carry out employment functions in the community. The mayor happens to be the NS13 Village Coordinator, and in this capacity **serves** as the employment agent for the borough, including regular borough jobs, positions funded through the Mayor's Job Program, and other programs. **As** mayor, he **serves** as spokesperson for the community to external government agencies and groups, and he is an advocate of **local** hire for positions that villagers can fill. "We get **people** coming in for jobs, **but** we want our **local** people to get jobs -- they are the ones who purchase **fuel**, who send their kids to **school here**."

The village corporation, largely through its subsidiary **Atqasuk** Construction, advocates a similar position. The construction arm seeks joint venture relationships with outside contractors, and in this capacity serves as an employment agent for the community. In a joint venture relationship, the corporation **will** hire local workers directly. The corporation takes the position that when a job requires skilled and unskilled labor, they will accept the temporary importation of certified tradesmen, such as plumbers or electricians, but the construction contractor is expected to hire helpers from the **village**. This is the arrangement with **SKW/Eskimos**, Inc., the company that during 1989 field research was building the Utilities and School District Warehouse (**USDW**).

Alternatively, contractors who are working in **Atqasuk** use the corporation to provide the names of potential laborers for current projects. In addition, the NSB works with the corporation in carrying out construction and rehabilitation programs. For example, the current housing improvement program, **RELI**, is treated as a joint venture between the NSB and the corporation's construction subsidiary. In this case, **Atqasuk** Construction hires the workers, but the money is coming from the borough.

Table 21-ATQ

Highest **Level** of Education Attained by Age Group
Inupiat Residents, Atkasuk - 1989

	<u>COLLEGE+</u>	<u>SOME COLLEGE</u>	<u>VO TECH GRAD</u>	<u>HIGH SCH OR GED</u>	<u>NOT FINISH HIGH SCH</u>	<u>STILL IN SCHOOL</u>	<u>NOT IN SCH YET</u>	<u>NOT ASCERTAIN</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
UNDER 4						4	17		21
4 - 8						27			27
9-15						23			23
16 - 17					2	4		1	7
18-25	1			14	13	1			29
26-39				18	13			2	33
40 - 59	1			9	17			2	29
60-65					4			1	5
66 +					3			1	4
TOTAL	2	0	0	41	52	59	17	7	178
%	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	23.0%	29.2%	33.1%	9.6%	3.9%	100.0%
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS									21
TOTAL POPULATION (Inupiat)									199

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
 Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Table 21-ATQ (continued)

Highest **Level** of Education Attained by **Age** Group
Non-Inupiat Residents, Atkasuk -198\$

	<u>COLLEGE+</u>	<u>SOME COLLEGE</u>	<u>VO TECH GRAD</u>	<u>HIGH SCH OR GED</u>	<u>NOT FINISH HIGH SCH</u>	<u>STILL IN SCHOOL</u>	<u>NOT IN SCH YET</u>	<u>NOT ASCERTAIN</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
UNDER 4							2		2
4 - 8						3			3
9 - 15						1			1
16 - 17									0
18-25				1					1
26-39	2	3		1					6
40 - 59	7								7
60 - 65									0
66 +									0
TOTAL	9	3	0	2	0	4	2	0	20
%	45.0%	15.0%	0.0%	10.0%	0.0%	20.0%	10.0%	0.0%	100.0%
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS									0
TOTAL POPULATION (Non-Inupiat)									20

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
 Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Table 22-ATQ

Occupation Composition of Employment by Sex and Ethnicity
Atkasuk -1988

OCCUPATION GROUPS	INUPIAT			NON-INUPIAT			TOTAL VILLAGE	% OF TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL		
EXEC. ADMIN. MGR.	4	2	6	2		2	8	9.3%
PROFESSIONAL			0			0	0	0.0%
TEACHER		1	1	2	5	7	8	9.3%
TEACHER AIDE	1	1	2		1	1	3	3.5%
TECHNICIAN		3	3			0	3	3.5%
ADMIN. SUPPORT	3	6	9			0	9	10.5%
SERVICE	4	5	9	1		1	10	11.6%
OPERATOR/MECHANIC	12		12			0	12	14.0%
PLOT			0			0	0	0.0%
LABORER	10	10	20			0	20	23.3%
CRAFTSMAN	1	2	3	1		1	4	4.7%
ARTISAN			0			0	0	0.0%
ARMED FORCES			0			0	0	0.0%
TRAPPER/HUNTER			0			0	0	0.0%
OTHER			0			0	0	0.0%
TOTAL EMPLOYED	46	28	74	6	6	12	86	100.0%
% OF TOTAL	53.5%	32.2%	86.0%	7.0%	7.0%	13.3%	100.0%	
LABOR FORCE	49	29	78	6	6	12	90	
% OF TOTAL	54.4%	32.2%	86.7%	6.7%	6.7%	13.3%	100.0%	
TOTAL UNEMPLOYED	3	1	4	0	0	0	4	
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE	6.1%	3.4%	5.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.4%	
TOTAL UNDER-EMPLOYED	16	9	25	0	0	0	26	
UNDER-EMPLOYMENT RATE	32.7%	31.0%	32.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	27.6%	

- Notes: (1) Total employed includes part-time, temporary, as well as full-time employment
 (2) The occupation category "OTHER" includes underemployed persons otherwise not accounted for. Underemployment refers to persons that were unemployed because they could not find a job during part of the year.
 (3) Unemployed refers to persons out of work because they could not find a job for the entire twelve-month period.
 (4) Labor force = employed + underemployed + unemployed.
 (5) Unemployment rate, persons unemployed divided by the labor force.

Source: NSB Department Of Planning and Community Services
Census of Population and Economy, 1969.

Both the city and the corporation reported similar issues with these arrangements. Two basic problems have been encountered. Sometimes the contractors say they do not need to hire **helpers** or laborers, and **local** hire will not be available, on specific projects. Secondly, local people are not always dependable when they do obtain positions on construction projects. **While** some individuals will report **regularly** to work for the life of the project, the more common pattern is for workers to begin missing workdays, weeks, or entire pay periods after one or **two** paychecks have been received. Local residents reported that these individuals **will** often use their newly acquired cash to leave **Atqasuk** for Barrow **or** Fairbanks, **only** to return later when their money **is low**. Observations and key informant conversations suggest that this problem is a recurring issue for **local** construction hire in the community.

Despite the problems that face employers of **Inupiat**, it is **clear** that **Inupiat** are working. **Seventy-five** employed **Inupiat** out of a total labor force of 90 means that 83% of **Inupiat** able to work are working (Table 23-ATQ, "Industry Composition of Employment by Sex and **Ethnicity**," shows what kinds of **industry Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** are employed in). This figure **is** close to the **Inupiat** proportional representation in the total population (90%). Figure **5-ATQ** also shows that the village population more than doubled from 108 in 1980 to 219 in 1989. The labor force (employed and unemployed persons age 16 to 64 that were willing and eligible to work) also expanded, though not as rapidly, from 54 to 90 persons.

Total village employment increased from 45 to 86 persons between 1980 and 1988. This employment increase was sufficient to outpace labor force expansion. As a result, the rate of unemployment (the number of persons unemployed divided by the labor force) in **Atqasuk** fell from 17 to 4% between 1980 and 1988.

This shift toward **full** employment is explained in part by a significant increase **in** direct NSB government employment. Between 1980 and 1988, NSB government employment increased threefold - from 19 to 63 persons. These figures understate NSB government contributions to village employment because they do not include employment expansion in the private sector brought about by **NSB-funded** projects and programs. Private sector employment and indirect NSB government employment are depicted in the bar labeled "Total Employment" on **Table 23-ATQ**.

While the rate of overall unemployment declined markedly over recent years, a fairly high **level** of underemployment (28%) was **observed** in 1988. "Underemployment" refers to the count of persons that worked part of the year but would have worked more if additional jobs had been available.

In sum, the data for 1980 and 1988 indicate good news. Although the underemployment rate was high in 1988, nearly everyone that wanted to work was able to do so for at least part of the year. This suggests that in 1988 jobs were widely distributed across the village labor force.

D. Projection to 1994

Figure 4-ATQ shows projected levels of population, labor force, and employment in 1994. The assumptions used to make these projections are:

- o Village population would grow at an average **annual** rate of 1% per **year**;
- o Village labor force would change according to natural shifts in the age distribution of village population;
- o The rate of village unemployment would be held at 5%; and
- o The ratio of **NSB** government employment to total village employment in 1988 would prevail in 1994.

Application of these assumptions leads to increases across the board. Village population would increase to 232 in 1994. The village labor force would grow at a faster rate than the population and increase from 90 to 102.” In order to hold unemployment to **5%**, total employment would increase from 86 to 97. **NSB** government employment required to support this **level** of total employment would increase by eight, from 63 to 71 persons.

Labor force expansion is the critical element in this projection. The number of young persons entering the labor force will more than offset retirees and other labor force departures over the next six years. Village total employment must increase to support this labor force. This, in turn, would require the NSB government to step up **local** employment opportunities either directly, or through programs that enhance private sector development.

Table 23-ATQ

Industry **Compostion** of Employment by **Sex and Ethnicity**
Atkasuk - 1988

INDUSTRY GROUP	INUPIAT			NON-INUPIAT			TOTAL VILLAGE	% OF TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL		
PRIVATE SECTOR								
FISHERIES			0			0	0	
MINING			0			0	0	
CONSTRUCTION			0			0	0	
TRANSP/COMM/PUBLIC UTIL			0			0	0	
TRADE		1	1			0	1	
FINANCE/INSUR/REAL EST			0			0	0	
BUSINESS/REPAIR SERV	2		2			0	2	
HEALTH, MT/REC/TOURIST SERV			0			0	a	
SOCIAL, & EDUC SERV			0			0	0	
SELF-EMPLOYED			0			0	0	
NATIVE CORP. & AFFILIATE	7	7	14	1		1	15	
OTHER			0			a	0	
SUBTOTAL	9	8	17	1	0	1	18	20.7%
NSB GOVERNMENT								
HEALTH		2	2			0	2	
PUBLIC SAFETY			0	1		1	1	
MUNICIPAL SERV	14	1	15			0	15	
FIRE DEPT			0			0	0	
SEARCH & RESCUE			0			0	0	
HOUSING	7	2	9	1		1	10	
WILDLIFE MGT			0			0	0	
RELI & MJP	9	7	16			0	16	
LAW OFFICE			0			0	0	
ADMIN & FINANCE			0			0	0	
PLANNING			0			0	0	
INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT			0			0	0	
HIGHER EDUCATION CENTER			0			0	0	
MAYOR'S OFFICE & ASSEMBLY			0			0	0	
OTHER NSB	1	1	2			0	2	
SUBTOTAL	31	13	44	2	0	2	46	52.9%
NSB SCHOOL DISTRICT	4	4	8	3	6	9	17	19.5%
NSB-SUBTOTAL	35	17	52	5	6	11	63	72.4%
OTHER LOCAL GOVT	2	3	5			0	5	5.7%
STATE GOVT			0			0	0	0.0%
FEDERAL GOVT	1		1			0	1	1.1%
ARMED FORCES			0			0	0	0.0%
SUBTOTAL: ALL GOVT	38	20	58	5	6	11	69	79.4%
GRAND TOTAL	47	28	75	6	6	12	87	100.0%
% OF TOTAL	54.0%	32.2%	86.2%	6.9%	6.9%	13.8%	100.0%	

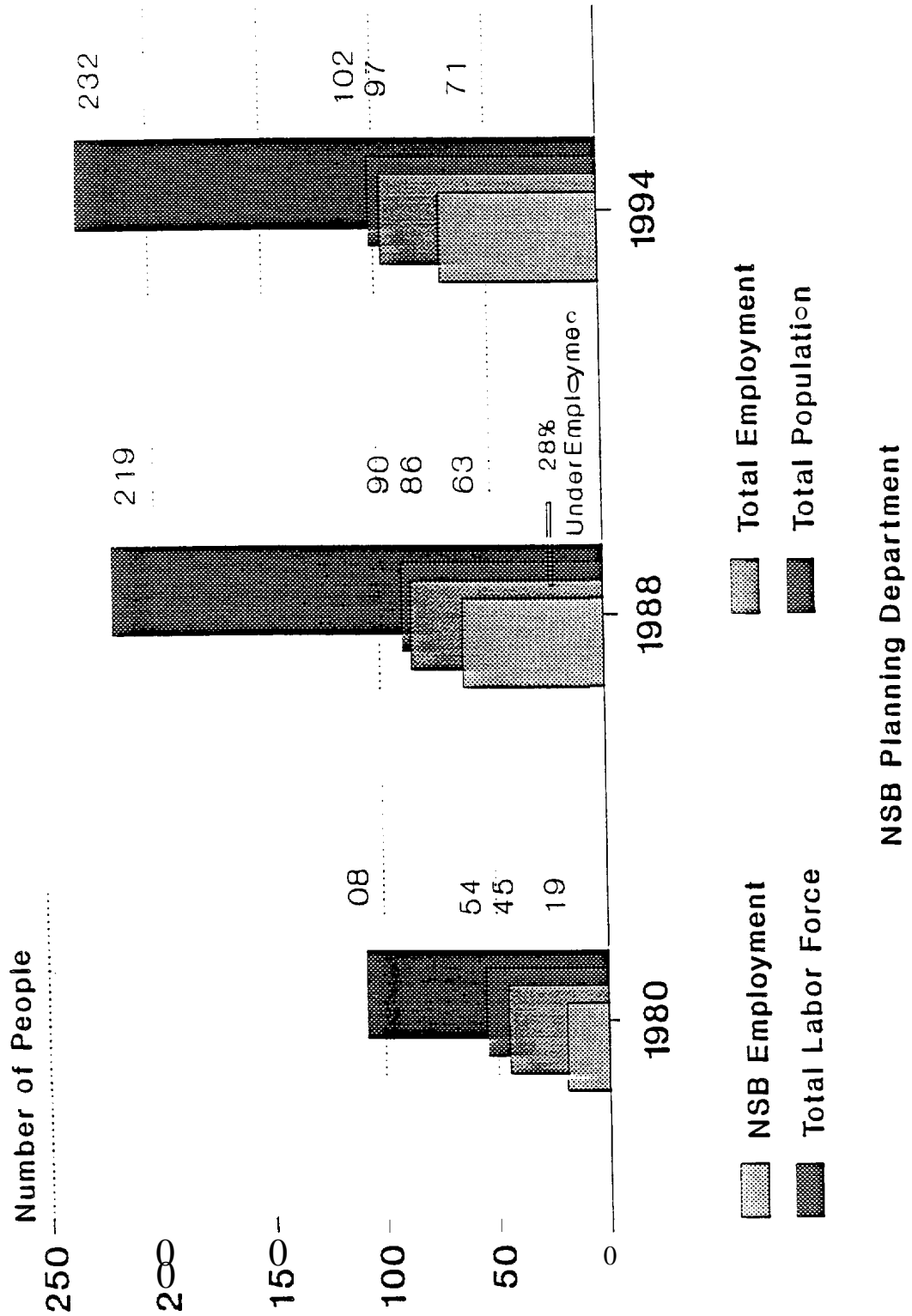
Notes:

(1) Figures equal to number of persons employed, including part-time, temporary, and full-time employment.

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Figure 5-ATQ

Population Labor Force, and Employment
Atqasuk: 1980, 1988, and 1994 (Projected)



SECTION III: FORMAL INSTITUTIONS

A. Overview

Several new institutions have been formed in the community since 1978. The City of **Atqasuk** was formally incorporated as a second class city in October 1982 (U.S. Census, reported in Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:430). A **2% sales** tax was approved by city residents at the time it was incorporated. **Atqasuk** has a seven member city council, a mayor and vice-mayor. Due to its **relation** with the North Slope Borough, recreation is the major municipal power of the city, but the council also serves to represent the community to outside interests, including the NSB. In this role, the council “represents local desires for community improvements to the North Slope Borough” (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:431). It has also seined as the vehicle for expressing the community’s desire for sustained employment opportunities for villagers to the NSB (**Worl and Smythe**: unpublished Barrow **fieldnotes**). As a representative to the NSB concerning village priorities and as an agent for expressing community concerns over employment, the **Atqasuk** City Council resembles the city councils in other North Slope villages (**Smythe** and Worl 1985).

Atqasuk had a traditional council prior to the formation of the **city**. In its first election, **Atqasuk** placed four of the seven traditional council members on the new city council, and two others elected to the city council were former traditional council members (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:431). This action indicates there was a high degree of continuity between the traditional council and the newly established city council. According to this report, the traditional council was inactive in 1983, but this situation may have changed in the intervening years.

The North Slope Borough has been represented in the community by a liaison officer. Under Mayor George **Ahmoagak**, this position received **new** impetus (**Worl** and **Smythe**, unpublished Barrow field observations). A NSBSD **local** Advisory Committee also functions in **Atqasuk**, as in other North Slope villages, serving to represent the wishes of the community to the NSB School Board. A volunteer Fire Department and Search and Rescue organization is managed by the NSB. A new program, the Mayor’s Job Program, has brought employment to **Atqasuk** in the form of intermittent maintenance and special projects **labor**. **Now** that construction employment is greatly reduced, this program represents a valuable **element** in the **local** economy, providing temporary employment **to** villagers **to** supplement the regular job opportunities.

The village corporation, **Atqasuk** Corporation, was formed in 1974 with seventy-one original stockholders. The corporation operates a fuel distribution service in the village in a joint venture formed in 1983 with **SKW/Eskimos**, Inc., a subsidiary of **ASRC**. This arrangement is similar to those formed in other North Slope communities. The village corporation also operates a retail store. In 1983, a construction company (**Atqasuk** Construction) was operating with an **Inupiaq** president (who was a board member of the parent corporation) and a **non-Inupiat** general manager. This company has participated in joint ventures on “several” NSB construction projects including housing units, the village fire station, and the new school (Alaska Consultants **et al.** 1984:433).

The corporation has **taken** several actions with regard to providing land for municipal purposes as required under **ANCSA 14(c)3**. Some lands *were* simply **quitclaimed** by the corporation to the NSB and ASRC Housing Authority (Alaska Consultants **et al.** 1984:435). In addition, several blocks or portions of tracts have been dedicated for public use by the corporation.

The **Atqasuk** Corporation received surface rights to 69,120 acres and, as of June 1, 1978, it had received 68,652 of those acres (**AEIDC** 1978). The village and all of the corporation land lie within **NPR-A**, and as a result of this special circumstance the regional corporation is not entitled to the subsurface estate. Instead, **ASRC** is entitled to the subsurface estate of other land available in the region. However, under an option made available in **ANILCA**, **ASRC** is entitled to select the subsurface estate to the **Atqasuk** Corporation selections in **NPR-A** in the future if public lands in **NPR-A** are opened for commercial development (rather than exploration) of oil and gas within 75 miles of the village-selected lands. In this case, **ASRC** will forfeit its **Atqasuk**-related selections of other lands made earlier, in an exchange of equal acreage.

Because our field plan allowed only limited fieldwork in **Atqasuk**, which focused on the relationships between the communities of Barrow and **Atqasuk**, we do not have updated information on most of the village voluntary associations. Our focus was more on formal political and economic structures, since they are the agencies which communicate with the **NSB**. What follows is based primarily on the literature with some field observations added.

As maybe expected, given the Barrow origins of much of the population, the Presbyterian church is the church of choice. The first ethnographic work done in **Atqasuk** documented this fact (**Alaska Consultants et al.** 1984:433). A church building was constructed between 1978 and 1983. A visiting minister occasionally conducts services in the church, and community members serve in this capacity at other times.

A Mother's Club was formed in 1983 (**Alaska consultants et al.** 1984:434-35). According to this source, "all influential women belong to this group." Apparently, the **Atqasuk** group was being encouraged by a similar group in Barrow, which at this time was reaching out to the communities to educate and support the development of locally-based groups (see Smythe and Worl 1985). We were not able to verify the current activity of this group due to time constraints.

Search and Rescue is another voluntary organization that has functioned since at least 1983. All able-bodied men were members of this group, and its leaders "are accorded a certain amount of status and prestige" (**Alaska Consultants et al.** 1984:434). This group was operating as a local group of volunteers before the **NSB** formed a search and rescue unit and took over some management and coordination functions of village groups. The membership of the volunteer Fire Department is overlapping with Search and Rescue. It continues in the same form as before, and is very similar in form and function to Search and Rescue in other villages.

The **Atqasuk** fire station was completed in 1983 and is identical to the other fire stations built by the **NSB** in other small North Slope villages. A new health clinic was built in 1983. A new school was completed in 1984. Other facilities in **Atqasuk** have been upgraded on a par with those in other **NSB** communities.

B. City of **Atqasuk**

Like the other small villages on the North Slope with the exception of Point Lay, **Atqasuk** is incorporated as a second class city under Alaska state law and operates with a city council/mayor

form of government. There are seven members of the council, with staggered terms; presently all are Inupiat men. The mayor is elected each year, for a one-year term, from the council members. The present mayor has been in office for 5-6 years. Recreation is the principal program of the city government, but the council concerns itself with village-wide issues and serves as the communication node for external governmental agencies and groups having business in Atkasuk. The monthly city council meetings are structured like town meetings, and provide regular opportunities to villagers and the representatives of village organizations for the communication and discussion of events and issues involving the community.

The city owns and operates the community center, which includes the city offices, a recreation hall and arcade, and a new addition that is used for public meetings and recreational programs. The city offices include the offices of the mayor, city clerk, and assistant city clerk. The recreation hall is a large open room with two tables and chairs, a large screen TV, a "foosball" game, blackboard, and children's books. Restrooms, a small kitchen/snack bar, and the entry way (with a pay telephone) are located off the recreation hall. The arcade is another room extending out from the hall. There are two pool tables, three pinball machines, and seven video games in this room. The meeting hall is another larger extension of the recreation hall. It is used as a meeting room and a place to hold recreational bingo games and other special events such as cake walks, potluck meals, and community Thanksgiving and Christmas feasts. The double doors connecting the recreation hall with the meeting room can be opened to make a large space available.

At the time of field research in 1989, the mayor was enthusiastic about his job and was proactive in his approach to his duties to improve the village and help the people living here. The basic philosophy he espoused was communication: by having open communication among individuals and organizations, the community is helped to improve itself. He has shaped his activities as mayor according to this philosophy, and it appears to be effective. The mayor is also the NSB village coordinator, which centralizes governmental activities in the city offices to a degree not typically found in other villages. The mayor has an open-door relationship with individuals in the community, and structures meetings to maximize dissemination of information about community affairs and the activities of local officials, with the purpose of being constructive to community affairs. The approach appears to be effective.

The city runs a recreation program for the community that includes the use of the community center. The recreation hall and arcade are open for general use in the afternoons (1-5 p.m.) and evenings (6-10 p.m.), when it is staffed by one of two recreational aides. Use of the hall increases after school is let out in the afternoon, and in the evening. During the city council meeting attended during field research, two teenage girls were using the telephone and there were four women and eight little children in the recreation hall. The women were sitting at the table together, and the small children were playing in the room. The arcade was being used by one adult, four teens, and five small children. The city council was sitting in the meeting room, with thirteen people in attendance.

The city has four employees: city clerk, assistant clerk, and two recreational aides. The budget sources are from state revenue sharing and an NPR-A grant. State revenue sharing is a small amount, and the NPR-A grant includes a grant for local government operations. The salaries of the two recreation aides and a portion of the assistant city clerk's salary is secured from the NPR-A grant. The city was awarded three NPR-A grants by the state, which administers the NPR-A oil

impact **fund**, for the following projects: (1) expansion (additions) of the community center, (2) upgrading **of** equipment (including games and **pool** tables) in the community center, and (3) maintenance and operations funds for the city (including the recreational aide positions). Proposals for the construction of a restaurant/hotel, which was **planned** to provide training to members of the **local** population, and for a taxi service, were denied. In April 1989, the state informed the city that \$110,000 is left over from the 1986 **capital** improvement grant, which is available for further improvements to the **community** center. A **second** round **of NPR-A** proposals is being budgeted by the Alaska legislature for 1989, and the city is optimistic of **Atqasuk's** chances to receive another grant.

The NPR-A grants funded the meeting room expansion on the community center, and provided a few of the video games. Most of the games in the arcade were purchased with funds raised from the bingo games sponsored through the city's recreation program. At the time of field research (1989), most of the games had been acquired within the previous six to eight months. Bingo is limited by state law to fourteen sessions per month, with no more than thirty games **per** session. Most of the proceeds are used in the recreation program for the purchase of equipment, **furniture**, and games. Occasionally, the proceeds of an evening have been set aside for the **Atqasuk** Search and Rescue (**SAR**), to assist them with an outstanding bill at the **local** store.

According to the mayor, there has been a decline in vandalism and other problems with the youth in the community since the video machines and other games were installed about eight months ago. The resident PSO was on vacation during field research in the village, so his perspective on this correlation was not obtained. However, the field researcher was able to observe that there was regular use of the recreation hall and arcade games during the afternoon and evening hours by teens and young adults. The community center was well maintained and provided another center of **social** activity in the village, in addition to the school.

1. Observation of a City Council Meeting, April 3, 1989

The field researcher attended a meeting of the **Atqasuk** village council on **April 3, 1989**. The mayor had invited the researcher and put him on the program to explain the project. An agenda was handed out and followed closely. The meeting was conducted principally in the **Inupiaq** language. Financial matters, however, tended to be discussed in English, as were reports by non-Natives (the researcher, Public Safety).

In terms of the process **of** consensus formation, it was interesting that when the mayor asked for a vote, silence was treated as a yea. For example, when he asked the **council** if it was **agreeable** that an agenda item be **tabled until** the next meeting, the silence of the council signified assent. Six city council members were present; it was later **learned** the remaining member was at home with a broken leg. In addition to the city clerk and assistant city **clerk**, there were six women and four men in attendance from the community. Representatives from the village corporation and SAR were present. Visitors and invited **guests** included the researcher, the **Public Safety Officer**, and a man (**Inupiaq**) from NSB housing in Barrow.

The first item of business was a report on the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission (**AEWC**) by a council member who attended the recent conference in Barrow, when the membership decided

on the distribution of this year's whaling quota. The meeting was summarized and discussed in **Inupiaq**.

The next item was communications, a slot in the agenda for individuals **to notify** and explain forthcoming projects, activities, meetings, and trips, to the village council. **The** mayor introduced the researcher at this point, who described the project, with whom he **would** be taking in the village, and approximately how long he would be in **Atqasuk**. The mayor then announced that the researcher **would** be available to talk with anyone in the community during the morning hours in the city offices, and anyone wishing to speak with him could send a message through the city. The mayor then discussed a forthcoming trip to the 1989 **Village Mayors** Conference which he would be attending.

Under new business, there was a discussion of per diem expenses **by** the city clerk. She directed her statements to the council, explaining that per diem is taxable now and must be reported. She instructed them to account for their per diem expenses, and to **return** unused advances to the city. The next item was work on the city code of ordinances. Apparently the city had hired an attorney to compile a book of city ordinances, based on those of **Barrow**, and some issues needed discussion. In some cases, things such as taxi regulations did not apply to **Atqasuk** and so it was questioned if they should be included in the city's ordinances now, **in** others, the attorney had presented differently options and the council needed to **select** which course the city should follow. After some discussion, a day was set for the council to meet and work on the ordinances.

The city clerk announced that the NS13 Health Board **will** be meeting in **Atqasuk** on **April** 11-12, and that a potluck will be given for the board members at the community center. The Council discussed it and set a date for the potluck.

Next, there was a long discussion in English and **Inupiaq** about the city budget, specifically the need to amend the city's operating budget to move unexpended moneys from one category to others which are depleted. Money was needed for salary to continue the assistant city clerk through the end of the present fiscal year (June 30) and for workman's compensation insurance for city recreation employees, which had been underestimated. It was **difficult** for the council to reach a decision **on** this matter, partly because most of the members were not comfortable dealing with budget matters and partly because the city clerk did not present **all the** facts or a proposed solution at the outset. The **council** depended upon one council member to handle the **numbers** and arrive at a decision, after which **the** council voted to approve transfers from per diem (travel), honoraria, and utilities to make up the shortfall.

The city **clerk** then gave a report in **Inupiaq** about the conference **of** city clerks in Fairbanks which she attended in March. The meeting lasted for one week. The mayor complimented her in front of the council, saying that things have improved considerably in the city office as she learned more about the procedures of municipal government. He **applauded** her and was joined by the council and audience in clapping.

The next agenda item was **public** participation, and the borough official discussed the issue of bedroom additions. The borough has received seven applications, and there is money for only five. He requested the council to prioritize the list for the coming year. He added that the expansion program will be an ongoing program, and that they expect to do those who cannot be included this

year in the following year. This was followed by a discussion of **ANCSA 14(c)3** issues initiated by the village corporation president relating to a problem in prioritizing land transfers and **CIP** projects. She indicated that the city needs to select more land, and referred to a forthcoming meeting between the Alaska Native Foundation (**ANF**), the city, and the corporation to discuss the issue. The city clerk responded that the corporation has not been **clear** on which tracts had been accepted or rejected for transfer by the corporation board. Apparently, this **is** an ongoing issue between the city and the corporation at the present time, and technical assistance is being sought from the ANF in this matter.

The chairman of the **Atqasuk** Search and Rescue announced a meeting for the SAR for the following evening, to discuss incorporation. One of the council members responded to this at length. The mayor announced that on the following day, a representative from the **BIA** would be flying in to meet with SAR about where to set up trail markers, such as **between Atqasuk and Wainwright** and between **Atqasuk and Barrow**. The **BIA** representative **would** be stopping there after visiting **Pt. Lay** and **Wainwright** for similar meetings, traveling on a charter **plane**.

A woman in the audience spoke up about the sale of drugs and alcohol in the community. "Gotta **do** something about drugs and **alcohol**; gotta stop **this!**" The woman spoke first in **Inupiaq** and then switched to English, presumably because she wanted some response by the **NSB Public Safety Officer**. The PSO responded, saying that the community has to help in notifying Public Safety that a purchase is being made. In order for a bootlegger or dealer to operate, someone in the village has to make a buy. So the village has to assist Public Safety by informing them of occurrences **of** this. A suggestion was made from the audience that Public Safety change their channel on the **CB** (when someone calls in this information), since drunks may listen to the townspeople who call in.

Another member of the audience asked the mayor if he had a policy for this issue. The mayor backed off, referring to the Rainbow Group (an informal group of concerned **villagers** seeking to do something about alcohol and drug use in the community). Much of the conversation was in **Inupiaq**; but one man said in English, "We gotta keep on trying to get the kids to school, somehow." At one point the mayor said, "it is public, community involvement [that is **necessary**]." The PSO asked the **person** sitting next to him what was being said, but no reply was given to him. This is a sensitive subject, one involving people observing what is going on and taking some action, such as giving information to the authorities. At one point, a woman said, "**...can't** say this in public," referring to naming the names of well-known bootleggers or consumers. At this **point**, the meeting switched to English as emotions rose over the issue of saying names in public. A man said, "**I'll** do it now," and the mayor said to call 1-800-852-DRUGS (presumably the drug hotline in Barrow). The mayor's statement defused the situation. Then the PSO said that **people** must **still** call Public Safety, even when they know who brings it in, in order for them to take some action. The PSO, who was a stand-in from **Kaktovik** while the regular officer is on vacation, described a similar situation in **Kaktovik**. There, he said, people are afraid **to call** the PSO because they are all related and are afraid they will get beaten up by their relatives. As in **Atqasuk**, the **Kaktovik** villagers do not come forward and the PSO **has** a problem learning who and when something is brought into the village. At this **point**, the mayor repeated the Barrow phone number, saying "You don't have to give your name."

Another Public Safety issue was brought up from the audience: dog control. There was a complaint that the community's dog control officer, the fire chief, was not doing his job. The city

clerk described the problems with the tranquilizer gun freezing in cold air and the need for some transportation vehicle to be used to prevent this from happening. The PSO said they are available for such a need. There was concern expressed over the report of a rabid fox which had **been** shot in **Atqasuk** in the previous month, and the presence of loose dogs in the community. The PSO explained that even a dog who was chained up may become infected with the rabies virus if it is bitten by the **fox**. But the underlying issue was how to manage the **level** of activity of the dog control person, and provide effective control over chronic loose dogs as contrasted with those that are **only** loose temporarily. The PSO made a statement that it is not effective for **Public Safety** to have complete control of this issue, since the PSO often **cannot identify** which dogs are problem animals and which belong to people and are temporarily loose. Public Safety has a **policy** not to take the lead in dog control to avoid the situation of shooting someone's pet inadvertently, which has been a problem in the **past**.

The discussion returned to the issue of drugs in the community, and switched back to **Inupiaq**. After a while, one person spoke out in English, saying, "They want to know how to say, 'It's time for you to go.'" The issue that was being discussed in **Inupiaq** was the eviction of people from **Atqasuk** who were from out of town. The mayor asked the PSO what they could do about this. He responded that the city council **could** get together with Public Safety and go see the individual in question. For example, if the mayor went to talk to the individual in question, the PSO **would** go **along** for any assistance required, and back up any course of action decided upon in the community. The mayor said he **would** not have a problem carrying out this function. **The** discussion ended here, but there was a sense that the issue was **still unresolved**. In a subsequent **conversation**, the mayor remarked that this was the **first** instance when there was mention that someone should **tell** another person to leave the community.

The mayor summarized and reiterated all of the council's decisions about the next month's meetings, pot **lucks**, and other activities, and for the use of the community hall. Included in the schedule was the mayor's trip later in the week to attend a borough-wide meeting of village mayors and NSB Public Safety. The meeting was adjourned.

2. Relationships between City and NSB

The current mayor is serving without pay. He **holds** the position of NSB **Village** Coordinator and receives a salary from the borough. His office is in the community center adjacent to the city clerk's office. He rents this office to the NSB, and so collects rent for the city. He **feels** there is no conflict with the NSB in the conduct of his duties as NSB Village Coordinator and as Mayor of **Atqasuk**. **The** mayor of the NSB **calls** him and talks to him in his capacity of village **coordinator**; alternatively, he may **call** the **NSB** mayor and speak to **him** as the Mayor of **Atqasuk**. He reported that there has never been a problem in this arrangement. He would rather be paid by the city, but as the city is in the red he finds it beneficial to be employed by the NSB.

When he first became mayor, the **NSB** was in the habit of calling up the city and telling them when they **should** hold a council meeting to discuss some issue. He put a stop to this by refusing to **call** a meeting unless the NSB followed the proper procedures. He suggested that the **NSB** send a request in writing, and then give the city a week to formally notify the community about the meeting. There have been no problems of this sort since, according to the mayor. City council

meetings are regularly scheduled in the first week of every month, and the meeting is open to any NSB representative. During the **fieldwork**, the researcher **observed** an NSB official making a request to the council at one of their **regular** meetings, concerning the selection of five houses on which an expansion was to be performed. The council agreed to act on the request by their next meeting in a month's time.

The city council has recently assumed more authority for allocating housing within the village, probably in response to the increasing levels of overcrowding within the existing houses. In prior years, the ASRC housing authority assigned housing to persons without examining the level of need of other families. The last time ASRC sought to assign housing in **Atqasuk**, the city council said it would be more appropriate to allocate housing on the basis of need, and ASRC accepted their decision. The city now makes recommendations based on the extent of overcrowding in the existing homes. Presumably, this **will** be the procedure for prioritizing the applications for bedroom expansions, which is a current request of the **NSB**, for an existing **RELI** project in the village.

For the past year, the local NSB Public Safety Officer has provided "courtesy reports" of the previous month's Public Safety actions in the village. The report includes a listing of **all Public Safety** personnel present in the village and tallies of official actions and complaints, including search and rescues, bail collections, **assaults**, domestic **disputes**, fights, **welfare** checks, deaths, and agency assists. A percentage of complaints invoking **alcohol** is provided. The PSO gives his report during the public participation agenda item for the town meeting, and it provides an opportunity for the council or any community member to discuss an issue or ask a question. In the meeting **observed** by the **field** researcher, giving the report offered a window of opportunity for villagers to discuss sensitive community issues with the PSO and among themselves.

The mayor commented that relationships with **Public Safety** "have improved quite a bit." The courtesy report was institutionalized after a meeting last year between village mayors, village coordinators, and the Department of Public Safety (**DPS**); the report was the concern of several mayors. **The** second annual meeting between village mayors, village coordinators, and the DPS was scheduled for April 1989. Other Public Safety concerns are the need for the **local** PSO to continuously monitor a specified **CB** channel in the village, because the majority of **Atqasuk** residents **do** not have telephones. The need for house numbers is another issue. House numbers are **necessary** to deal with the high level of turnover in PSOS in the village, which brings personnel to the village who are unfamiliar with the residents. The problem of turnover probably **explains** why **the DPS** personnel are listed in each month's courtesy report.

Effective dog **control** is another issue in **Atqasuk**. The killing of a rabid fox in March 1989 contributed to the high level of community concern over this issue, as reported in the notes from the village council meeting above. Members of the community are not satisfied with the methods of dog control in effect now, since neither the local city government nor the NSB, through the local PSO, have **clear** responsibility and effective procedures for removing stray dogs that are a problem in the village. Based on discussions during the council meeting the **field** researcher observed, **Atqasuk** is urging the development of some effective, cooperative relationship with DPS to take care of the problem.

3. Relationships between the City and Village Corporation

Regarding the village corporation, the mayor said, “I like to work with the **corporation**, because we are both working for the community.” From field researcher observations, this statement was true both in a general sense of helping the community to develop with the participation and cooperation of village organizations and residents, as it is in a specific sense dealing with providing employment opportunities in the village. The city and the corporation have similar **goals** in these respects. Because the mayor also serves as village coordinator, his office has **become** an important center for **notifying** the community of **NSB** employment opportunities. However, the corporation is also significant in this respect, since all construction-related NSB programs are organized through their construction arm.

According to a recent report, the city is working’ harmoniously with the **Atqasuk Corporation on ANCSA 14(c)3** transactions (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984431). Section 14(c) of **ANCSA** details the responsibilities of the village **corporations** to reconvey land that the corporation has selected to certain other parties who are entitled to it. Subsections **14(c)1** and **14(c)2** deal with reconveyance to parties who were using the land in question prior to December 18, 1971.. Action under these two sections has generally been very slow on the North Slope. Village corporations have **not** as yet reconveyed much land to individuals or nonprofit organizations. Subsection **14(c)3** governs the reconveyance of land from the village corporation to the **local** municipal government. **In** most villages this has been a difficult process, even though **ANCSA** is quite **clear** that the village corporation must reconvey at least 1,280 acres to the local government (or the state acting as trustee for the **local** government) unless the two parties mutually agree to a lesser amount. In principal, **ANCSA** requires the village corporation to transfer enough **land** to accommodate **all** present village buildings **as well** as to provide for future expansion, community right-of-ways, and foreseeable future **needs**. In practice, the 1,280 acres has been taken as the proper amount to **be** conveyed (at **least on** the North Slope).

In Atqasuk, both the city and the corporation have set up committees to work together on the reconveyance decisions. The **ANCSA 14(c)3 issues** remain outstanding between the city and the village corporation. At the present time, the reconveyance issues are being driven by the need for more housing, and the problem of the houses having been built too close together, **in** the community. There is also the need for a new Public Safety building, which has been identified by the **city**; this may also involve the **ANCSA 14(c)3 issue**. The housing issues are central to the ongoing discussions between the city and the corporation. The April city council meeting included exchanges between the city and the corporation on **ANCSA 14(c)3** issues; plans have been made for the city and corporation officials to meet with an ANF representative who **will** provide technical assistance in working out the reconveyance agreements, The city **wishes** to receive more land so that it can in turn **transfer it** to the **NSB** for **NSB construction projects**. **In** the past the **city has** received \$80,000 **from** the NSB for the municipal lots for a generator building, water tanks, and a warehouse facility.

4. Relationships Between the City and Community Institutions

Any individual may appear before the city council in any regularly scheduled meeting, either as an individual or as the representative **of** a community organization. The mayor follows a policy **of**

open communication, in which he encourages communication among all **persons** and organizations in the community. Similarly, persons coming to the community from outside are encouraged to attend a council meeting and present themselves. The city council meetings serve the function of regular town meetings. The meetings are scheduled on the **first** Monday of every month, and the schedule is well known. Notices are put up in the community **only** when a **special** meeting is **called**, with a week's notice given. **Villagers** and village organization representatives regularly attend the meetings.

In the town meetings, there are opportunities **given** for persons to **notify** the council and community of activities, or otherwise make a statement about an issue of **concern**. The meeting agenda routinely includes the items of communications and public participation for this purpose. In addition, individuals who have attended a meeting outside the community as a representative of a village organization are encouraged to make a report to the village council at their regularly scheduled meetings. This is also a regular agenda **item**. Such reports serve to inform and involve the city council and other community members in the activities of village institutions and their representatives.

The mayor supports other community organizations and encourages their participation in the town meetings. For example, the president of SAR commented that, after he returned from a NSB-sponsored meeting about Search and Rescue, he was expected to give a report at the meeting. The mayor is also a member of the Rainbow Group, an informal association of volunteers concerned with alcohol and drug use in the village.

5. The City and Employment

Announcements for jobs are posted at the city **hall** and in the village store. In addition, because the mayor serves as the **Atqasuk** Village Coordinator for the NSB, he maintains a clipboard of borough job vacancies which is available in his office. Finally, he is the representative for employment positions in the Mayor's Job Program, which consists of temporary positions made available through the NSB Mayor's Office. In addition, the mayor advocates for local hire on borough-sponsored projects in the village. The mayor also provides advice and consultation to community members about employment opportunities in the community. In this regard, his responsibilities as NSB Village Coordinator serve the interests of the city. To assist this process, the city **as** a draft **local** hire ordinance.

C. **Atqasuk** Corporation

The **Atqasuk** Corporation has been operating continuously in the village since 1983. In prior years - it existed primarily on paper, and the books were maintained by **ASRC**. Two women in **Atqasuk** decided to open an office in **Atqasuk**, and filed the appropriate **paperwork** after finding out that the corporation had lapsed because the paperwork to the state was not maintained.

The corporation consists of three divisions: **Atqasuk** Fuel Division, **Meade** River Store, and **Atqasuk** Construction. The president supervises the staff of the main office and the **managers** of the fuel and store divisions. **Atqasuk** Construction has a board of directors, and in this sense it is a

subsidiary of the **Atqasuk** Corporation, but it has no regular employees. **Atqasuk** Construction hires local residents for any joint venture construction projects and the **NSB** housing improvement program, **RELI**, using pass-through money from the construction partner or the borough.

The corporation has nine regular employees, one student intern, and six temporary construction workers. **At the** main office, the president, bookkeeper, **and** secretary conduct the day to day operations of the business. A student intern **comes** in after school to provide assistance to the office. The fuel division has one employee, who serves as a **fuel clerk** and **laborer** for delivery to residents' homes. The Meade River Store has five regular employees consisting of a manager and four clerks and laborers.

The corporation's bookkeeper maintains the records for the **parent** corporation as well as its divisions **and** subsidiaries. The **Atqasuk** Corporation president permits each employee one week of unpaid subsistence leave per year. Apparently, this is an unofficial practice instituted from a 'sense of fair play and the feeling that everyone should be treated equally. **NSB** employees receive two weeks paid subsistence leave a year, so corporation employees **feel** deprived if they can **only** take one week for these activities. Also, one week is simply too short for most subsistence pursuits which require taking time off from work. Whaling is the major activity **in** this category, but extended hunting trips for moose and/or caribou, and perhaps a trip to fish camp, would also fit in this category. Two weeks is **still** not long enough for all that any hunter would like to do, but provides a long enough time so that he can hunt and not **feel** too hurried about it. For whaling, two weeks **allows** the individual to participate in most of a typical whaling season, since the quota **is** often **filled** very quickly. In years such as 1989, when conditions for whaling are never quite right and few are taken, a limit of only two weeks can be quite frustrating, especially if it is used up and conditions then improve. This is a compromise that has been made between the need for a dependable work force and the desire of individuals to have the flexibility to hunt when they want (and need) to.

The corporation owns several small buildings which were Naval Arctic Research Laboratory (**NARL**) facilities originally located out near the **Burnell coal** mine. The **Atqasuk** Corporation probably acquired them at the same time the **NARL** facilities in Barrow were transferred to **Ukpeagvik Inupiat** Corporation (**UIC**), the Barrow village corporation. These buildings have been moved into the village, and two of them **serve** as the business offices of the corporation. The subsidiary, **Atqasuk** Construction, owns the construction camp facility which was in use by **SKW/Eskimos**, Inc., during fieldwork. The subsidiary leases it out during **active** projects.

The Meade River Store is small and carries a basic inventory of food, household items, and some hardware supplies. The food is principally comprised of canned and dry goods, with bread being the main item imported fresh. **Small** televisions and cassette players are also available. Observations indicate that prices compare favorably with the larger stores in Barrow, meaning that some items are less expensive and the extent to which more expensive items differ **from** Barrow prices is not as large as might be expected. The previous store manager reported that the profit margin was maintained at 7.5% while he was in charge, up until about two years ago. The store has been **less** successful in the recent period. The **level** of debt has risen at the store, which is a burden that is passed on **to** the parent corporation at the present time. Reportedly, the store is having more difficulty than in the past because individuals are not paying their bills as promptly as they used to.

Discussions with community members suggest that while there is less cash circulating in the village, compared to two years ago, one cannot conclude that there **is** a chronic shortage **of** money in the community. There have been recent opportunities available to the **local** population for construction jobs that were left unfilled, as will be described below. It was reported that **villagers**, even those with regular jobs, receive money and do not save **it**, or plan ahead for a period with less cash income. Villagers may go out of town on a trip, or **otherwise** spend their money, and they are forced to get a loan from the store. Consequently, some families have experienced hardships, have gone into debt at the store, and **cannot** afford subsistence expenses such as gas, camping supplies, **snowmachine** or outboard motor parts, etc. Also, the use of alternative sources of energy, such as coal, has increased **in** some households.

During the first week of **April** 1989, **consulting** engineers from ASRC visited **Atqasuk** to investigate the potential for introducing **coal** as an energy source for the village. The engineers visited the power plants in the school and at the **NSB** utilities, recording demand levels and examining the boiler capacities for possible conversion to coal-fired facilities. This project is discussed more fully below. The local response to this potential development was very positive in the village, and within the village corporation.

As in other North **Slope** villages, the corporation's fuel operation is a joint venture with **ASRC**. The local price of **fuel** is subsidized by the NSB, calculated to cover the costs of home **delivery**, but not the purchase and transportation of fuel to Barrow.

Atqasuk Construction provides employment in the village by entering into joint ventures with NSB contractors doing **CIP** jobs in **Atqasuk**. The **construction subsidiary** has been in a joint venture with **SKW/Eskimos, Inc.**, for the past three to four years, and has participated in the construction of the fire station, school, community center, public works maintenance and operations center, and the current project, utilities and school district warehouse (**USDW**). **Atqasuk** Construction was not involved in the utilities, power plant, and clinic projects. The parent corporation takes a strong stance on local hire provisions in forming the joint venture agreements. The usual agreement is that **while** skilled workers, defined as certified electricians, plumbers, mechanics, etc., can be brought to the job from outside, **all** the unskilled jobs, such as **plasterboarder**, painter, laborer, etc., will be made available to villagers. Local hire on the USDW project has been as follows:

Dec. 1 - Jan. 15	2-3 workers
Jan. 15- Mar. 31	7-8 workers
Apr. 1- completion	2 workers

Atqasuk Construction is also the local NSB RELI representative, and hires local residents for the appropriate projects. Current RELI programs include installation of insulation, construction of **kunnichuks** around the **doorways** of houses, and window replacement. Future projects include bedroom expansions, scheduled to begin in the summer of 1989. The employment for these projects is dependent on NSB annual budgets. Currently (April 1989) there are four RELI employees in **Atqasuk**, and these positions are scheduled through June 30. For the following fiscal year beginning July 1, eight positions are scheduled in the existing programs, and up to eight positions (two four-man crews) are scheduled for the bedroom expansion project. However, since the loans for the bedroom project will not be guaranteed by the NSB, the **actual** start-up is

uncertain. Another RELI project upgrades residential plumbing systems in villages to a basic interior running water system, through a loan program administered by the NSB. The NSB has hired a plumber to oversee the **work**, and he is responsible for hiring any helpers as he needs them. Finally, a special CIP project was **planned** for the summer to repair the roof and wall of the school, which was damaged during a severe winter storm.

Atqasuk Construction is an important source of employment in the community. This role is taken seriously by **the** corporation. One employee stated, "Part of what **I** do is putting people to **work**." **The level** of temporary construction work in the community **is** down from the relatively high levels seen as recently as 1987. According to one source, the new opportunities available through the NSB (**including** RELI and the Mayor's Job Program) do not make up the complete difference between present and earlier employment levels. However, **local** residents reported that there has been no movement of families out of the village in response to these conditions, as might be expected Nor have **Atqasuk** residents sought jobs in the **oil** industry, or at other locations, **while** maintaining their residence in the village. "People are real hesitant about going elsewhere for work. Like **Prudhoe**, there are jobs available; **people** have tried it but they don't stay through the end of project. They quit or are fired. **I** know of one or two people who have tried it [in Prudhoe Bay, but] it was a onetime thing." These statements appeared representative of the community regarding employment in Prudhoe Bay.

On the other hand, the availability of temporary employment in the village does not guarantee that all positions will remain **filled** for as long as they are available. While **Atqasuk** Construction goes to great lengths to **fill** such positions with **local** labor, there are occasional problems with keeping the positions **filled** with **local** residents. Examination of time records in the USDW project confirmed accounts from the **SKW/Eskimos, Inc.**, construction team that some **local** workers did not report to work regularly. Some time **records** showed substantial gaps; the village corporation confirmed that the project had problems with **local** workers coming to work. The consequence was that progress was slowed, and three unskilled plasterboard tapers and painters had to be brought in from outside to maintain the work schedule. **Atqasuk** Construction reported that similar problems occur in the **RELI** program, although in this case outsiders are not brought in. As described by **local** residents, some **local** workers stay home, or leave town on a **trip**, after they have received a paycheck or **two**. Later, they return to the site and ask for their job back again. Reportedly, the crew of **SKW/Eskimos, Inc.**, which **on** this particular job was **composed** entirely of non-Natives, emphatically admonished workers who showed **up** late, or missed days of **work**, and **local** workers complained about this. Whether **this** occurred-with any greater frequency on this job as compared with similar projects in other villages was not determined.

1. ANCSA 14(c)3 Reconveyances

According to a corporation spokesperson, **Atqasuk** Corporation is 80 to 90% completed with their reconveyance **work**. The reconveyance process was explained in the following terms: **Atqasuk** Corporation waits for the city to make requests to the **Atqasuk** Corporation board **for** village lands, and the board votes to accept or reject the proposals. Recently, some requests were rejected **by** the board for unspecified reasons. **Atqasuk** Corporation commented that the city needs an uncertified land ordinance to accept **unsurveyed** land, which is not in place yet. **Atqasuk** Corporation is requesting some technical assistance from the Alaska Native Foundation (**AFN**) and

the Alaska Department of Community and Regional Affairs (**ADCRA**) regarding the procedures for conveying land to the city. The **Atqasuk** Corporation, the city, and a representative of ANF or **ADCRA** will be meeting to discuss this issue in more detail.

The corporation owns the **surveyed** block of land immediately to the north of town. Three houses were **built** there by the **NSBSD** in 1984, without local hire, according to one informant. The remaining lots are vacant and **belong** to the corporation. **Atqasuk** Corporation reports there is a need for housing in the village; ten new houses could be used in **Atqasuk** to relieve overcrowding in existing **homes** which have two families living together under the same **roof**. Another discussant said that at least twelve new homes are **needed**, and a **twelve-plex**, due to the overcrowding. "Young people are getting married and staying with their parents." For example, one **couple** moved into town about two years ago and lived with their son. He was married and had children, and they lived with his wife's aunt at the time. **Their** son applied for a house and, when he assumed ownership of an **available** house, his parents moved in with him. Subsequently, his parents have moved into **NSBSD** housing. In addition to housing needs involving current residents living in multi-family situations, **Atqasuk** Corporation reported there are a few **families** living outside the village who desire to move into **Atqasuk** but **cannot** migrate because housing is unavailable.

A current house expansion project sponsored under the **NSB RELI** is addressing some of **Atqasuk's** need for more housing. In this **project**, the successful applicants **will** have their existing homes expanded with the addition of another bedroom. In April, the **NSB** requested the city council to prioritize the applications, since more applications were received than can be accommodated with this year's funding. The program is expected to be continued next year (1990), so the remaining applications **will** be acted upon. However, while the expansion program helps to meet the need for more housing in the **village**, it exacerbates another problem with the housing situation: houses were **built** too close together.

The problems associated with the town plan, with the houses situated close together, was described by the **Atqasuk** Corporation representative. Village houses were located very close together because the original design of the village was based on a scheme for arctic housing, incorporating dense residential **plans** with tunnels that would join the houses together through walkways providing protection **from** the weather. However, the project was never completed as designed, and today the concentrated layout of lots and houses is **considered** hazardous. **First**, there is a fire hazard caused by the danger of a house **fire** spreading to neighboring structures that are placed too close together. Second, the closeness of the houses hampers the removal of snowdrifts which build **up** between the houses. Moving heavy equipment between the houses to remove drifting snow is dangerous. Third, outside storage is limited and, in some **cases**, use of the garage is restricted due to its proximity to a nearby home. The spokesperson described his own home, which has a **full-size** garage that has limited use because the end of the ramp is only four or five feet from his neighbor's house. Finally, the **close** proximity of the **houses** means that noise and disturbances in one house are a nuisance to the families in neighboring homes.

Given these problems, the **NSB's** plan to add bedrooms to some of the houses compounds the problems resulting from the **high-density** town layout. Some individuals suggested that the proposed **NSB** expansions under the RELI program should be postponed until the houses are moved to newer, larger lots, since an expansion of existing structures would extend the house all the way to the boundary line. Some individuals **would** like to apply for an expansion, but **will** not do so until

their house is moved because **of** the extent of overcrowding that already exists. These housing problems are elements in the ongoing discussion between the corporation and the city over **ANCSA 14(c)3** issues. The NSB is also involved, not **only** in the **ANCSA 14(c)3** issue, but in the prioritizing and scheduling of RELI program activities for the moving and/or expansion of houses.

The **Atqasuk** Corporation has limited the amount of **surveyed** land available for further **development**. The corporation, **in** addition to housing needs, also **seeks** to respond to the need for additional commercial land **in** the village. There have been requests for land for commercial purposes in the village, and **the Atqasuk Corporation** is in the process of preparing leases. Current homeowners cannot have a business in their home because the **lots belong** to the NSB. **If all** of the **surveyed** land were to go **for** housing expansion, the opportunities for expanded commercial activities would be reduced.

2. Contributions to Village Organizations

The **Atqasuk** Corporation occasionally makes contributions to assist the functioning of organizations benefiting the community as a whole. The corporation has donated money to the community center for the city's recreation program. The **Atqasuk Corporation** also gave a **small** building to the **Atqasuk** SAR organization, and a **land** lease for the site. In this **case**, the corporation **is** not insisting on required payments **on** the lease.

D. Search and Rescue

The purposes of this Corporation are to organize and conduct Search and Rescue operations for persons and/or property reported missing or delayed in the North Slope area **of** Alaska, and also to conduct public education programs about **survival** techniques for any season on the North **Slope**, and about **snowmachine** or other motor maintenance and repair, to support worthwhile community projects, and to engage **in** fund-raising programs to support such activities. (Article **III**, Articles of Incorporation of the **Atqasuk** Search and Rescue)

“Every human being in **Atqasuk** is a member of the SAR.” This statement by the president of SAR indicates the **level of** support and participation in the goals and activities **of** the organization. When asked **if the** membership includes women, he responded, “Women bake bread, **cook** soup, for the searchers. Young ladies are trained to use the **CB** [in the office]; they talk to Barrow [**SAR**], **fill** out papers (logs).”

The headquarters of the SAR is in the volunteer fire station. The building and equipment has been provided by the NSB. SAR **has** four **snowmachines** from the borough, and uses the radio room and office as their command post when there is a search mission. The radio room serves as the **link** between the Barrow SAR headquarters and the local search parties, and is manned

continually during any mission. The NSB SAR in Barrow provides air search by plane or helicopter, often flying first to **Atqasuk** to pick up a local spotter or two. In addition to the **snowmachines** and parts needed for repair, the borough reimburses the **Atqasuk** organization for any fuel expenses incurred during a mission.

Other equipment and supplies, including the costs of food, are the responsibility of the **local SAR**. This policy was adopted by the NSB last year (1988) after an unusually long search (30 days) which **involved** searchers from several communities on the Slope. Largely because the NSB discontinued the practice of reimbursing them for food expenses, the **Atqasuk SAR** began the process of **formal** incorporation **as** a nonprofit corporation, to enable them to sponsor fund-raising events to defray their expenses. In the past, the city recreation program **has** occasionally turned over the proceeds of an evening's bingo to the SAR, to **help** with their outstanding bill at the village store. In **April** 1989, the local SAR was resubmitting their articles of incorporation for approval by the state.

The most recent mission occurred in late March, one and one-half weeks prior to the fieldwork in **Atqasuk**. The following account of the activity was recorded in the SAR log

3/21/89	10:30 a.m.	Call from Barrow: Mike Shugluk , Jacob Shugluk , Lucy Itta . They left Barrow at 10:30 or 11:00 a.m. from Max Ahgeak house with one snowmachine Cheyenne Skidoo color yellow hood 1989, and one sled. Think they have tent , sleeping bag and two caribou skins.
	8:45 p.m.	48 Delta [helicopter] left at 8:45 p.m. for air search.
	9:45 p.m.	48 Delta returned to Barrow due to darkness and fog.
3/22/89	9:00 a.m.	945 [Cessna] left Barrow for area search, flying west.
	1020 a.m.	945 radioed: Look like they have overnite at Peard Bay and the trail are heading toward Atqasuk .
	12:00 p.m.	Radio contact with 945 - there have been some camping near Nigisatukvik River.
	12:35 p.m.	Ground crew left Atqasuk : Joshua Nashaknik , Herman Kignak , Gary Itta , Abe Kippi . All snowmachines have extra fuel tanks. Joshua Nashaknik -- own [snowmachine]. Herman Kignak -- own.
	1:55 p.m.	214 Echo Bravo airborne at 2:43 p.m. with spotter from Barrow, for air search.

- 3:30 p.m. 945 called in to ATQ base to confirm victims as above. Walking from **Upiksuu**, Wesley **Aiken's** camp towards **Atqasuk**. Everyone **OK**, snow machine had broken down, found undercarriage that belongs to Mike **Shugluk's** machine.
- 8:33 p.m. 945 called in to see if our (ATQ ground) crew made it back to base. Negative contact with ATQ ground crew, will **follow trails** for back tracking.
- 922 p.m. 945 called, found ground crew at 30-35 **miles SW**. One **snowmachine** - broken chain, ground crew will pick up machine and head on back to ATQ Base. **Atqasuk SAR** Base **will** continue **until** ground *crew gets* in.

In a previous search in March 1989, the Cessna was launched from **Barrow** and picked up spotters at **Atqasuk**. A ground crew from **Atqasuk** searched for two days in severe high winds and blowing snow, then contacted **Atqasuk** Base from a cabin south of the village. They waited there for more fuel which was brought by helicopter from Barrow. The helicopter picked up supplies and a spotter in **Atqasuk** on the trip to the cabin. The missing persons were found on the third day. One of the victims remained out for another day to retrieve a broken **snowmachine**; the other victim returned to **Atqasuk** with the assistance of SAR.

Although the **NSB** assists with equipment and air support from Barrow, the **Atqasuk SAR** organization is seen as one constituted, supported, and served by **local** residents. Unlike some other communities, there is no apparent discontinuity or parallel structure **between** a local SAR and another under the auspices of the borough.

1. Observations of a Search and Rescue Meeting, April 4, 1989

The meeting was attended by ten Inupiat men from **Atqasuk**, with one **observer**. Four of those present are on the village council, including the mayor. One other council member most likely would have been present, but **could** not attend meetings at the time because of a broken leg. The president chaired the meeting; he is a member of the village **council**. The meeting was conducted in **Inupiaq**.

An announcement was made **that** the **BIA** representative did not land in **Atqasuk** that day as planned, because of a snowstorm. He was going to consult with the **Atqasuk SAR** about where to place **trail** markers between the villages. It was presumed that the meeting will be rescheduled at a later date.

The first item of business was a discussion of the articles of incorporation which the organization had submitted to the state of Alaska. The state received them and had returned them with a request for some modifications and clarifications. The letter from the state was presented, and the researcher was asked to assist in explaining what was necessary. The researcher examined the

letter and volunteered to telephone the **Alaska** Department of Commerce to clarify what was needed on the following day. This assistance was accepted by the group.

The status of the **SAR snowmachines** was the next item of discussion. The SAR has four machines, but three are in need of repair. **Volunteers** were asked to come to the fire **hall** on the following evening to work on the machines. The president said he would be here.

Finally, the discussion turned to the issue of money owed at the store and the need to raise funds to pay the **bill**. Bingo, cake walks, and other community fund-raising events were discussed. It was pointed out by the mayor that, as a recognized nonprofit corporation, careful bookkeeping procedures will be necessary to fulfill the requirements of the state for tax purposes. It was noted that SAR will have to schedule **bingo** with the city recreation program, to avoid schedule conflicts, and to **enlist** their assistance in staffing the recreation hall.

Before the meeting adjourned, the mayor (who is also the **NSB Village** Coordinator) announced that he was going to Barrow later in the week to a meeting with the village mayors and NSB Department of Public Safety. He stated that he would be in his office on the following day, if anyone wished to talk with him about what to present at the meeting from **Atqasuk**.

2. Trail Markers

In a subsequent discussion of the trail markers which the **BIA** is planning to place on the land, one traveler told of his experience on a recent **snowmachine** trip from Barrow to **Atqasuk**. During the journey, he got into whiteout conditions and found himself on the trail to **Nuiqsut**. It took him twelve hours to reach **Atqasuk**, a journey that usually requires three to four hours. For a while he used his **compass** to set his direction, but after his companion said he did not want to depend on the compass, he stopped using it. He felt he was lucky that he did not break down. Normally he does not add gas to the tank during the trip from Barrow, but he needed to **on** this one. This story indicates that **trail** markers are seen as valuable assists to **travelers** on the tundra.

E. Churches

There is one church in **Atqasuk**, of Presbyterian denomination. The church building was erected by volunteer work in the summer of 1984. Village men put their labor into it in the evenings after **work**, after supper. According to one individual, "sometimes there were two guys there, sometimes there were twenty-five." They used scrap wood, surplus, and discarded materials from the BlackStock homes.

Services are in **Inupiaq**, when a church elder gives the sermon. However, if one of the Presbyterian ministers comes over from Barrow, it is given in English followed by a translation into **Inupiaq**.

F. The Issue of **Alcohol** and Drugs

1. Village Ban on the Possession of Alcohol

The residents passed the most restrictive of the **local** options available on the control of alcohol in October 1986, prohibiting the possession of alcohol in the village. This option, which prohibits importation and sale by virtue of banning possession, is known **as** the “dry” option. Barrow, **in** contrast, is “wet/dry” because importation and possession are **legal**, only **the sale** of alcohol is prohibited. The initiative was put on the ballot in **Atqasuk** again in October 1988, but the **local** regulation was not changed. **According** to a community member who was responsible for putting the initiative **on** the ballot in 1986, it passed by only three or four votes **in** that year. In 1988, however, the margin increased to about sixteen votes. According to this individual, there are **96** registered voters **in Atqasuk**, and about 60 voted in the last election. Also, most village organizations came out against changing the village’s position, including the Mother’s Club, the church, the city, and the village corporation.

After the village voted to be dry, some families moved out of town. These persons are not expected to return as long as the community maintains its “dry” status. However, one **local** resident reported that the situation in the village is “much better. You don’t have to worry about **people** in cold weather anymore, or bar your door after midnight, and domestic **violence** has decreased.”

2. The Rainbow Group

This group is an informal association of volunteers formed to do something about alcohol and drug use in the community. There are twelve members, of which the mayor is one. Representatives of other organizations are **also** members, but it appears that the membership was principally a group of concerned citizens, rather than a group of representatives of the village organizations. It is unclear where the name came from. When people spoke about the Rainbow Group, they referred to its membership as a group of interested people, not as an association of representatives from village institutions. It had not met for at **least** six months, judging by the lack of **commentary** about it. Two members were contacted, both of whom said there had not been a meeting of the group, or much activity related to the group, for some time.

The individual of the **Alaska** Department of Health and **Social Services** who manages the Suicide Prevention Program consisting of grants to **villages** for **locally** developed projects reported that there had been an inquiry from **Atqasuk** last year, but that nothing more had been heard from the community. Presumably, it was a member of the Rainbow Group that contacted her office. The mayor thought the program application papers were in his **office** somewhere. During the city council meeting the researcher attended, the mayor indicated that the Rainbow Group was the village entity that should be responding to the issues of drug and **alcohol** use in the community, as if it was a committee established **to** deal with these **issues** within the village.

G. Future Development Projects

ASRC is assessing the potential of opening up the old **coal** mine in **Atqasuk**. In April 1989, two engineers visited **Atqasuk** to examine the capacities of existing power plants, the demand levels at high and low demand periods, and other characteristics of power and heating systems in the village. A huge supply of high quality **coal** is available at the old mine and in nearby areas. A potential economic project to mine coal for consumption in the village, and possible export to other communities such as **Wainwright**, is being suggested as a long-term **solution** to the high fuel subsidies which the NSB **is** paying at the present time, in order to reduce annual budget expenditures. The project **could also** be expected to provide employment in the village.

A pilot project for the use of coal for heating homes is **underway** in the **village**. Similar to current projects in Point Lay and Point Hope, coal-burning stoves were installed in a number **of** houses in the village for a trial period this year. Villagers reported that burning coal was expedient because, if they ran out of **fuel**, it was very convenient to borrow some from their next-door neighbor. The **coal** heating system was also advantageous because it provided a continual source of heat, put out by a coal-burning stove, that was preferable to a hot air system, in which the heat was on and off intermittently.

SECTION IV: CULTURAL ISSUES AND INFORMAL INSTITUTIONS

While subsistence was not a focus of research in **Atqasuk**, several elements of the **Atqasuk** subsistence cycle are relevant to the consideration of the relationship between **Atqasuk** and Barrow. Caribou, freshwater fish, waterfowl, and marine mammals are the primary resources important to **Atqasuk** households. The largest component is caribou. Caribou is hunted by **snowmachine**, sometimes even in summer. The importance of **snowmachines** and the short period of their useful life for hunting caribou has been pointed out in Alaska Consultants et al. (1984:426-29). Aluminum skiffs with small outboard **motors** are used extensively in summer for traveling on the **Meade** River and its tributaries, but the shallow water level of the rivers and streams limits their utility (and life expectancy of the outboards). By August, the rivers have dried up and travel to fish camps is done overland.

Caribou, fish, and waterfowl are acquired locally in areas **completely** different from Barrow residents, **according** to the report by Alaska Consultants. et. al. (1984:439). However, **Atqasuk** people go out along the **Inaru**, Meade, **Topogoruk**, and **Chipp (Ikpikpuk)** rivers, which are also used by **Barrowites**. The interactions and cooperation between Barrow and **Atqasuk** people in hunting and fishing activities is not well reported in the available literature. Also, recent patterns of land use may have changed, which would **alter** the reported lack of interaction on the **land**. For example, in 1978, community residents were **talking** about their intent to go down to the coast on the Meade River **delta** and hunt seals, but they had not done that yet (Schneider et al. 1980).

It is well known that **Atqasuk** residents participate in marine mammal hunting in Barrow at substantial levels, as former residents of the area did during the historical past. **Atqasuk** hunters acquire bowhead and **beluga** whale, **walrus**, **ugruk**, and seal during spring and summer hunting periods. **According** to Alaska Consultants et al. (1984:441-43), **Atqasuk** hunters store sea mammal hunting equipment with relatives in Barrow “so that any trip to that community can become an unplanned hunting trip.” Several **Atqasuk** men store wooden and aluminum boats in Barrow for summer marine mammal hunting (**beluga**, walrus, **ugruk**). The harvest products are either stored in Barrow and retrieved later (in **fall** and winter) by **snowmachine**, or are air freighted to **Atqasuk**. **Seals** are occasionally purchased from **friends** and relatives in Barrow and sent to **Atqasuk** on the **plane**. Sometimes, **Atqasuk** hunters **travel by snowmachine** to the coast between **Nulavik** and Peard Bay in the spring for **seal** hunting. “This is not common, however, because of conflicts with caribou hunting and trapping and because of limited daylight hours.” Summer hunting for **ugruk** and **walrus** by boat in the broken ice out of Barrow is preferred over this spring shore-based hunting. The substantial **local** interest in bowhead whaling was also described:

Between six and ten **Atqasuk** residents travel to Barrow each **spring** to join whaling crews. **Local** residents also desire to have their own crews, which further demonstrates local enthusiasm for this activity. Three **Atqasuk** men, who were whaling captains when they lived in Barrow, expressed interest in establishing a bowhead whale quota for **Atqasuk**. These men stated that if given the opportunity, they **would** establish a **whaling** camp near **Nulavik**, the closest suitable point on the coast from **Atqasuk**. In addition to sending men to be crew

members, **Atqasuk** residents provide caribou skins for sleeping mattresses and **other supplies** to Barrow's whale harvest. Residents state that they always receive a village share from Barrow and Wainwright, and these are divided among **all** members of the community (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984442).

There are many clear and direct kinship ties **between Atqasuk** and Barrow, and even more friendship linkages, but our research could not **quantify** or measure these in any meaningful way. Such ties are almost certainly operative when individuals from **Atqasuk** go to other villages to whale, but information in this regard is **simply** not available. The ongoing subsistence studies in Barrow and **Wainwright** also have been unable to collect this sort of information because of research resource constraints (Holmes 1989, personal communication). This topic would require an extended period of fieldwork devoted solely to it, since nearly **all Atqasuk** residents lived at one time in Barrow and have relatives there, as **well** as friendships and other operative relationships. To sort this out in any meaningful way would require a great deal of work.

Another important aspect of subsistence as it relates to **informal** institutions is the level of sharing that is exhibited by members of the community. **Table 24-ATQ** shows the relationship between household characteristics and levels of household income. Although the title is misleading in this context, the relevant point concerns the characteristics of those households that share subsistence resources within the community. There are some **non-Inupiat** households that share more of their subsistence resources and spend more of their income in the village than other **non-Inupiat** households. And this trend appears to be associated with not being in the highest income category. This may indicate that the **non-Inupiat** households in **Atqasuk** that **do** make the most money are saving it or spending it elsewhere and are probably not permanent residents. In contrast, among **Inupiat**, sharing and spending income in the village is associated more strongly with the higher income categories.

Other characteristics associated with level of household subsistence participation are shown in **Table 25-ATQ**. Of interest here are: the **bimodal** distribution of household income by degree of subsistence participation and average meat and **fish** consumption from a household's own subsistence efforts; the opposite trends that occur between Native and non-Native in regard to average household size and degree of subsistence participation; and the differences in average percentage of meat and fish **harvested** that **is** given away (a measure of sharing) **between** Native and non-Native **households**.

Little additional information is available on the patterns and extent of subsistence participation, beyond the general statement that **Atqasuk** hunters spend additional cash resources hunting marine mammals in the Barrow area. Further discussion and data about subsistence patterns are available in Schneider et al. (1980) and on maps collected by Braund in 1983 (in connection with the MMS research) and by **Pedersen** as part of the NPR-A 105(c) research (on file with the **ADF&G**, Subsistence Division, Fairbanks).

Table 24-ATQ

Atqasuk Household Characteristics - 1988
By Levels of Household Income

	HOUSEHOLD INCOME CATEGORIES				
	BELOW \$20K	\$20-40K	\$40-60K	ABOVE \$60K	ALL HHs
Average HH Income (\$):					
Inupiat HHs	\$11,429	\$30,000	\$47,500	\$70,000	
Non-Inupiat HHs			\$49,500	\$108,333	
All HHs	\$11,429	\$30,000	\$48,611	\$93,000	\$35,057
Cases:	14	16	9	5	44
Average HH Size (# Persons per HH):					
Inupiat HHs	4.9	4.4	3.5	5.5	
Non-Inupiat HHs			3.2	2.7	
All HHs	4.9	4.4	3.3	3.8	4.3
Cases:	14	16	9	5	44
Average Meat & Fish Consumed from Own HH Subsistence (%):					
Inupiat HHs	55.8%	39.0%	60.0%	70.0%	
Non-Inupiat HHs			39.0%	3.3%	
All HHs	55.8%	39.0%	48.3%	30.0%	44.9%
Cases:	12	15	9	5	41
Average Meat & Fish Consumed from Other HH Subsistence (%):					
Inupiat HHs	11.7%	19.7%	5.0%	5.0%	
Non-Inupiat HHs			20.0%	0.0%	
All HHs	11.7%	19.7%	13.3%	2.0%	13.8%
Cases:	12	15	9	5	41
Average Meat & Fish Harvested and Given Away (%):					
Inupiat HHs	10.4%	10.0%	26.3%	35.0%	
Non-Inupiat HHs			18.0%	3.3%	
All HHs	10.4%	10.0%	21.7%	16.0%	13.4%
Cases:	12	15	9	5	41
Average Proportion HH Income Spent in Village (%):					
Inupiat HHs	75.0%	81.6%	87.5%	75.0%	
Non-Inupiat HHs			38.0%	10.0%	
All HHs	75.0%	81.6%	60.0%	36.0%	69.6%
Cases:	12	16	9	5	42

Note: Total cases (households) = 55.

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
 Census of Population and Economy

Table 25-ATQ

Atqasuk Household Characteristics - 1988
By Levels of Subsistence Participation

	DEGREE OF SUBSISTENCE PARTICIPATION			
	MINIMAL	MODERATE	ACTIVE	ALL HHs
Average HH Income (\$):				
Inupiat HHs	\$26,250	\$17,500	\$30,556	
Non-Inupiat HHs	\$85,000	\$57,500	\$45,000	
All HHs	\$43,529	\$27,500	\$32,000	\$36,431
Cases:	17	4	20	41
Average HH Size (# Persons per HH):				
Inupiat HHs	4.2	4.5	4.8	
Non-Inupiat HHs	3.2	2.0	2.0	
All HHs	3.9	4.0	4.6	4.3
Cases:	17	5	23	45
Average Meat & Fish Consumption from Own HH Subsistence (%):				
Inupiat HHs	13.8%	35.0%	78.1%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	6.0%	25.0%	75.0%	
All HHs	11.5%	33.0%	77.8%	47.6 - 74
Cases:	17	5	23	45
Average Meat & Fish Consumption from Other HH Subsistence (%):				
Inupiat HHs	12.9%	5.0%	17.7%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%	
All HHs	9.1%	4.0%	20.5%	14.4%
Cases:	17	5	23	45
Average Meat & Fish Harvested and Given Away (%):				
Inupiat HHs	5.4%	10.0%	18.3%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	2.0%	0.0%	45.0%	
All HHs	4.4%	8.0%	20.7%	13.1%
Cases:	17	5	23	45
Average Proportion HH Income Spent in Village (%):				
Inupiat HHs	77.5%	62.5%	82.6%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	13.0%	25.0%	65.0%	
All HHs	58.5%	55.0%	81.1%	69.7%
Cases:	17	5	23	45

WTC

Notes Degree of subsistence participation measured on the basis of how much HH meat & fish consumption was from the HHs own subsistence activities; where

MINIMAL: Under 20% meat & fish from own HH subsistence

MODERATE: 20-40% meat & fish from own HH subsistence

ACTIVE: Over 40% meat & fish from own HH subsistence.

Total cases (households) = 55.

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community -
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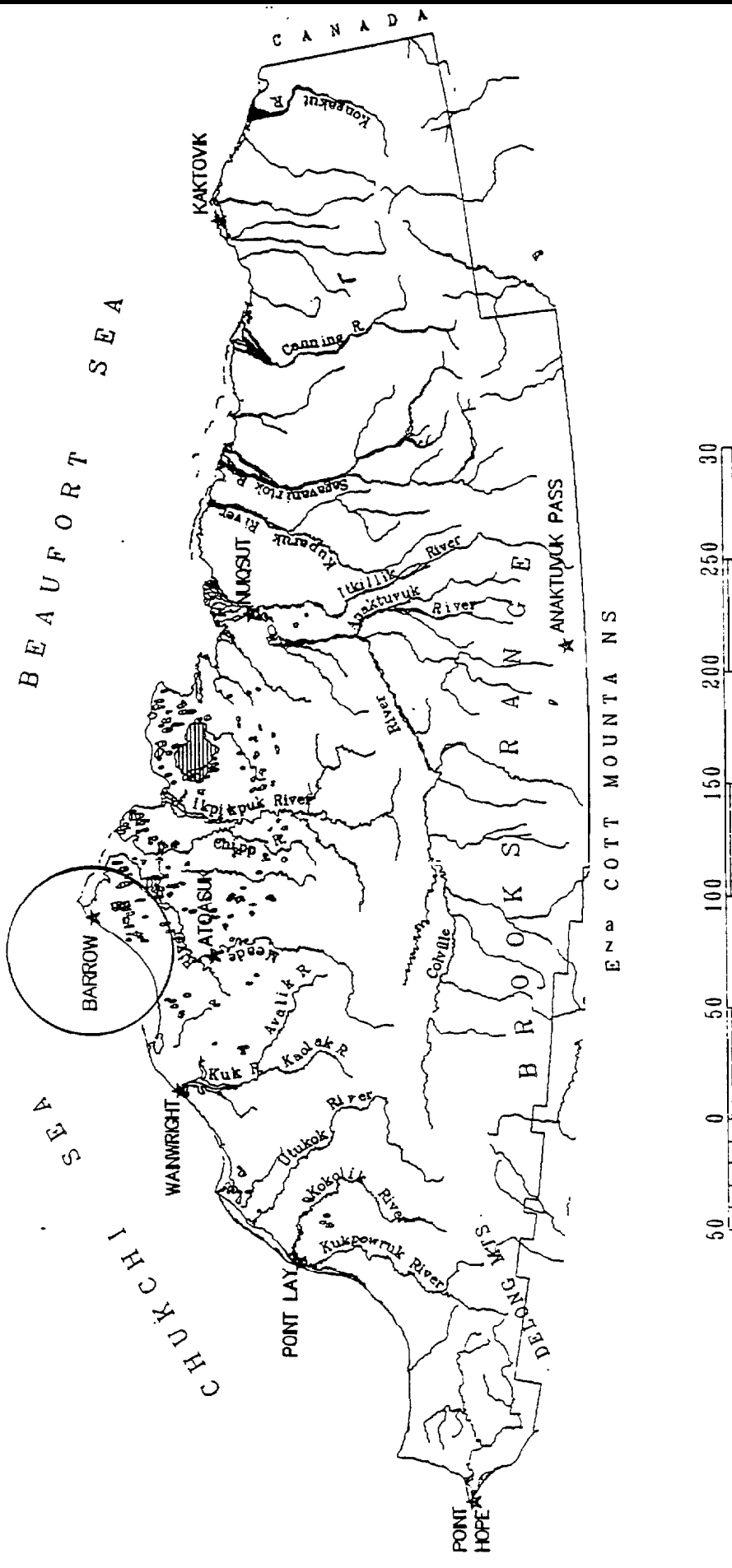
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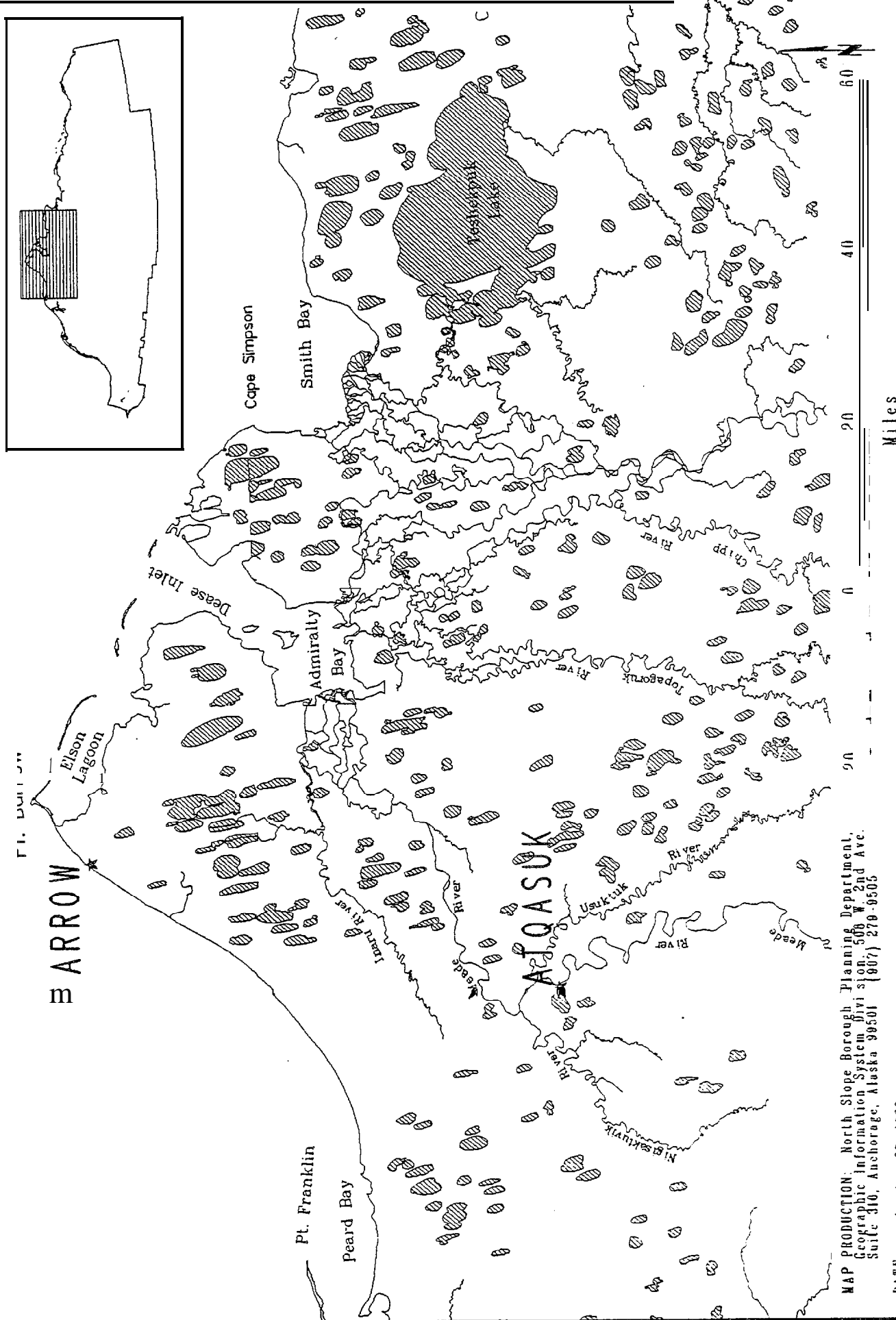
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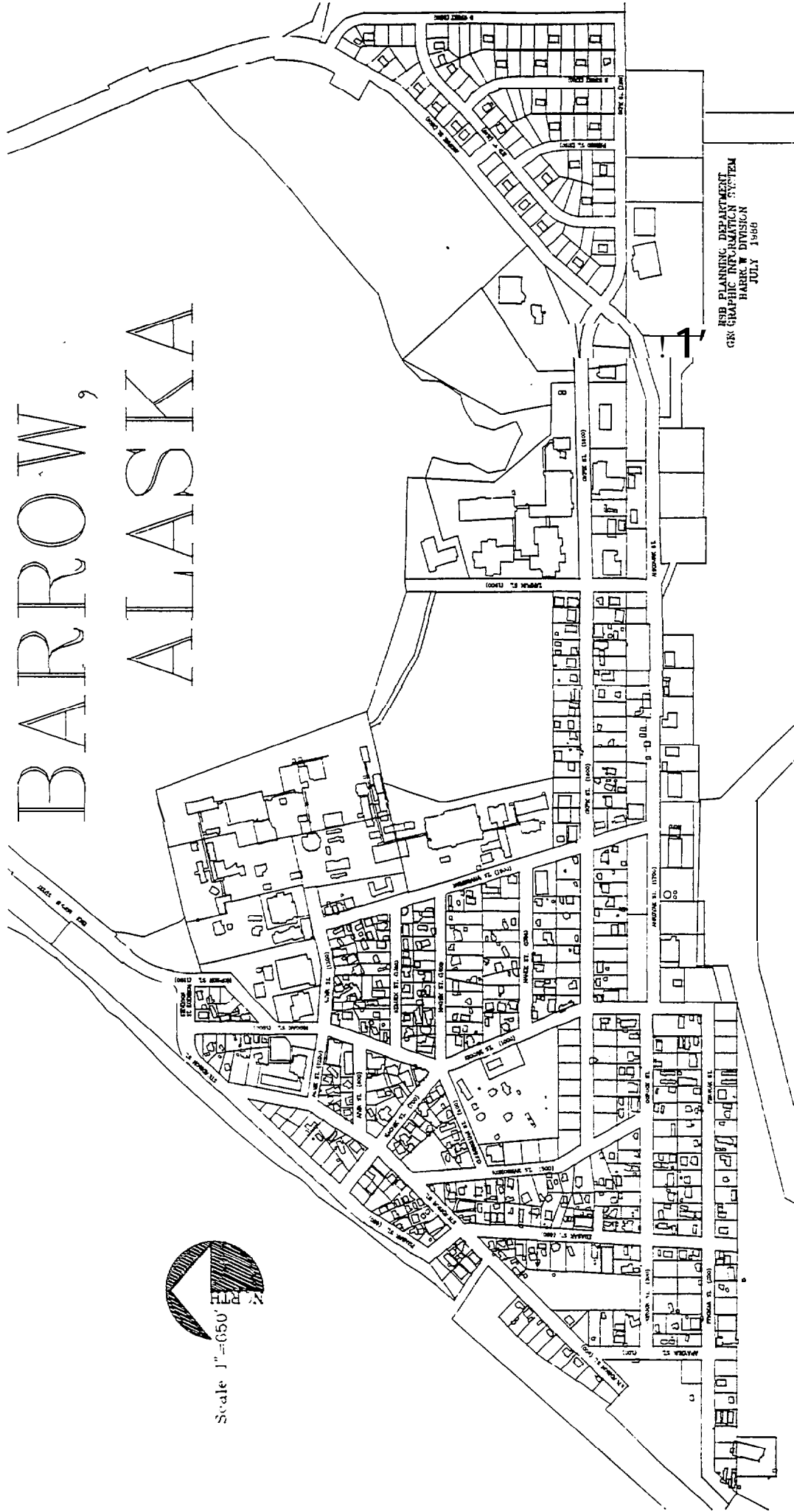
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SECTION I: POPULATION	1
A. Size and composition	1
Demographic Characteristics..	1
Influences on Population Size and Structure	2
B. Household Size and Composition	13
Characteristics of Households	13
Recent Trends in Household Size and composition	15
Influences on Household Size and Composition	22
C. Educational Status	22
Current Educational Levels	22
Social and Ethnic Differences in Educational Levels	23
Educational and Employment Opportunities	23
D. Marriage Patterns	23
Characteristics of Marriage	23
Changes in Marriage Patterns	27
E. Migration Patterns	28
Characteristics of and Influences on Migration	28
Community History	28
SECTION II: ECONOMY	31
A. Historical Overview	31
B. The Public Sector	32
Organization	32
Employment	32
Revenues	36
C. Private Sector	36
Organization	36
Employment	38
D. Economic Issues and Concerns	52
Employment Trends	53
Economic Trends	56
Projection to 1994	56

BARROW

SECTION III: FORMAL INSTITUTIONS . . . s 58

A. Governmen t 58
 Organization and Scope of Operations 58
 City of Barrow 58
 Scope of Operations 59
 Overlaps in Authority and Conflicts Among Institutions 60

B. Native Corporations 60
 Organization and Scope of Operations 60
 Overlaps in Authority and Conflict Among Institutions.. 60
 Current Issues and Concerns 62

C. Health and Social Services 63

D. Religion 64
 History of Churches 64
 The Presbyterian Church 64
 The **Assembly of God** Church 65
 Other Churches 65
 Contemporary Churches 65
 Role of Religious Institutions in **Sociocultural** Systems on the North
 Slope 68

E. Infrastructure 68
 Utilities 68
 Water 68
 Waste Disposal 69
 Gas and Electricity 70
 Communications 71
 Transportation **72**
 Recreational Facilities **73**
 Issues * 74

F. Fire Protection 76
 History of Fire Protection Activities 76
 Organization **and** Activities”.. 76

G. Search and Rescue 77
 History Regional Development. 77
 Organization and Operations 6 **77**

BARROW

H. Public Safety78
 History78
 Organization and Operations78

I. Schools79
 History79
 Organization and Operations 80
 Issues 80

SECTION IV: CULTURAL ISSUES AND INFORMAL INSTITUTIONS 82

A. Patterns of Change in Informal Institutions 82

B. Subsistence82
 Organization of Subsistence Activities 82
 WageEarner/HunterRelationship 83
 Intermittent Employment83
 Weekend Hunters 83
 Subsistence/CommercialHunter 84
 Inupiat Women and Subsistence.84
 Inupiat Subsistence Ideology 86
 Issues87

C. Traditional Sharing and Kinship Behaviors 89
 Kinship Organization89
 Formal and Informal Sharing 89
 Ideology of Kinship and Sharing. 91
 Issues 91

D. Attitudes Toward Development91

E. Attitudes Toward Local Control of schools 92

F. Secularization%?
 Public Celebrations92
 Role of the Church in Everyday Life 93

BIBLIOGRAPHIC SOURCES: BARROW94

List of **Tables** - **Barrow**

Table 1-BRW	3
Population Composition - June 1980	
Table 2-BRW	7
Age, Sex , and Race Composition of Population -1988	
Table 3-BRW	10
Ethnic Composition of Population -1988	
Table 4-BRW	14
Age of Head of Household for Alaska Natives, Non-Natives, and All Groups - June 1980	
Table 5-BRW	16
Household Size- 1988	
Table 6-BRW	17
Household Characteristics -1988 By Categories of Household Size	
Table 7-BRW	20
Household Income and Spending-1988	
Table 8-BRW	21
Household Characteristics -1988 By Levels of Household Income	
Table 9-BRW	24
Highest Level of Education Attained by Age Group Inupiat Residents- 1988	
Table 9-BRW (continued)	25
Highest Level of Education Attained by Age Group Non-Inupiat Residents - 1988	
Table 10-BRW	26
Marital Status by Ethnicity -1988	
Table 11-BRW	34
Average Annual Full-Time Employment - 1982	
Table 12-BRW	35
Industry imposition of Employment by Sex and Ethnicity - 1988	

List of Tables - Barrow

Table 13-BRW37
 City of Barrow Revenues and Expenditures -1979-1983

Table 14-BRW39
 Composition of Employment by Race and Sex,- June 1980

Table 15-BRW40
 Major Employers by Sector-June 1980

Table 16-BRW41
 Composition of Employment by Age, Race, and Sex-July 1980

Table 17-BRW42
 Composition of Mining Sector Employment by Age, Race, and Sex-June 1980

Table 18-BRW43
 Composition of Contract Construction Sector Employment
 By Age, Race, and Sex-June 1980

Table 19-BRW44
 Composition of Transportation, Communications, and
 Public Utilities Sector Employment
 By Age, Race, and Sex-June 1980

Table 20-BRW45
 Composition of Trade Sector Employment
 By Age, Race, and Sex-June 1980

Table 21-BRW46
 Composition of Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate
 Sector Employment by Age, Race, and Sex-June 1980

Table 22-BRW47
 Composition of Services Sector Employment
 By Age, Race, and Sex-June 1980

Table 23-BRW48
 Composition of Federal Government Sector Employment
 By Age, Race, and Sex-June 1980

Table 24-BRW49
 Composition of State Government Sector Employment
 By Age, Race and Sex-June 1980

List of Figures - Barrow

Figure 1-BRW 4
 North **Slope** Population -1940-1985

Figure 2-BRW 5
 PopulationGrowth- 1960-1988

Figure 3-BRW 6
 Age/Sex Pyramid -1985

Figure 4-BRW 8
Inupiat and **Total** Population in 1988

Figure 5-BRW 9
 Population Characteristics- 1988

Figure 6-BRW 11
 Ethnic Composition of Population -1988

Figure 7-BRW 18
 Average Household Income Distribution
 Native and Non-Native Households by Household Size-June 1980

Figure 8-BRW 19
 Average Household Income Distribution-June 1980

Figure 9-BRW 33
 North Slope Borough **CIP** Expenditures
 1972- 1986 **Actual**; 1987- 1990 **Planned**

Figure 10-BRW 55
 Population, Labor Force, and Employment- 1980, 1988, and 1994 (Projected)

BARROW

SECTION I: POPULATION

A. Size and Composition

1. Demographic Characteristics

The size and ethnic composition of Barrow is unique among the eight villages on the North Slope. It is both the largest village and the one containing the highest proportion of non-Natives. The slow but constant increase in the number of Natives and, to a lesser extent, non-Natives in Barrow characterizing the 30-year period prior to 1970, changed abruptly with the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) in 1971 and the incorporation of the North Slope Borough (NSB) in 1972 (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:476; Smythe and Worl 1985:187). The increase in population between 1960 and 1970 was 60.0%. However, growth slowed between 1970 and 1980 to only 4.9% (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:475). These trends in Barrow, relative to the other villages on the North Slope, are illustrated graphically in Figure 1-BRW. This apparent lack of growth actually masks major changes that were taking place in the ethnic composition of Barrow. A graphic representation of the changes in the ethnic composition of Barrow is in Figure 2-BRW:

The Inupiat population in Barrow decreased from 90.5% in 1970 to 77.9% in 1980. A housing survey from 1980, which included temporary construction personnel in its count, found only 71.2% to be Alaska Natives. Had that survey included the population of the former Naval Arctic Research Laboratory (NARL) and the Distant Early Warning Line station (DEW Line), the proportion of Natives would have been closer to 70% (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:477).

Two processes can account for these changes. First, there was the out-migration of Inupiat from Barrow to resettle the traditional villages of Nuiqsut, Atkasuk, and Point Lay, and take advantage of new employment opportunities. Second, there was an influx of non-Natives to Barrow which offset the decline in the population from emigrating Natives. These new residents were primarily professionals attracted by the massive capital construction projects that were being subsidized directly by the NSB and indirectly by oil revenues.

An interesting consequence of this demographic shift was the change in the age structure of the population to include more men in their early 20s and more Natives under the age of 20. The median age of males was 23.1 in Barrow in 1980. The age composition of the Barrow population in 1980 can be seen in Table 1-BRW. This contrasts with the median age of the national population which, in 1980, was 30 years (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:481). This relationship can be seen graphically in the population pyramid in Figure 3-BRW. Significant age distribution differences are found between the Native and non-Native components of Barrow's population. According to Worl and Smythe (1986:102-103),

The Native population is significantly larger than the non-Native for ages under twenty and over sixty years, but between those years Natives comprised just over half of the total population (52.7

percent). Moreover, Natives are in the minority between the ages of 30 and 50. This group is 46.1 percent Native, **which results** from a higher total of non-Native **males**, compared to Native **males**, in this age group. By way of comparison, in 1980 there was only one age group, 40-44 years, in which non-Native **males** outnumbered Native males; and between the ages of 30 and 50, **which** was the locus of the major shift by 1985, Natives comprised **67.4** percent of the population.

The 1989 **NSB Census** of Population and Economy shows an increase in the non-Native population to 1,179 from the 1985 population of 1,152, as assessed by the 1985 Barrow Housing and **Employment** Survey, and a decrease in the Native population from 1,864 to 1,922. These figures represent an increase in the number of **non-Inupiat** and decrease in the number of **Inupiat** of 2.3% respectively. The exact age, **sex**, and racial composition of Barrow in 1988 is shown in Table 1-**BRW**. A graphic representation of this breakdown, excluding **sex**, can be found in Figure 4-**BRW**. Figure 5-**BRW** presents a population pyramid for Barrow for **1988**.

Another trend which emerged in the 1980s was a diversification of non-Native ethnic groups. Smythe and **Worl** report interviewing Filipinos, Koreans, Mexicans, South Americans, and Yugoslavians during their fieldwork in 1985 (p. 189). Many of these new immigrants have become permanent residents of Barrow. However, only the Filipino population emerged as a distinct **social** group and this occurred between 1979 and 1983. Table 2-**BRW** gives a detailed breakdown of the ethnic imposition of Barrow in 1988, which is illustrated graphically in Figure 6-**BRW**.

2. Influences on Population Size and Structure

Between 1870 and 1920 death from disease was very high in the coastal **villages** such as Barrow. But the overall population figures remained constant because the high mortality rate was **offset** by the migration of **inland Inupiat** to the coast (Hippier 1969:12). Some of the **elders** from Barrow who were interviewed in **Worl** and Smythe's study (1986:24) reported that Barrow began to grow with the arrival of whalers. They **also** reported that the establishment of Western facilities, such as the school and church, changed the face of Barrow.

Since 1946, however, the primary influence on population size and structure has been migration. (A more detailed examination of the influences on population and migration prior to 1946 will be discussed in the section on community history.) It wasn't until 1944 when the **Naval Petroleum Reserve Number 4** (PET-4, now referred to as **National Petroleum Reserve-Alaska, NPR-A**) was established and oil exploration began that changes occurred in Barrow significant enough to cause major in-migration. But it was the passage of **ANCSA** and the incorporation of the NSB that have resulted in the most profound changes. **These** events produced "unprecedented levels of local employment opportunities as well as greatly improved basic-services and facilities . . ." all over the **North Slope** which became the major incentive for migration to or from Barrow (**Worl** and **Smythe** 1986:98).

Table 1-BRW

Population Composition *
Barrow, June 1980

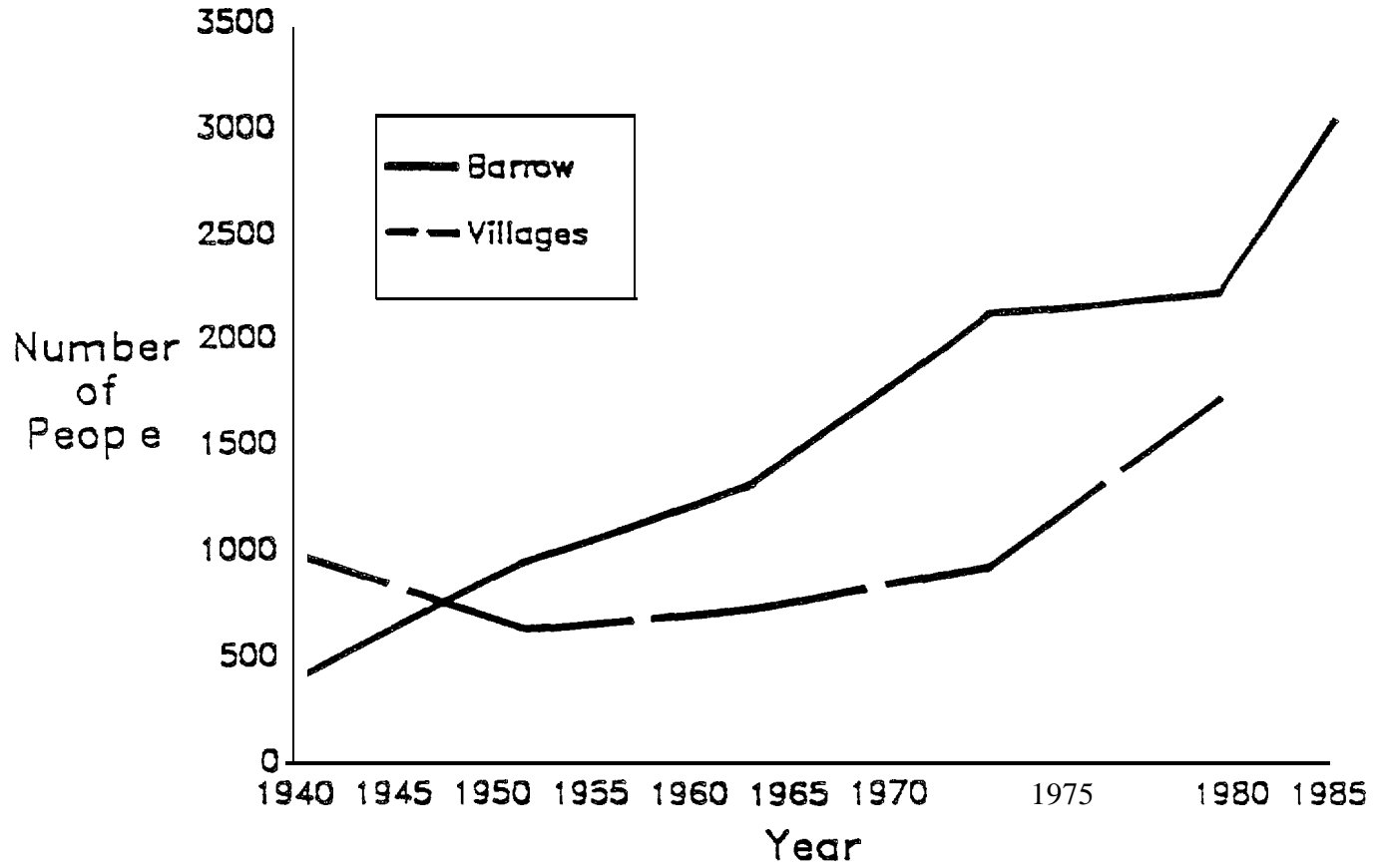
<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Under 5 years	92	92	184	11	22	33	103	114	217
5-9	78	83	161	14	16	30	92	99	191
10-14	85	101	186	18	9	27	103	110	213
15-19	122	117	239	19	21	40	141	138	279
20 - 24	107	88	195	43	33	76	150	221	271
25-29	101	87	188	85	55	140	186	142	328
30-34	63	53	116	65	32	97	128	85	213
35-39	45	31	76	25	19	44	70	50	120
40 - 44	38	33	71	28	10	38	66	43	109
45-49	38	23	61	28	9	37	66	32	98
50-54	29	26	55	10	12	22	39	38	77
55-59	21	21	42	9	2	11	3a	23	53
60-64	17	13	30	4	3	7	21	16	37
65-69	16	21	37	1	2	3	17	23	40
70 - 74	9	5	14	2	0	2	11	5	16
75 and over	15	7	22	1	0	1	16	7	23
<u>TOTAL</u>	876	801	1,677	363	245	608	1,239	1,046	2,285
<u>Median Age</u>	23.1	203	228	293	268	28.4	25.8	227	245

• Figures exclude a total of 104 persons (16 Alaska Native males, 9 Alaska Native females, 56 non-Native males and 23 non-Native females) for whom no age information was provided. Thus, a total of 2,389 persons in Barrow was surveyed by Alaska Consultants, Inc.

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc, North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Figure 1-BRW

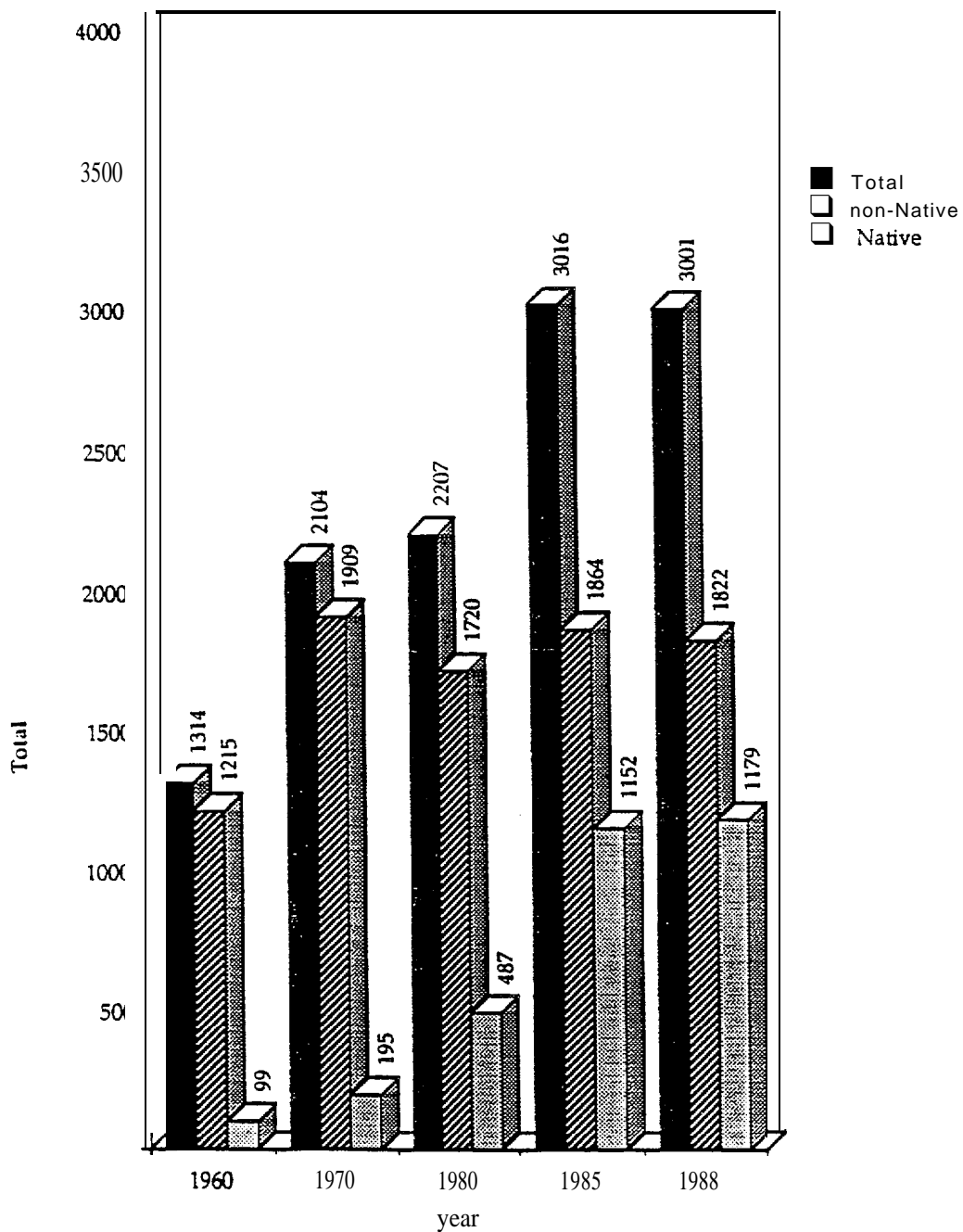
North Slope Population
1940-1985



Sources: 1940-1980: U.S. Census.
1985: 1985 Barrow Housing and Employment Survey.

Figure 2-BRW

Barrow Population Growth
1960-1988



Note: Native includes Inupiat, Indian, and Aleut.
The Inupiat population was 1,695 in 1980 and 1,823 in 1985.

Sources: 1960-1980: U.S. Census.
1985: 1985 Barrow Housing and Employment Survey.
1988: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Figure 3-BRW

Barrow Age/Sex Pyramid
1985

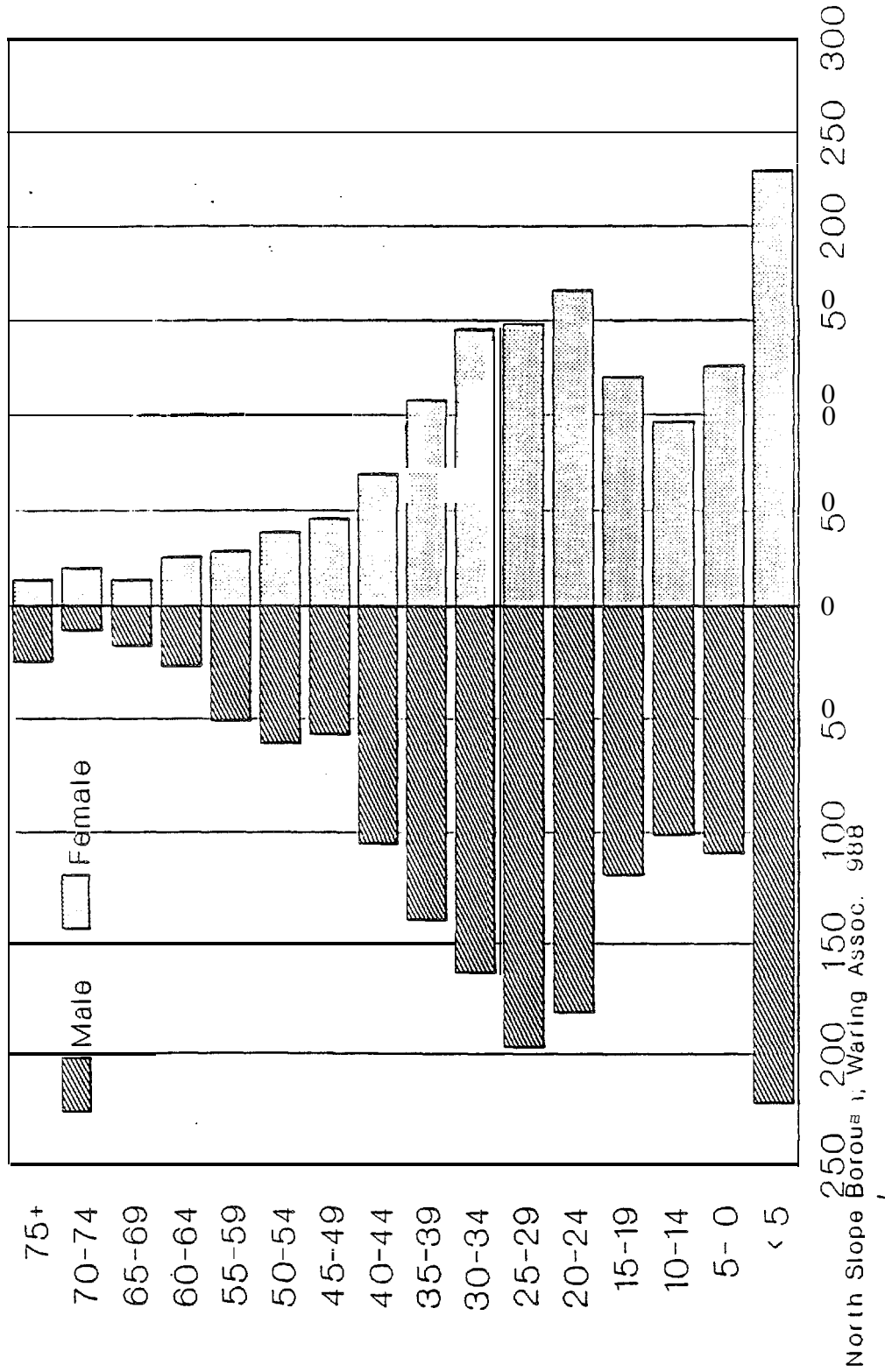


Table 2-BRW

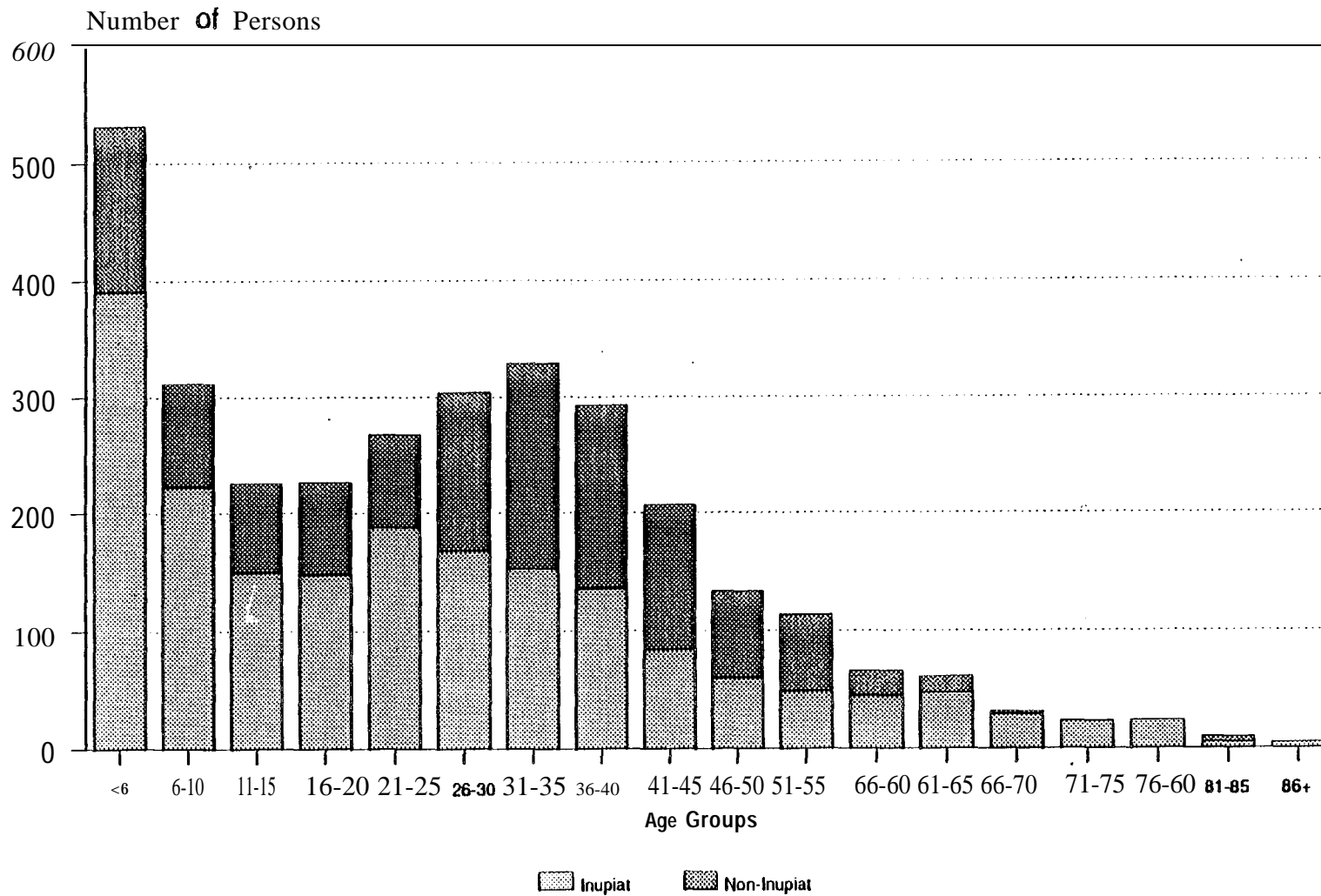
Age, Sex, and Race **Composition** of Population -1988
Barrow

	INUPIAT			NON-INUPIAT			TOTAL			%
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	
UNDER 4	127	131	258	59	37	96	186	168	354	11.8%
4 - 8	126	131	257	45	36	81	171	167	338	11.3%
9 - 15	103	113	216	60	47	107	163	160	323	10.8%
16 - 17	31	35	66	16	12	28	47	47	94	3.1%
18 - 25	127	126	253	56	64	120	183	190	373	12.4%
26 - 39	181	225	406	242	180	422	423	405	828	27.6%
40 - 59	124	120	244	177	121	298	301	241	542	18.1%
60 - 65	25	20	45	11	7	18	36	27	63	2.1%
66 +	32	45	77	6	3	9	38	48	86	2.9%
TOTAL	876	946	1822	672	507	1179	1548	1453	3001	100.0%
%	29.2%	31.5%	50.7%	22.4%	16.9%	39.3%	51.6%	48.4%	100.0%	
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS									222	
TOTAL POPULATION									3223	

AVERAGE AGE
(years)

ENTIRE POPULATION	26.2
MALE	26.4
FEMALE	25.9
INUPIAT	24.2
NON-INUPIAT	29.1

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.



Inupiat and Total Population in 1988
Barrow

Figure 4-BRW

NS13 CENSUS OF POPULATION AND ECONOMY

Figure 5-BRW

Barrow Population Characteristics - 1988

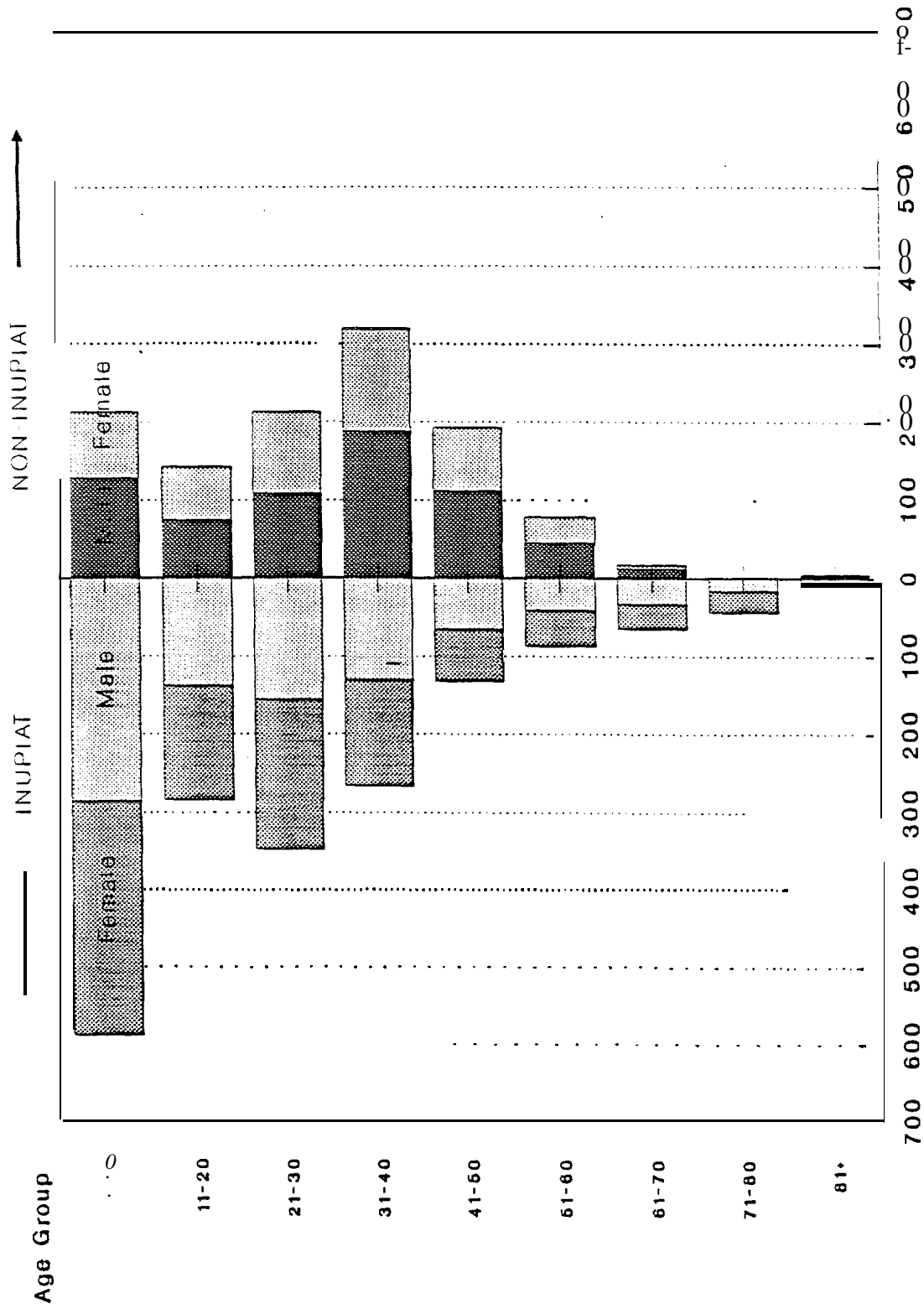


Table 3-BRW

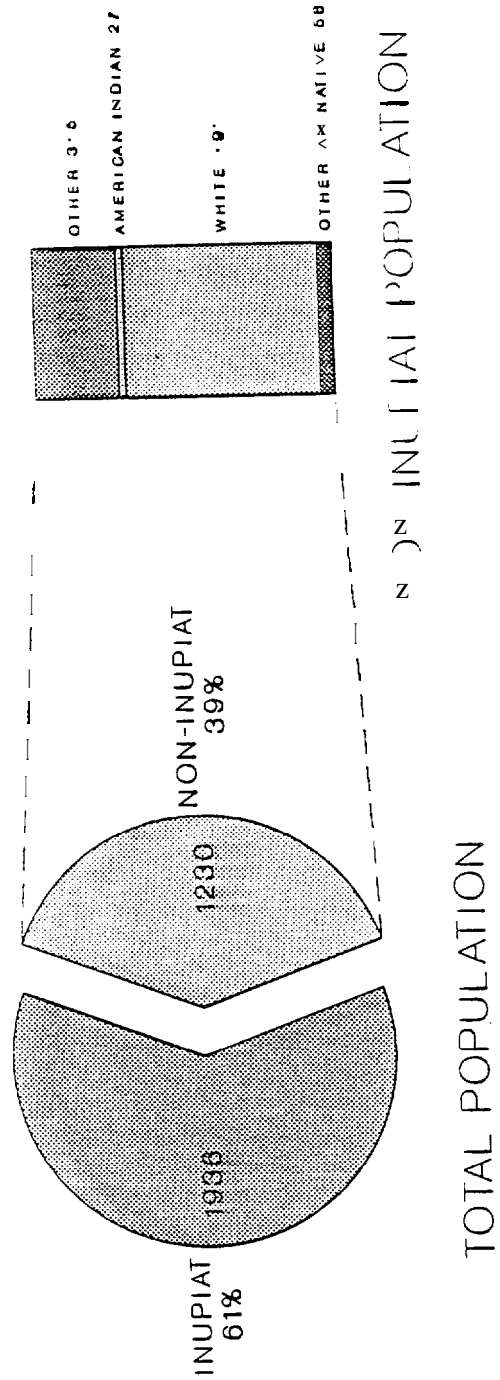
Ethnic Composition of Population - 1988
Barrow

ETHNIC CATEGORY	TOTAL POPULATION			% OF TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	
INUPIAT	942	994	1936	61.1%
OTHER AK NATIVE	28	30	58	1.8%
WHITE	470	327	797	25.2%
AMERICAN INDIAN	17	10	27	0.9%
HISPANIC	18	13	31	1.0%
FILIPINO	75	80	155	4.9%
ORIENTAL	8	16	24	0.8%
BLACK	28	18	46	1.5%
OTHER	49	34	83	2.5%
NOT ASCERTAINED	7	2	9	0.3%
TOTAL	1642	1524	3166	100.0%
%	51.9%	48.1%	100.0%	
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS			57	
TOTAL POPULATION			3223	

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Figure 6-BRW

Ethnic Composition of Barrow Population - 1988



2000 CENSUS OF POPULATION AND ECONOMY

In his comparison study on acculturation and education in Barrow and Kotzebue, Hippiar (1969:109) offers five reasons why many Northwest Alaskan **Inupiat** migrate to larger villages. They are: (1) economic opportunity (2) the promise of more social interaction and more excitement than can be found in small villages; (3) the availability of medical and educational services that either cannot be found or are **of** lesser quality in the smaller villages; (4) “There is the possibility of being close enough to a village atmosphere to permit the acculturating Eskimo the opportunity to have a ‘foot in both camps’”; and (5) some degree of subsistence hunting and fishing is still possible while living in these **larger** communities. While we were unable to collect systematic information on why people have moved to Barrow from the outer villages, it appears that the first three reasons are more prominent than the last two, at least at present. **It** may seem paradoxical, but at the same time that village corporations and village governments are in great need of trained office and professional personnel, that **Inupiat** with these **skills** must most often go to Barrow to find a job that **will** pay them a reasonable wage within a professional environment. The reasons most often cited by informants for moving or returning to Barrow **to** live are that they need to do so to find the job they want (or to find a job at all, although that phrasing is less common), because there is “nothing to do” in the-outer villages and they want to live in a **place** with more action, and/or because they need services such as child care or emergency medical treatment that are available in Barrow but not in the outer villages. No informant mentioned subsistence activities as a factor in deciding whether to relocate to Barrow or not, but it may be significant that most of the informants in this unsystematic sample were relatively inactive as subsistence resource **harvesters** and perhaps more enmeshed in the wage and professional economy than **Inupiat** at large. These may **indeed** be the very factors which predispose **them** to relocate to Barrow, but our information is not systematic enough to be more than suggestive on this matter.

As for the migration of the Filipino population to Barrow, economic opportunity was a significant motivating factor. Some individuals took jobs that were below their **level** of competency. **One** in particular, who had been employed as an engineer in the Philippines, worked as a janitor in Barrow because he was able to earn more money. Kin ties were very important in the initial move of Filipinos to Barrow. “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” (Smythe and Worl 1985:194). When the male was secure in a job the rest of his family would move to Barrow. Later, extended family members would join them. (It should be noted, however, that the very first Filipinos in Barrow were women who **later** brought their children.)

A second wave of Filipino immigrants was initiated by a **Filipino** man who began to “sponsor” others to come to Barrow. He capitalized on the need of **all** new immigrants to find a place to live by offering them beds in bunkhouses that he had created for \$250 per month. The resident Filipino population reported that after this second wave of Filipino migrants began to arrive, the character of the population changed and the closely-knit kin-based Filipino community disintegrated (Smythe and Worl 1985:195).

B. Household Size and Composition

1. Characteristics of Households

Households in Barrow range in size and type. Until the bulk of **non-Inupiat** arrived in Barrow, most of the families consisted of at least four people. In addition to relatively large household sizes, because of strong kin ties, homes were frequently visited friends and relatives increasing, if only temporarily, the size of **households**. Many of those who had moved to Barrow in the 1940s to work and then lost their jobs when **oil** exploration activity **ceased** in 1953 were able to leave and return to Barrow without restriction because strong kin ties were sustained (**Worl and Smythe 1986:41**).

Even today the **Inupiat** kinship system displays certain properties that allow for the "...**structural** rearrangement of **roles** and statuses, such as substitution or extension of a close relationship to a more distant relative, existence of multiple and alternative **connections** between individuals in the system, and different applications of the principle of **affinal** exclusion (**Heinrich 1963; Burch 1975**)" (cited from **Worl and Smythe 1986:41**). This flexibility in kinship relationships forms the basis for many formal and informal institutions in Barrow. This will be discussed further in the section on kinship and sharing. However, it is important to note here that these extended **family** networks have become smaller and simpler, household tasks are now performed by fewer people, and the constituent household units have become geographically dispersed throughout Barrow (Wed and Smythe 1986:230).

Non-Inupiat households typically contain a married **couple** or a man without children. The large number of these small households in Barrow, in contrast to other North Slope villages, accounts for the average smaller **household** size found there. Table **4-BRW** shows the age of heads of **households** by household size for 1980. This is corroborated by the data from the 1989 NSB census which indicate that the average household size in Barrow is 3.2 persons. However, when the data are broken down into **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** households, there are obvious differences. The average household size of **Inupiat** households is 3.9 persons. **Non-Inupiat** households average **only** 2.5 persons.

It is striking to note how these figures fall in specific categories of household size. **As** shown in **Table 5-BRW**, within the Native population, 45.3% of the **households** contain 1-3 persons, 44.6% contain 4-6 persons, and **10.1%** contain 7 or more persons. These data contrast with the non-Native population where the **bulk**, 75%, of households contain between 1 and 3 persons. Ten and one-half percent of non-Native households contain 4-6 persons and 2% contain 7 or more individuals. Also associated with household size are a variety of household characteristics, which are outlined in **Table 6-BRW**. **Of concern** here is the **second** box concerning average household size. One can see that within the small and medium categories of household size, **Inupiat** households are larger, on the average.

Table 4-BRW

**Age of Head of Household for
Alaska Natives* **, Non-Natives*** ****, and all Groups
Barrow, June 1980**

Household Size	<u>14-24</u>			<u>25-34</u>			<u>35-44</u>			<u>45-64</u>			<u>65+</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>			
	Non-Native	Native	Total	Non-Native	Native	Total	Non-Native	Native	Total	Non-Native	Native	Total	Non-Native	Native	Total	Non-Native	Native	Total	
1 person	13	9	22	23	31	54	5	18	23	9	16	25	13	4	17	63	78	141	
2 persons	18	10	28	27	42	69	10	10	20	12	15	27	6	0	6	73	77	150	
3 persons	18	5	23	24	13	37	4	4	8	18	7	25	11	0	11	75	29	104	
4 persons	5	4	9	36	15	51	15	10	25	10	5	15	7	0	7	73	34	107	
5 persons	1	2	3	18	5	23	21	1	22	11	2	13	3	0	3	54	10	64	
6 persons	0	0	0	4	2	6	11	2	13	18	0	18	1	0	1	3	4	4	38
7 persons	0	1	1	2	0	2	8	1	9	19	0	19	5	0	5	3	4	2	36
8 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	7	0	7	2	0	2	13	0	13	
9 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	5	1	6	0	0	0	7	1	8	
10 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	0	3	2	0	2	6	0	6	
11 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	2	0	2	
12 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	3	
13 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	2	
14 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
TOTAL	55	31	86	135	108	243	81	46	127	117	46	163	51	4	55	439	235	674	

* For purposes of the housing survey, the adult Alaska Native in combination Alaska Native/non-Native households was always designated head of household.

** Figures exclude 8 heads of household for whom no age information was obtained.

*** Figures exclude 21 heads of household for whom no age information was obtained.

**** Excludes 3 occupied units without permanent residents and one bunkhouse with 27 occupants.

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey. Prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Another characteristic of households in Barrow is the dichotomy between **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** in the area of household income. This was apparent in 1980, as shown in **Figures 7-BRW** and **8-BRW**. One can see from **Table 7-BRW** that over half of **non-Inupiat** earn \$60,000 or more and only 5.7% earn less than \$20,000. This contrasts markedly from **Inupiat** household income levels; 31.5% of **Inupiat** households have incomes of \$60,000 or more and 24.4% have incomes less than \$20,000. These figures show that there is an unequal distribution of income in Barrow. There are additional factors associated with household income and these can be seen in **Table 8-BRW**. The information to directly compare average income based on **ethnicity** is lacking, but in all income categories except for \$40,000-\$60,000 **non-Inupiat** households have higher incomes on the average than **Inupiat** households. **Non-Inupiat households** are also significantly smaller than **Inupiat households**, at all income levels and especially at lower income levels. Clearly, per capita household income is much larger for **non-Inupiat** than for **Inupiat**.

Also from **Table 8-BRW**, one can see that in both **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat households**, high annual income is associated with large household size (as reflected in **Table 7-BRW** as well). This trend does not hold for all North Slope villages, such as **Wainwright** or **Atkasuk**. Another interesting trend that seems to be unique to Barrow is the association, in both the **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** households, between increased income and decreased average proportion of household income spent in the village. Perhaps this reflects an orientation of higher income **Barrowites** to a community beyond the North Slope. Based on **field interviews**, one reasonable interpretation is that they may perceive of themselves as permanent residents of a different community, either on or off the North Slope. It could also be that beyond a certain point there is little to spend money on in Barrow. Once this threshold is reached, all other income would be saved or spent outside of Barrow. Other household characteristics associated with household income also have important implications in terms of subsistence sharing but these will be discussed in the section on subsistence.

2. Recent Trends in Household Size and Composition

In conjunction with the influx of non-Natives in Barrow and the out-migration of Natives, there have been changes in the quantity, size, and composition of residential units (**Worl and Smythe 1986:105**). The rate of increase in new households in Barrow was 11.5% between 1978 and 1980 and 5.0% between 1980 and 1985 (**Worl and Smythe 1986:106**). This increase consisted primarily of “mixed” (an **Inupiat** married to a **non-Inupiat**) and **non-Inupiat** households. Between 1978 and 1985 the number of mixed households increased by 63%. This increase was gradual until 1980. However, by 1985 the number of mixed households doubled.

Mixed households were almost always composed of a nuclear family (parents with children). In 1978, 95% of mixed households involved the marriage of an **Inupiat** to a **non-Inupiat**. In 1985 this percentage dropped to 82%, “indicating a small trend towards diversification among the kinds of **intra-household** relationships in these households” (**Worl and Smythe 1986: 108**). Examples of this diversification include “. . . a variety of nuclear and extended or compound family forms, such as a mixed couple living with another couple, a white child or grandchild living in an **Inupiat** household, or an individual living in a family household of another race” (**Worl and Smythe 1986:108**).

Table 5-BRW

**Household Size - 1988
Barrow**

NUMBER OF PERSONS	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS			%	
	NON- INUPIAT	INUPIAT	TOTAL		
1	66	160	226	22.9%	
2	80	120	200	20.2%	
3	91	71	162	16.4%	
4	95	58	153	15.5%	
5	83	32	115	11.6%	
6	55	15	70	7.1%	
7	35	5	40	4.0%	
8	7	2	9	0.9%	
9	6	2	8	0.8%	
10	2		2	0.2%	
11	2		2	0.2%	
12	1		1	0.1%	
TOTAL OCCUPIED	HOUSEHOLD	523	465	988	100.0%
AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD SIZE	3.9	2.5	3.2		

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Table 6-BRW

Barrow Household Characteristics -1988
By Categories of Household Size

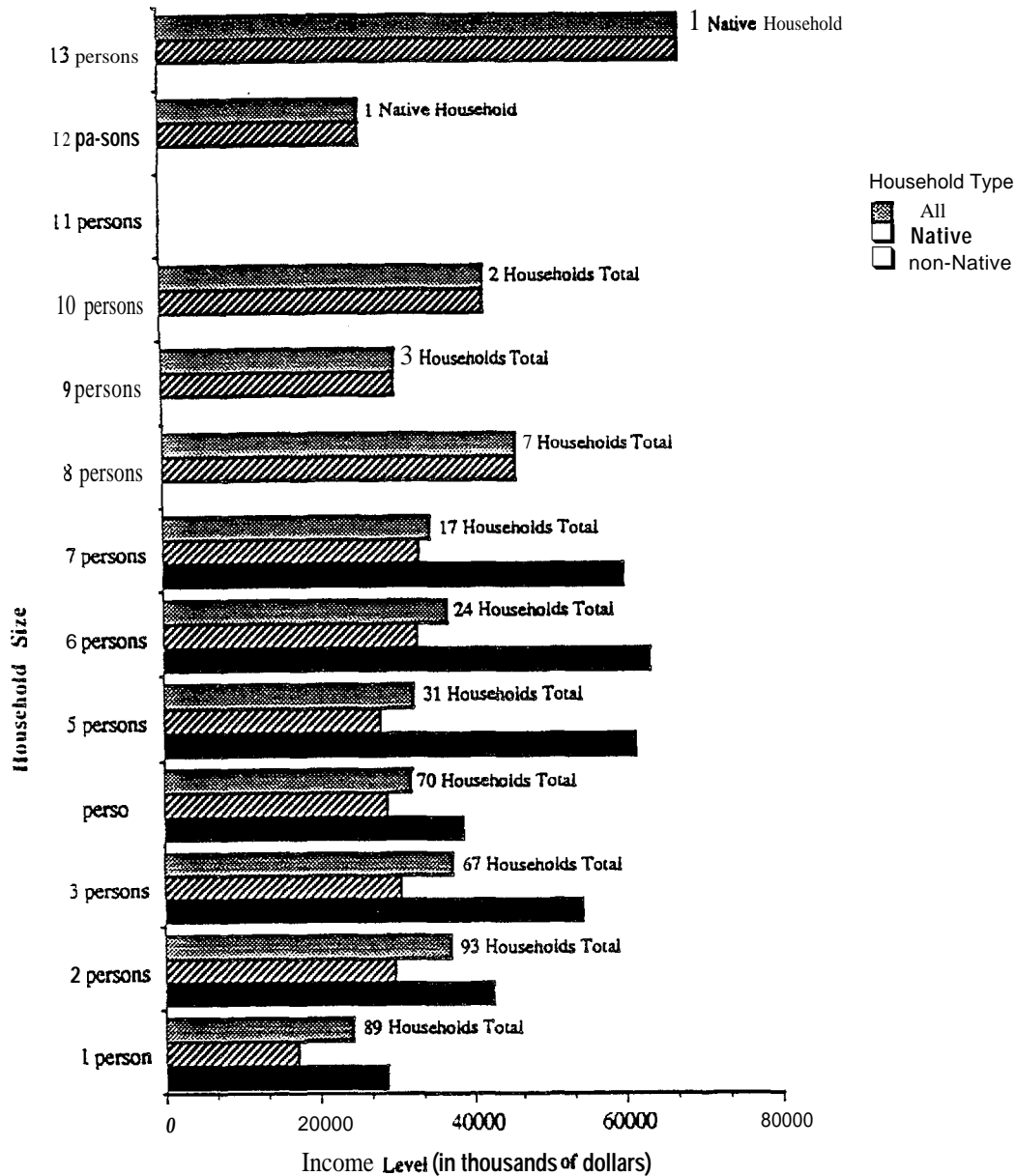
	HOUSEHOLD SIZE			
	SMALL	MEDIUM	LARGE	ALL HHs
Average HH Income (\$):				
Inupiat HHs	\$37,346	\$59,559	\$72,563	
Non-Inupiat HHs	\$67,518	\$67,5011	\$116,111.	
All HHs	\$55,803	\$66,639	\$80,561	\$61,959
cases	461	260	49	780
Average HH Size				
(# Persons per HH):				
Inupiat HHs	2.1	4.8	7	
Non-Inupiat HHs	1.8	4.6	7.7	
All HHs	1.9	4.8	7.7	3.2
Cases:	579	338	62	979
Average Meat & Fish Csmptn				
from Own HH Subsistence (%):				
Inupiat HHs	29.7%	39.9%	52.6%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	6.7%	8.2%	5.5%	
All HHs	15.7%	30.0%	45.7%	22.7%
Cases:	500	303	55	858
Average Meat & Fish Csmptn				
from Other HH Subsistence (%):				
Inupiat HHs	26.1%	16.1%	19.6%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	3.5%	3.2%	1.4%	
All HHs	12.2%	13.4%	17.0%	13.0%
Cases:	492	304	55	851
Average Meat & Fish Harvested				
and Given Awsy (%):				
Inupiat HHs	14.4%	18.0%	26.8%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	3.4%	3.1%	1.3%	
All HHs	7.7%	13.3%	23.1%	10.7%
Cases:	497	302	55	854
Average Proportion HH Income				
Spent in Village (%):				
Inupiat HHs	59.5%	58.4%	62.4%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	35.4%	35.5%	49.8%	
All HHs	44.9%	51.7%	60.4%	46.4%
Cases:	475	296	56	829

Notes: Household size categories measured as follows: -
W Under 4 persons per household
MEDIUM: 4-6 persons per household
STRONG: 7 or more persons per household.
Total cases (households) = 988.

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
Census of Population and Economy

Figure 7-BRW

Average **Household** Income Distribution
Native and non-Native Households by Household Size
Barrow: June 1980



Total Number of Households 405
 Mean Household Income:
 All: \$33,155
 Native: \$29,156
 Non-Native: \$39,413

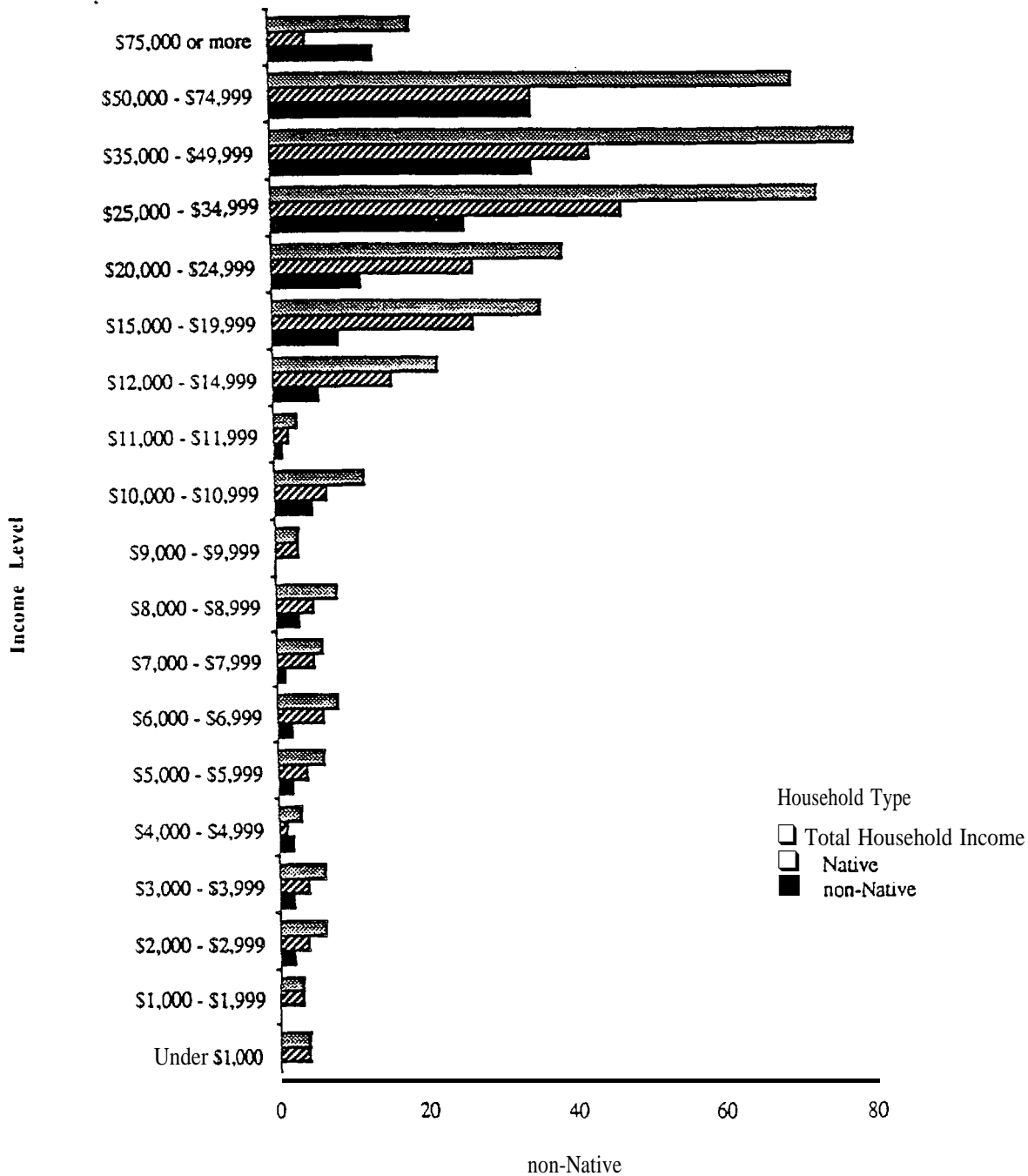
• Excludes three occupied units without permanent residents and one
 bunkhouse with 27 occupants.
 ** Figures exclude 298 households (199 Alaska Native and 99 non-Native) for
 whom no income information was obtained.
 *** For purposes of housing survey, the adult Alaska Native in combination
 Alaska Native/non-Native households was always designated head of household.

Note: Due to Barrow's large sample size, the number of Native and non-Native households
 could not be disaggregated from its original source.

Source Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey.
 Prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department, Anchorage, September 1980.

Figure 8-BRW

Average Household Income Distribution
Barrow, June 1980



* Figures exclude 298 households (199 Alaska Native and 99 non-Native) for whom no income information was obtained.

Source Alaska Consultants, inc. North Slope Borough Housing Survey.
Prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage. September 1980.

Table 7-BRW

Household Income and Spending - 1988
Barrow

HOUSEHOLD INCOME CATEGORY	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS			
	140N- NUIPIAT	140N- NUIPIAT	TOTAL	% TOTAL
UNDER \$20,000	99	22	121	15.3%
\$20,000 - \$40,000	86	63	149	18.9%
\$40,000 - \$60,000	93	92	185	23.4%
\$60,000 & ABOVE	128	207	335	42.4%
TOTAL	406	384	790	100.0%
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS			19a	
TOTAL OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS			988	

	FOR ALL VILLAGE HOUSEHOLDS	
	MEDIAN	AVERAGE
HOUSEHOLD INCOME	\$52,500	\$61,119
PROPORTION OF TOTAL HH INCOME SPENT IN VILLAGE (1)	50.0%	48.4%
MONTHLY HOUSING PAYMENT (2)	\$614	\$593
MONTHLY HEATING COSTS	\$60	\$98
MONTHLY ELECTRICITY COSTS	\$50	\$81

Notes (1) For food, clothing, and other household goods.
(2) Includes rent and mortgage.

Source: NS8 Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Table 8-BRW

Barrow Household Characteristics -1988
By Levels of Household Income

	HOUSEHOLD INCOME CATEGORIES				
	BELOW \$20K	\$20-40K	\$40-60K	ABOVE \$60K	ALL HHs
Average HH Income (\$):					
Inupiat HHs:	\$10,530'	\$23,757'	\$49,059	\$98,125	
Non-Inupiat HHs:	\$12,045	\$30,119	\$48,696	\$104,251	
All HHs	\$10,216:	\$29,916	\$48,876	\$101,910	%1,959
case. %	121	149	185	335	790
Average HH Size					
(# Persons per HH):					
Inupiat HHs:	2.9.	3.8	4.1	4.8	
Non-Inupiat HHs:	1.6'	1.7'	2.1:	3.2	
All HHs:	2.7	2.9	3.1	3.9	3.3
Cases:	121	149	165	335	790
Average Meat & Fish Csmptn					
from Own HH Subsistence (%):					
Inupiat HHs:	29.4%:	29.3%:	31.4%:	45.3%	
Non-Inupiat HHs:	0.9%:	6.5%:	7.9%:	8.0%	
All HHs	23.9%:	19.5%:	19.9%:	22.4%	21.6%
Cases:	114"	142	180	319	755
Average Meat & Fish Csmptn					
from Other HH Subsistence (%):					
Inupiat HHs:	30.5%:	24.1%:	22.5%:	12.6%	
Non-Inupiat HHs:	3.4%:	4.3%:	4.4%:	2.7%:	
All HHs	25.37%:	15.8%:	13.7%:	6.5%	12.8%
cases	113	141	181	316	751
Average Meat & Fish Harvested					
and Given Away (%):					
Inupiat HHs:	15.2%:	11.9%:	17.8%:	22.1%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	5.0%:	3.9%:	2.9%:	3.6%	
All HHs:	13.2%:	8.6%:	10.5%:	10.7%	10.6%
Cases:	114	142	160	316	752
Average Proportion HH Income					
Spent in Village (%):					
Inupiat HHs	68.0%:	67.5%:	60.6%:	46.4%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	43.1%:	44.5%:	35.0%:	31.7%	
All HHs	63.5%	57.4%:	46.5%	37.3%	47.6%
Cases:	112	135	169	318	734

Note: Total cases (households) = 966,

source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
Census of Population and Economy

An inevitable consequence of the diversification of households was that the number of those composed only of **Inupiat** decreased. In 1985, **Inupiat** heads of households had become the minority, representing only 47% of all household heads. This was a decrease from 1978 when 64% of household heads were **Inupiat** (Worl and Smythe 1986:108). The figures from 1985 contrast with the 1989 NSB census which shows that **Inupiat** households constitute 53% of the households in Barrow.

In addition, between 1978 and 1985 the percentage of households headed by women of all ethnic groups increased from 20 to 26%. Among those households headed only by **Inupiat**, 22% were headed by women in 1978 and 33% by women in 1985. A similar increase in female heads of households in the non-**Inupiat** population has not occurred (Worl and Smythe 1986:110).

3. Influences on Household Size and Composition

Three factors typically influence the size and composition of households on the North Slope and this holds true in Barrow. The NSB policy to provide separate housing for all nuclear families has been one important influence on household size and composition in Barrow. Planners assumed that adults would prefer to live separately from their parents (Smythe and Worl 1985: 124). This NSB mandate paved the way for household land subdivisions which were also contrary to the **Inupiat** cultural preference to live with, or near, ones extended family.

In addition to household and land use planning, economic and educational opportunities have influenced the size and composition of families. Worl and Smythe report that in the period after the closing of the Arctic Contractors (ARCON) facility (the base from which exploratory work in NPR-A took place), contact with the outside world intensified despite the loss of many jobs for **Inupiat** (1986:41-42). Teenagers and men began to travel and remain away from their homes for prolonged periods. The men were most often working in Alaskan urban centers. More than a hundred children from Barrow attended the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) school in Mt. Edgecumbe near Sitka. An unknown number of these individuals never returned to Barrow.

The composition of households in Barrow has been affected greatly by the in-migration of non-Natives. Many of the outsiders who came to Barrow for employment decided to remain there permanently and have since become integral members of the community. Often this integration included non-Native men marrying Native women and bearing children. The extent of this phenomenon is discussed above.

C. Educational Status

1. Current Educational Levels

The current educational status of **Barrowites** is illustrated in Table 9-BRW. It should be noted that not only do Barrow residents have more diversified programs in the local high school than in other villages, there is also greater access to educational programs beyond high school.

2. Social and Ethnic Differences in Educational Levels

One important contrast in educational achievement **by age** maybe seen among Inupiat residents. In the age group between 18 and 39 years of age, for example, nearly **70%** of all residents finished high school. If one looks at ages **40** through 59, however, only 38% of these individuals finished high school. For individuals aged 60 and over, less than 3% finished high school. For **non-Inupiat** residents, only 10% of the population as a **whole** did not finish high school. Further, in contrast to the **Inupiat** portion of the population, 100% of **non-Inupiat** individuals over the age of 60 finished high school.

3. Educational and Employment Opportunities

Prior to the **incorporation** of the NSB, the **BIA** was responsible for the education of those living on the North Slope. School was available to students until they reached high school. Students desiring to complete high **school** had to go to Mt. **Edgcumbe** near Sitka or to **BIA** schools in Oregon, Kansas, or Oklahoma. It was also possible for students to attend high **school** in Nenana, Fairbanks, and Anchorage through a boarding home program (Alaska Consultants 1983:91).

Since the incorporation of the NSB, schools have been run by the NSB **School** District, which offers classes from **Early** Childhood Education (**ECE**) through the twelfth grade. A modern school **complex**, containing five wings housing classrooms, recreation facilities, an auditorium, a vocational education unit and a utilities structure, replaced the old one **in** 1983 (Alaska Consultants 1983:91).

In the economic and employment sphere, the NSB has been most influential in providing employment opportunities. This **is** true for both direct government employment under the NSB and for indirect employment through Borough government contracts (Alaska Consultants 1983: 12). “In addition, the operations of locally based native corporations, the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation and the **Ukpeagvik Inupiat Corporation (UIC)**, also make important **contributions** to **local** employment and income” (Alaska Consultants 1983:12).

D. Marriage Patterns

1. Characteristics of Marriage

Some interesting characteristics of marriage status can be gleaned from the NSB Census of Population and Economy (Table 10-BRW). The proportion of divorce in the **non-Inupiat** population, 10.1%, is over three times that of the **Inupiat** population, 3.5%. On the other hand, the proportion of widows in the **Inupiat** population (3.6%) is much larger than that of the **non-Inupiat** population (0.7%). Perhaps this is due to the permanence of most of the Barrow **Inupiat** compared to Barrow’s **non-Inupiat** population. More **Inupiat** than **non-Inupiat** are likely to be in Barrow long enough for a spouse to pass away. However, it is **likely** that these percentages are misleadingly low, especially among **Inupiat**.

Table 9-BRW

Highest **Level** of Education Attained **by Age Group**
Inupiat Residents, Barrow -198\$

	<u>COLLEGE+</u>	<u>SOME COLLEGE</u>	<u>VO TECH GRAD</u>	<u>HIGH SCH OR GED</u>	<u>NOT FINISH HIGH SCH</u>	<u>STILL IN SCHOOL</u>	<u>NOT IN SCH YET</u>	<u>NOT ASCERTAIN</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
UNDER 4						33	222	1	256
4 - 8						237	19		256
9 - 15					4	211	1		216
16 - 17				1	15	47			63
18 - 25	4	26	5	137	64	11	3	1	251
26 - 39	27	61	6	211	92	1	2	6	406
40 - 59	14	35	9	64	106		3	11	242
60 - 65		2		1	40		1	1	45
66 +	3			2	58		4	10	77
TOTAL	48	124	20	416	372	540	255	30	1812
%	2.6%	6.8%	1.1%	23.0%	20.9%	29.8%	14.1%	1.7%	100.0%
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS									137
TOTAL POPULATION (Inupiat)									1949

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
 Census of Population and Economy, 1969.

Table 9-BRW (continued)

Highest **Level** of Education Attained by Age Group
Non-Inupiat Residents, Barrow -1988

	<u>COLLEGE+</u>	<u>SOME COLLEGE</u>	<u>VO TECH GRAD</u>	<u>HIGH SCH OR GED</u>	<u>SCH NOT FINISH HIGH SCH</u>	<u>STILL IN SCHOOL</u>	<u>NOT IN SCH YET</u>	<u>NOT ASCERTAIN</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
UNDER 4						15	78	6	99
4- a						74	6	2	82
9-15					4	97	4	2	107
16-17		1		1	6	20		1	29
18-25	13	42	6	46	5	5	1	0	120
26-39	161	126	14	105	13	1	1	4	425
40-59	146	59	7	68	15		1	1	297
60-65	5	3		8	2		0	0	18
66+	2	1		2	4		0	0	9
TOTAL	327	232	27	232	49	212	91	16	1188
%	27.5%	19.6%	2.3%	19.5%	4.1%	17.9%	7.7%	1.3%	100.0%
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS									88
TOTAL POPULATION (Non-Inupiat)									1274

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
 Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Table 10-BRW

Marital Status by Ethnicity
Barrow - 1988

<u>MARITAL CATEGORY</u>	<u>INUPIAT</u>			<u>NON-INUPIAT</u>			<u>TOTAL VILLAGE</u>	<u>% OF TOTAL</u>
	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>		
NOW MARRIED	203	255	458	265	218	503	961	49.0%
WIDOWED	16	46	62	1	7	8	70	3.6%
DIVORCED	23	38	61	59	58	117	178	9.1%
SEPARATED	10	15	25	8	7	15	40	2.0%
NEVERMARRIED	262	209	471	149	92	241	712	36.3%
TOTAL	514	563	1077	502	382	884	1961	100.0%
%	26.2%	28.7%	54.9%	25.6%	19.5%	45.1%	100.0%	
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS							25	
TOTAL POPULATION (age 16+)							1986	

Note: Figures include persons age 16 and above.

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
Census of Population and Economy, 1989

Several factors **could** be at work. Perhaps chief among them is that **Inupiat** also tend to be much less formal than many **non-Inupiat** (and especially those **non-Inupiat** who only spend a few years on the North **Slope**) in their **spousal** relationships. Formal marriage is often not entered into until after several children are born. If the relationship terminates before then, no divorce or even separation is in effect. Impressionistically, a very high percentage of **Inupiat** have experienced such a breakup of a significant relationship.

2. Changes in Marriage Patterns

There is little good direct information on marriage patterns in Barrow or any of the other NSB communities. What can be discussed with some confidence is the difference between Barrow and the other communities. While the outer villages have stayed about the same in terms of the percentage of the population that **is non-Inupiat**, in Barrow this population has increased greatly over time. This increase is not restricted to working age males, hitherto the typical **non-Inupiat** “resident.” The numbers of **non-Inupiat** attending school in **Barrow** attest to the increasing number of **non-Inupiat** families who are settling in the community. This is another indication of the change in the North Slope regional economy and the NSB government spending pattern. Large-scale CIP programs, which used to employ large numbers of single, male, **non-Inupiat** have been completed for the most part. Operating and maintenance programs rely more on a resident labor force, and that portion which must be recruited from off-Slope is more apt to relocate rather than commute, since most such jobs are year-round and have no special provision for a week-on, week-off or similar schedule as do the jobs at **Prudhoe Bay**. All these generalizations are borne out by the recent (1989) NSB census.

The percentage of ethnically “mixed” marriages can also be assumed to have increased in Barrow, although this is based more on local informants’ observations than on statistical information, since the NSB census did not collect this information. **School** teachers report more children of interethnic marriages as students. In addition, the larger numbers of **non-Inupiat**, non-White individuals in Barrow have resulted in various **Inupiat-“other”** marriages. These also exist in the outer villages, but only on a very limited basis.

In terms of who marries whom, the information is far from definitive, but it still appears that the village pattern of **non-Inupiat** men marrying **Inupiat** women is by far the most common interethnic marriage. There are **non-Inupiat** women married to **Inupiat** men, but the numbers of **single non-Inupiat** women who come to the North **Slope** are still much less than the number of single, **non-Inupiat** men. **Interethnic** marriages composed of **non-Inupiat** men and **Inupiat** women also tend to be more stable (**observationally** and by informant report) than do other types. Anecdotal evidence suggests that this may be because **Inupiat** men have certain cultural expectations regarding **husband/wife roles**, sexual division of labor, and differing standards of behavior that **non-Inupiat** women have trouble adjusting to. No informant ever assessed the relative stabilities of “mixed” marriages and **Inupiat-Inupiat** or White-White marriages on the North Slope, but this could be a fruitful future research topic.

E. Migration **Patterns**

1. Characteristics of and Influences on Migration

Migration has been a regular feature of **Inupiat** life for **thousands** of years. Especially in **pre-contact** times, but also until permanent villages were established, migration patterns were based upon the **seasonal supply** of subsistence resources. This type of migration changed to some degree after contact because the motivation to migrate was **no longer** for subsistence purposes. Wage employment became the motivating factor in both immigration and emigration. And it was both of these processes that have had such important effects on the population of Barrow.

Dramatic increases in migration to Barrow occurred between 1975 and 1985, as discussed in the previous section on population. However, it is interesting to note that "...43 percent of **all 1980** households were new to the **community** since 1978, and 58 percent of the 1985 households immigrated between 1980 and 1985. This figure **compares** with an average of **between** five and ten percent immigration in previous decades" (Worl and Smythe 1986:14). These figures attest to the newness of the population of Barrow.

To complement the increasing proportion of non-Natives in Barrow there was a significant **out-migration** of local **Inupiat**. Of **535** households that left Barrow between 1978 and 1985, **44%** were Native families (Worl and Smythe 1986:117). The rest were presumably non-Natives leaving temporary jobs.

Influences on migration **are** not static in Barrow. People's motives for moving change with the times. In addition to **economic** opportunities associated with the wage labor economy, education and military training have been important factors influencing **Inupiat** to migrate to or out of Barrow. Tourism became another source of migration to Barrow once the Wein airline service began to serve Barrow in 1944 and a hotel was built a few years later (Worl and Smythe 1986:43).

2. Community History

Most of the information for this discussion is taken from Worl and Smythe 1986, pp. 36-50, 87-105. The **Inupiat** living in or around the Barrow area were first contacted by outsiders (non-Native Americans, Europeans, Polynesians, Negroes, and undoubtedly **nearly all** other nationalities and "races") in the early to mid-nineteenth century. These foreigners remained in the vicinity of Barrow (and other locations in the north) so that they could exploit the **large** populations of bowhead **whales and** walrus in the Arctic Ocean. When large whaling fleets came into contact with the **local Inupiat** it was not **uncommon for the Natives to provide food and shelter for whalers who overwintered** in ships or established onshore whaling stations. **Inupiat** also provided **relief** for those **crews** who were wrecked or **otherwise** became stranded.

During the whaling period, which lasted until **the** market for baleen crashed in 1908, the population of Barrow **grew** significantly. In 1890 there were 398 **people** in the **Pt.** Barrow area. This area included the two **villages** of **Utqiagvik** and **Nuvuk**. Out of this figure, 66 were reportedly non-Natives. **After** 1890 **the** population of Nuvuk began to decline and soon **Utqiagvik**, the site of modern Barrow, was the permanent settlement. In 1900 there were 314 **people** in **Utqiagvik** alone.

However, between 1910 and the end of World War II the population of Barrow did not continue to increase. The lucrative whaling industry died and the economy slowed tremendously.

After the demise of the whaling industry, the Bureau of Education arranged for the importation of reindeer from Russia. It was thought that they might be herded as a means of support for former **Inupiat** whalers. The **history** of the reindeer **industry** on the North Slope has not received the attention that it has in other parts of **Alaska**, and is **fairly complex**. Ownership around Barrow appears to have become rather **concentrated**, even though a significant number of people still participated in the business as wage earners. Information is still unfortunately too scattered to provide a good overview at this point. A significant number of individuals were also involved in trapping and trading. The total population along the coast and rivers to the south and east of Barrow was 280 individuals in 1939. This number was a decrease from being the largest North Slope village in 1910. An important but temporary characteristic of this period was the relative absence of **non-Inupiat** in the area. The only non-Natives in the area were the ". . . owner and staff of the Cape **Smythe** Whaling and Trading Company, **the** Presbyterian missionary and family, a **school** teacher, and three nurses" (**Worl and Smythe 1986:93**).

The mild **depression** and slow growth of Barrow continued until the establishment of PET-4, when the Navy began exploring for **oil** in 1944. **Until** this time wage employment had been limited. But in response to political pressure to employ Natives, **Inupiat** laborers in oil exploration became numerous. More than 200 **Inupiat** were employed with the naval contractor ARCON during its seven years of operation (**Worl and Smythe 1986:36**). Also, during the 1940s Barrow itself was modernized. The Navy subsidized the construction of 100 new homes and roads. An airport was built, a sanitation program was **instituted**, and generators were introduced for electricity. Another major change was the discovery of gas outside of Barrow. Once the people managed to get the gas piped into their homes, all agreed that life became much easier. One adult in **Worl and Smythe's** study said, "Children born after the gas was hooked up don't know anything about hard living I think they never believe me when I told them we had a hard **time** when we were kids" (**Worl and Smythe 1986:38**).

Once wage labor employment came to Barrow, people had cash and were able to buy material items such as washing machines. Another effect of the employment with the Navy was the availability and subsequent abuse of alcohol. Coincident with this was the appearance of child neglect and abuse (Wed and Smythe 1986).

Employment with ARCON ended in 1953. Nevertheless, more than a thousand **Inupiat** chose to remain in the community. Hunting and fishing activities once again became the mainstay of household economy (to the extent that they had been displaced by wage activities). Some families chose to leave Barrow to go to Fairbanks or Anchorage but they usually returned to their kin in Barrow or at least maintained a residence there. Many children went to boarding "school in Mt. **Edgecumbe** near **Sitka** and a number of men joined the military or the National Guard. These activities outside of Barrow proved to be very important in shaping the personal lives of these people. Many of these people who went "off Slope" for school or work became political figures in the movement to **unify** Alaska Natives or members of boards and committees after the formation of the **NSB**. Examples of these boards that were established during the 1960s are the Barrow **Health** Board, the Barrow Improvement Board, the Arctic Slope Native Association (**ASNA**), and

the **Inupiat Paitot** (People's Heritage). **The** latter two were formed to promote Native land **claims** in Alaska (**Worl and Smythe 1986:41-44**).

The passage of **ANCSA**, the incorporation of the **NSB**, and the decision to make Barrow the capital of the **borough** marked the beginning of truly dramatic change. The borough acquired a substantial revenue base **from** its ability to tax oil production facilities within its boundaries and was thus financially able to create a myriad of public **services** for the eight villages on the North **Slope**. A **NSB** central office building was built for the administrative staff that grew from year to year (and that continues to do so). New departments such as **Public** Safety and Search and Rescue were established in response to the desire to have **local** control over services vital to local communities, and state-of-the-art facilities and equipment were provided for these departments. The **NSB School** District was organized and also headquartered in Barrow. Numerous commercial enterprises were created as **well**. Barrow presently contains “. . . **multi-storied, glass-fronted** office buildings; city buses; a variety of stores, **hotels**, and restaurants; racquetball courts, an indoor **track**, and swimming pool; and local radio and TV stations . . .“ **all** of which have appeared since the mid-1970s (**Wed and Smythe 1986:54**).

Accompanying the exponential increase in activity in Barrow was new employment. The **majority** of the new jobs that were **filled** by Natives consisted of the construction of homes, storage houses, **buildings**, and roads. Administrative and professional jobs were **filled by** primarily by non-Natives. This continues to be the case in Barrow today as is discussed in the following section on economy.

SECTION II: ECONOMY

A. Historical Overview

The economy of the **people** in the Barrow area was subsistence-based until the foreign whalers arrived in the **mid-1800s**. That contact marked the beginning of formalized trading and bartering, although subsistence hunting was still the most important part **of** the Native way of life. When the market for baleen collapsed in the latter part **of** the nineteenth century, reindeer herding and trapping and trading for furs constituted a major portion of the **local** economy (Alaska Consultants 1983:11; **Smythe** and **Worl** 1985; **Worl** and **Smythe** 1986).

The **Inupiat** continued to engage in these activities until the fur market collapsed in the 1920s. The cash (wage) economy around Barrow, as well as that of the whole North Slope and United States, became depressed. From this time period until the early 1940s, changes in the economy occurred slowly. "Changes in the economic system were associated with the commercialization of wildlife production which allowed the **Inupiat** to continue activities with which they were already familiar, i.e., whaling, reindeer herding, trapping, and producing arts and crafts from the harvested wildlife resources" (Wed and **Smythe** 1986:35).

It wasn't until the U.S. Navy decided to explore for **oil** in the **NPR-A** that the cash (wage) economy began to regain strength. Many **Inupiat** men gained employment with ARCON, the private contracting company that was hired to carry out the actual exploratory program. In addition, there were normally 300-500, mostly non-Inupiat, men employed at the Naval Arctic Research **Laboratory (NARL)** camp. The exploration for **oil** with ARCON ceased in 1953, which eliminated one source of jobs for locals. However, Barrow's economy continued to grow. Construction of the DEW Line across the arctic was one of a number of new sources of employment for **Inupiat**.

Today, the NSB and firms contracting through the NSB are by far the primary supporters of the economy of Barrow.

The borough structure gave the **Inupiat** the means to tap into revenues from development of **fossil fuels** in the region, both **on-** and **offshore**, and it also gave them the political standing in Juneau and Washington to increase their access to state and federal sources of revenue, which amounted to more than \$33 million (Wed and **Smythe** 1986:135).

B. The Public Sector

1. Organization

The organization of the public sector as distinct from the private sector is difficult to analyze. This is because so much of the employment in Barrow is subsidized by the NSB, either directly or indirectly. In most censuses, for example, contract **construction** is **not** included as being part of the public sector. However, the ultimate source of funding for virtually all construction **projects** is the NSB, despite the fact that the contractors are private firms (see Alaska Consultants 1983:Table 3). With this in **mind**, the figures for public sector employment become even more extraordinary.

NSB government jobs are pervasive. NSB employees staff the **School** District, the Administration and Finance **department**, the Department of Social **Services**, the **Fire** Department, the Search and **Rescue** department, the Planning department and the Department of Public Safety, **and** that is only a partial list of NSB responsibilities. In both 1978 and 1982 there were only 13 State of Alaska jobs in Barrow. Federal government employment **in** Barrow in 1982 came primarily from the U.S. Public Health **Service** which operated the hospital in Barrow serving most of the NSB. Other federal agencies that **employ** locally are the Federal Aviation Administration, the National Weather Service, and the Postal **Service** (Alaska Consultants et al. 1983:497). The vast majority of wage positions in Barrow are NSB positions.

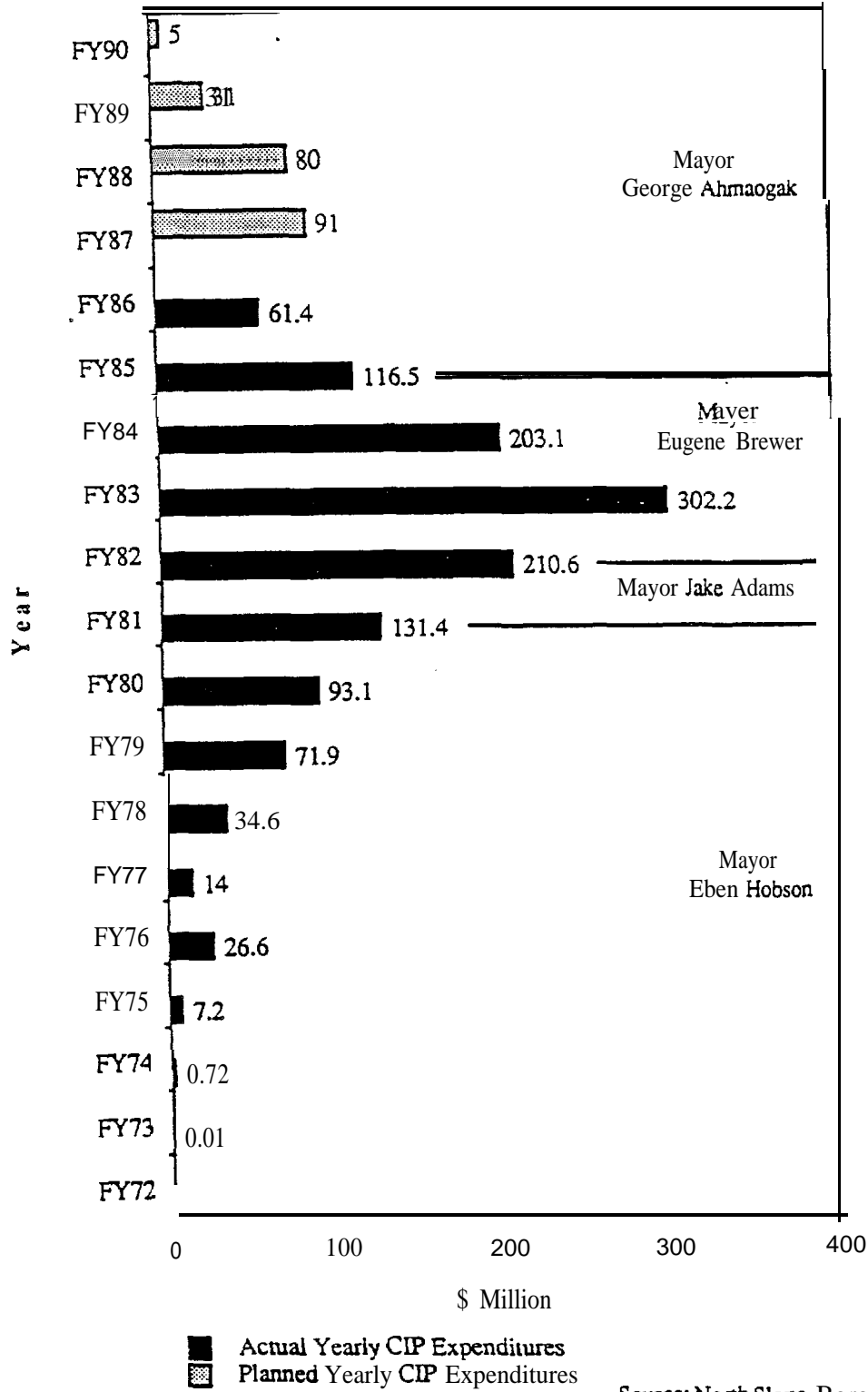
2. Employment

Local government employment through the late 1970s and 1980s was primarily with the Capital Improvements Program (**CIP**). The **CIP** was funded by huge **annual** property tax revenues which amounted to \$35 million in **FY** 1979 and \$152 million in **FY** 1983. "**Local** government employment in the region increased from 19 in 1972 to 1,183 in 1979 (Knapp 1985b:E-37)" (Worl and Smythe 1986:138). Knapp also estimated that ". . . in 1984, 71 percent of **all** employment on the North Slope either directly or indirectly depended on borough spending, and about 34 percent of total employment was directly attributable to **NSB** CIP and contractor **CIP** employment" (Knapp 1985a:7, cited from Worl and Smythe 1986:137). Figure 9-BRW illustrates the exponential increase between 1978 and 1983 in **CIP** spending. These expenditures are directly related to the boom in Inupiat employment in the **public** sector.

In 1980 and 1985, local government employment in Barrow accounted for more than 50% of **all** employment (Worl and Smythe 1986:138). In 1982, for **example**, 667 people (49.6%) of the population of Barrow was working in the public sector. About 44.3% of these were NSB government jobs. If one includes the contract construction industry, **63.6%** of employment was with the **NSB** (Table 11-BRW). Unfortunately, Alaska Consultants does not provide a breakdown of employment by sex or **ethnicity**.

Figure 9-BRW

North Slope Borough CIP Expenditures
1972-1986 Actual; 1987-1990 Planned



Source: North Slope Borough

Table 11-BRW

Average **Annual** Full-Time Employment*
Barrow - 1982

<u>Industry Classification</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent of Total</u>
Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishing	0.0	0.0
Mining	32.0	2.4
Contract Construction	260.0	19.3
Manufacturing	0.0	0 . 0 . . .
Transportation, Communication, and Public Utilities	177.0	13.2
Trade	70.0	5.2
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	60.0	4.5
Services	79.0	5.9
Government	667.0	49.6
Federal	(58.0)	(4.3)
State	(13.0)	(1.0)
Local	(596.0)	(44.3)
TOTAL	1,345.0	100.0

* Excludes local persons working in **the Prudhoe** Bay area.

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc.

Table 12-BRW

Industry Composition of Employment by Sex and Ethnicity
Barrow -1988

INDUSTRY GROUP	INUPIAT			NON-INUPIAT			TOTAL	% OF
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	VILLAGE	TOTAL
PRIVATE SECTOR								
FISHERIES	1		1	2		2	3	
MINING	17	2	19	3		3	22	
CONSTRUCTION	35	4	39	19	2	21	60	
TRANSP/COMM/PUBLIC UTIL	9	20	29	57	16	73	102	
TRADE	7	6	13	21	19	40	53	
FINANCE/INSUR/REAL EST		2	2	2	8	10	12	
BUSINESS/REPAIR SERV	5	4	9	14	8	22	31	
ENTERTMT/REC/TOURIST SER	1	4	5	5	6	11	16	
HEALTH, SOCIAL, & EDUC SER	1	4	5	6	9	15	20	
SELF-EMPLOYED	3	6	9	12	10	22	31	
NATIVE CORP & AFFILIATE	65	36	101	22	8	30	131	
OTHER	6	3	9	13	12	25	34	
SUBTOTAL	150	91	241	176	96	274	515	34.3%
NSB GOVERNMENT								
HEALTH	13	56	69	25	64	89	158	
PUBLIC SAFETY	2	1	3	31	6	37	44	
MUNICIPAL SERV	1	1	2	56	12	68	182	
FIRE DEPT	5	2	7	4		4	11	
SEARCH & RESCUE	5	2	7	7	1	8	15	
HOUSING	26	10	36	20	6	26	63	
WILDLIFE MGT	4	1	5	6	3	9	14	
RELI & MJP	15	13	28	6	6	12	40	
LAW OFFICE			0	2	3	5	5	
ADMIN & FINANCE	4	37	41	8	11	19	60	
PLANNING	4	15	19	9	5	14	33	
INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT		2	2		1	1	3	
HIGHER EDUCATION CENTER	1	2	3	2	3	5	8	
MAYOR'S OFFICE & ASSEMBLY	5	6	11	3	1	4	15	
OTHER NSB	9	10	19	2	1	3	22	
SUBTOTAL	165	172	337	184	123	307	644	42.8%
NSB SCHOOL DISTRICT	17	56	73	63	91	154	227	15.1%
NSB SUBTOTAL	182	228	410	247	214	461	871	58.0%
OTHER LOCAL GOVT	14	14	28	6	5	11	39	2.5%
STATE GOVT	2	3	5	5	7	12	17	1.1%
FEDERAL GOVT	4	7	11	26	20	46	57	3.8%
ARMED FORCES	1	1	2	2		2	4	0.3%
SUBTOTAL ALL GOVT	203	253	456	296	246	542	988	65.7%
GRAND TOTAL	353	344	697	462	344	806	1503	100.0%
% OF TOTAL	23.5%	22.9%	46.4%	30.7%	22.9%	53.6%	100.0%	

Notes:

(1) Figures equal to number of persons employed, including part-time, temporary, and full-time employment.

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

According to the 1989 NSB Census of Population and Economy, the public sector employed 65.7% of the working population, indicating that the NSB continues to be the major employer in Barrow (Table 12-BRW). In addition, there are major sex differentials in certain industry classifications that are not representative of the population distribution. For example, **while** more men than women (**61%** versus **38.3%**) work in the public sector, women predominate in the NSB School District industry classification by a margin of 34.8% men and **65.2%** women. Men predominate in the municipal **service industry** by a 88.9% to 11.1% margin.

3. Revenues

Except for the 1979 fiscal year (**FY**), the revenues for the **City of Barrow** have increased substantially between 1977 and 1983 (see **Table 13-BRW**). The most dramatic increases took place in **FY** 1978 when revenues increased by 169.1% from **the** previous year and in **FY** 1982 when the percentage increase was 49.7. The overall increase in revenues for the **City of Barrow** went from 382,628 in **FY** 1977 to 2,390,343 in 1983, a percentage increase of 524.7%.

C. Private **Sector**

1. Organization

Since NSB CIP spending reached its highest **level** of \$302.2 million in **1983**, various NSB mayors have made serious efforts to **cut** back spending and encourage development in the private sector. This was done for two reasons. First, bonded indebtedness reached \$104,410 for each of the seven thousand people of the North Slope. Second, non-local contract firms were getting an increasingly large portion of the **CIP** construction contracts, a practice that was unadaptable to **local** residents. The amount given to outside contract construction firms increased from \$11.6 million in 1980 to more than \$90 million in 1982 (**Worl** and Smythe 198&142). However, efforts to encourage the development of the private sector have not been successful. The number of business licenses issued in Barrow between 1984 and 1985 dropped, indicating that the private sector has been **unable** to make **up** for declining spending and unemployment by the NSB (**Worl** and Smythe 1986:142). This applies to the situation in Barrow today where private sector employment is still far **below** that of the public sector.

Table 13-BRW

City of Barrow Revenues and Expenditures
1979-1983

	<u>1977-78</u>	<u>1978-79</u>	<u>1979-80</u>	<u>1980-81</u>	<u>1981-82</u>	<u>1982-83</u>	<u>1983-84</u>
REVENUES							
Text	181,516	178,916	155,082	219,623	277,438	305,016	318,267
Intergovernmental	108,435	759,621	409,930	633,406	803,756	1,242,917	1,524,930
Charges for Services	-0-	u -	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>335,382</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>	479,321
TOTAL	302,830	1,034,450	747,299	683,018	826,635	1,734,395	2,293,493

Source City of Barrow Financial Statement (year end June 30).

The types of employment that can be categorized as belonging to the private sector are those in the mining, transportation, communications, and public utilities industries (in Barrow, where utilities are provided by a private cooperative, but not in the villages where the NSB operates the utilities), the service sector (such as **hotel** and construction camp **services**), and the trade sector (grocery stores, restaurants). Contract construction **qualifies** as “private sector” employment only in a formal sense. ‘Nearly all funds for construction are derived from NSB bond issues **and all** construction work is subject to NSB work **rules** and policy. Barrow, unlike the other villages on the North Slope, also has a **large** finance, insurance, and **real** estate sector. “However, aside from a branch bank and a minor amount of employment associated with rentals, all of these jobs are derived from Native organizations established under **terms** of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, i.e. the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation and the **Ukpeagvik Inupiat** Corporation” (Smythe and **Worl 1985:499**). ANCSA was and is a **governmental/legislative** structure, under which the economic entities now predominate on the North **Slope** (the regional and village corporations) were organized and capitalized. The separation of public and private has thus been rather strained from the beginning and there are quite obvious close working relationships between the various governmental agencies and the new corporate entities. Overlapping and revoking door directorates are only one manifestation of this. In other words, there is very little traditional private enterprise in Barrow.

An arm of the private sector which is **seldom** mentioned is the arts and crafts trade. The largest **retail** store in Barrow, Alaska **Commercial/Stuaqpak**, **sells** these items on consignment. The purchasing of Native arts and crafts (including parkas) from **Stuaqpak** is significant enough to indicate that this sector is an important revenue source (**Worl and Smythe 198&154-55**). **Worl and Smythe** add (**1986:155**):

During 1985, a **total** of 147 consignments netted \$157,595. The highest **annual** income earned by some individuals ranged between \$10,000 and \$13,000. The lowest income ranged between \$300 and \$750. **These** included parkas, gloves, hats, carved ivory, baleen, and furs. **Small** baleen baskets retail for as much as \$1,200. The manager noted **an** increase in the number of items offered for sale by late 1985, which he attributed to the **depressed** economy in Barrow.

2. Employment

Rates of employment **in** the private sector in Barrow have increased **along** with general economic growth. According to Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey for 1980, there *were* **15** people in the mining industry, 94 people in the transportation, communications, and public utilities sector, 53 people in the services sector, 49 people in the trade sector, 91 people **in** contract construction, and 76 people employed in the finance, insurance, **and** real estate sector. **Tables 13-BRW and 14-BRW** also provide a breakdown of these areas by age, **sex**, and ethnicity.

Table 14-BRW

COMPOSITION OF EMPLOYMENT BY RACE AND SEX.**
 BARROW
 JUNE 1980

<u>Employment Sector</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Mining	13	2	15	0	0	0	13	2	15
Contract Construction	31	2	33	55	3	58	86	5	91
Transportation, Communications, and Public Utilities	31	11	42	44	8	52	75	19	94
Trade	9	9	18	21	10	31	30	19	49
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	26	21	47	16	13	29	42	34	76
Services	6	13	19	25	9	34	31	22	53
Government									
Federal	10	9	19	2	4	6	34	31	65
State	2	2	4	1	3	4	3	5	8
Local	218	131	349	155	97	252	373	228	601
Construction	(129)	(22)	(151)	(45)	(7)	(52)	(174)	(29)	(203)
Non-Construction	(89)	(109)	(198)	(110)	(90)	(200)	(199)	(199)	(398)
TOTAL	346	200	546	341	165	506	687	365	1,052

^s Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

• ^s Employment figures exclude 61 Alaska Natives (33 males and 28 females) and 1 Non-Native who listed various forms of assistance, primarily Social Security, as their major source of income. Employment figures also exclude 4% Alaska Natives (215 males and 281 females) and 77 non-Natives (27 males and 50 females) aged 16 and over for whom no employment information was provided or who claimed to be unemployed.

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department, Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 15-BRW

MAJOR EMPLOYERS BY SECTOR * 8.
BARROW
JUNE 1980

<u>Employment Sector and Employers</u>	<u>Number of Employees</u>
Mining	15
ARCO Oil and Gas Co.	(9)
Contract Construction	91
Eskimos, Inc.	(27)
H. W. Blackstock	(14)
Arctic Slope Alaska General	(11)
Haskell	(8)
Transportation, Communications and Public Utilities	94
Barrow Utilities (BUECI)	(25)
ITT	(18)
Wien Air Alaska	(14)
Cape Smythe Air Service	(13)
Jen-Air	(5)
Trade	49
Stuacpak	(13)
Pepes North of the Border	(11)
Brewer% Store No.1	(5)
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	76
Arctic slope Regional Corporation	(59)
Ukpeagvik Inupiat Corporation	(11)
Alaska National Bank	(5)
Services	53
Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope	(9)
Inupiat University	(7)
Tundra Tours	(5)
Government	
- Federal Government	65
Public Health Service	(46)
Federal Aviation Administration	(7)
National Weather Service	(5)
Post office	(5)
- State Government	8
- Local Government	601
North Slope Borough general government	(257)
North Slope Borough School District	(135)
North Slope Borough School construction	(203)
City of Barrow	(6)
<u>TOTAL EMPLOYEES</u>	1,052

• Major employers defined as having at least 5 employees.

** Employment was NOT necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Source Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 16-BRW

COMPOSITION OF EMPLOYMENT BY AGE, RACE, AND SEX *
 BARROW
 JULY 1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15-19	21	22	43	13	10	23	34	32	66
20-24	62	38	100	36	25	61	98	63	161
25-29	71	45	116	81	41	121	152	85	237
30-34	46	w	75	60	28	88	106	57	163
35-39	32	18	50	25	16	41	57	34	91
40-44	27	19	46	23	10	38	55	29	84
45-49	27	8	35	25	5	30	52	13	65
50-54	21	10	31	10	11	21	31	21	52
55-59	15	4	19	8	2	10	23	6	29
60-64	9	3	12	4	2	6	13	5	18
65-69	3	1	4	1	1	2	4	2	6
70-74	2	0	2	1	0	1	3	0	3
75 and over	1	0	1	1	0	1	2	0	2
Age unknown	9	3	12	48	15	63	57	18	75
TOTAL	346	200	546	341	165	506	687	365	1052

* Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 17-BRW

COMPOSITION OF MINING SECTOR EMPLOYMENT BY AGE, RACE, AND SEX *
 BARROW
 JUNE 1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15-19	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	2
20 - 24	4	0	4	0	0	0	4	0	4
25 - 29	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
30 - 34	2	1	3	0	0	0	2	1	3
35-39	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	2
40-44	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
45-49	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
50-54	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
55-59	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
60-64	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
65-69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70 - 74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Age unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	13	2	15	0	0	0	13	2	15

*Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 18-BRW

COMPOSITION OF CONTRACT CONSTRUCTION SECTOR EMPLOYMENT BY AGE, RACE, AND SEX *
 BARROW
 JUNE 1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15-19	1	0	1	1	0	1	2	0	2
20 - 24	7	1	8	1	1	2	8	2	10
25-29	10	0	10	7	1	8	17	1	18
30-34	5	0	5	6	0	6	11	0	11
35-39	3	1	4	2	1	3	5	2	7
40-44	1	0	1	3	0	3	4	0	4
45-49	0	0	0	5	0	5	5	0	5
50-54	3	0	3	2	0	2	5	0	5
55-59	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
60-64	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
65-69	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
70-74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Age unknown	1	0	1	2	6	0	2	6	27
TOTAL	31	2	33	55	3	58	86	5	91

• Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Source Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 19-BRW

COMPOSITION OF TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATIONS, AND
PUBLIC UTILITIES SECTOR EMPLOYMENT BY AGE, RACE, AND SEX *
BARROW
JUNE 1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15-19	2	2	4	2	0	2	4	2	6
20-24	3	4	7	3	1	4	6	5	11
25-29	7	1	8	16	3	19	23	4	27
30 - 34	3	0	3	9	3	12	12	3	15
35-39	0	1	1	4	0	4	4	1	5
40-44	3	1	4	1	0	1	4	1	5
45-49	5	0	5	3	0	3	8	0	8
50-54	5	2	7	1	0	1	6	2	8
55-59	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
60-64	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	2
65-69	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
'70-74	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
75 and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Age unknown	0	0	0	4	0	4	4	0	4
TOTAL	31	11	42	44	8	52	75	19	94

• Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Source Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 20-BRW

COMPOSITION OF TRADE SECTOR EMPLOYMENT BY AGE, RACE, AND SEX “
 BARROW
 JUNE 1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15-19	1	4	5	4	3	7	5	7	12
20-24	1	2	3	0	2	2	1	4	5
25-29	2	0	2	5	0	5	7	0	7
30 - 34	1	0	1	1	1	2	2	1	3
35-39	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	1	2
40-44	0	3	3	1	0	1	1	3	4
45-49	2	0	2	1	1	2	3	1	4
50-54	1	0	1	1	2	3	2	2	4
55-59	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
60-64	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
65-69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70 - 74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 and over	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Age unknown	0	0	0	7	0	7	7	0	7
TOTAL	9	9	18	21	10	31	30	19	49

• Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 21-BRW

COMPOSITION OF FINANCE, INSURANCE, AND REAL ESTATE
SECTOR EMPLOYMENT BY AGE, RACE, AND SEX *
BARROW
JUNE 1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
15-19	0	1	1	0	3	3	0	4	4
20-24	5	8	13	1	0	1	6	8	14
25-29	6	5	11	3	3	6	9	8	17
30-34	4	3	7	2	1	3	6	4	10
35-39	4	0	4	3	1	4	7	1	8
40-44	1	2	3	1	0	1	2	2	4
45-49	1	1	2	2	0	2	3	1	4
50-54	2	1	3	2	1	3	4	2	6
55-59	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	2
60-64	1	0	1	1	1	2	2	1	3
65-69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70 - 74	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
75 and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Age unknown	0	0	0	1	2	3	1	2	3
TOTAL	26	21	47	16	13	29	42	34	76

* Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 22-BRW

COMPOSITION OF SERVICES SECTOR EMPLOYMENT BY AGE, RACE, AND SEX •
BARROW
 JUNE 1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15-19	1	2	3	1	1	2	2	3	5
20-24	0	3	3	2	1	3	2	4	6
25-29	3	1	4	9	3	12	12	4	16
30-34	0	0	0	4	0	4	4	0	4
35-39	0	1	1	1	2	3	1	3	4
40-44	2	1	3	2	1	3	4	2	6
45-49	0	0	0	2	0	2	2	0	2
50-54	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	3
55-59	0	1	1	2	0	2	2	1	3
60-64	0	2	2	1	0	1	1	2	3
65-69	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
70-74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Age unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	6	13	19	25	9	34	31	22	53

• Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 23-BRW

COMPOSITION OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ~~SECTOR~~ EMPLOYMENT BY AGE, RACE, AND SEX •
 BARROW
 JUNE 1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15-19	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
20-24	1	0	1	2	3	5	3	3	6
25-29	0	0	0	4	3	7	4	3	7
30 - 34	0	1	1	6	1	7	6	2	8
35-39	3	2	5	4	2	6	7	4	11
40-44	1	1	2	3	1	4	4	2	6
45-49	1	2	3	1	2	3	2	4	6
50-54	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	4
55-59	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
60 - 64	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
65-69	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	2
70-74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Age unknown	1	0	1	3	8	11	4	8	12
TOTAL	10	9	19	24	22	46	34	31	65

* Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Source Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table **24-BRW**

COMPOSITION OF STATE GOVERNMENT SECTOR EMPLOYMENT BY AGE, RACE, AND SEX •
 BARROW
 JUNE 1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15-19	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
20-24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
25-29	1	1	2	0	2	2	1	3	4
30-34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
35-39	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
40-44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
45-49	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
50-54	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
55-59	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
60-64	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
65-69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70 - 74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Age unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	2	2	4	1	3	4	3	5	8

• Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Source Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table **25-BRW**

COMPOSITION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT NON-CONSTRUCTION SECTOR EMPLOYMENT
BY AGE, RACE, AND SEX”
BARROW
JUNE 1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15-19	4	7	11	1	2	3	5	9	14
20 - 24	10	14	24	8	12	20	18	26	44
25 -29	18	29	47	25	24	49	43	53	96
30-34	15	22	37	30	22	52	45	44	89
35-39	12	11	23	9	9	18	21	20	41
40-44	8	11	19	16	8	24	24	19	43
45-49	6	5	11	8	2	10	14	7	21
50-54	3	4	7	2	5	7	5	9	14
55-59	4	2	6	4	1	5	8	3	11
60-64	4	1	5	1	0	1	5	1	6
65-69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70-74	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
75 and over	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
Age unknown	4	3	7	5	5	10	9	8	17
TOTAL	89	109	198	110	90	200	199	199	398

•Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked **only** to list their employer or major source of income.

Source Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table **26-BRW**

COMPOSITION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT CONSTRUCTION SECTOR EMPLOYMENT
 BY AGE, RACE, AND SEX*
 "BARROW
 JUNE 1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15-19	11	3	14	4	1	5	15	4	19
20-24	31	6	37	19	5	24	50	11	61
25-29	23	8	31	12	1	13	35	9	44
30-34	16	2	18	2	0	2	18	2	20
35-39	8	2	10	0	0	0	8	2	10
40-'44	10	0	10	1	0	1	11	0	11
45-49	10	0	10	3	0	3	13	0	13
50-54	5	1	6	0	0	0	5	1	6
55-59	9	0	9	2	0	2	11	0	11
60-64	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	2
65-69	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
70-74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Age unknown	3	0	3	2	0	2	5	0	5
TOTAL	129	22	151	45	7	52	174	29	203

• Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Source Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

The majority of jobs are filled by those in the 20-34 year-old-age range for **all** employment sectors (see Table 16-BRW). The sex breakdown of different industry categories indicated in 1980 that, among Alaska Natives, females were under-represented in all categories except the **service** sector where there were twice as many women. In the trade sector there were nine women and nine men employed. This did not hold true for the non-Natives. Men outnumbered women by almost three to one in the **service** sector and about **two** to one in the trade sector. However, one must bear in mind that the proportion of women to men in these ethnic groups was not equal. While the proportion was approximately **equal** among Natives, this was not the case among non-Natives (see Tables 16-BRW through 21-BRW).

The 1989 NSB Census of Population and **Economy** is consistent with the data from 1980 in all areas except one (refer to Table 12-BRW above), that is the finance, insurance and real estate sector. While there were 76 **people** employed in this industry in 1980, only 12 are counted as employed in this area in 1988. Whether this is a **real** difference or **merely** one of methodology or definition is currently being investigated.

D. Economic Issues and" Concerns

A detailed financial analysis of the City of Barrow does not exist in the literature and we did not collect detailed financial information. Barrow faces many of the same problems as the other villages, however, and can be fruitfully compared to them in that regard. In terms of other ongoing MMS research (Social Indicators, HRAF), Barrow is a "hub" community and differs from the other, "non-hub," communities by an entire constellation of features. Barrow is larger, ethnically and economically more diverse, has more developed **social** services, and so on. Perhaps the largest and most significant difference with the outer villages is that Barrow has a larger **pool** of potential people from which to recruit for city (and other) positions. Many of these people gained valuable experience through establishing the utilities cooperative in Barrow, serving in the local government before the era of land claims, or through their **roles** in the passage of the Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement Act. A good number of people were involved in **all** three. While some of these people have moved to the outer villages, most **still** remain in Barrow for the same reasons that they were there in previous times. Barrow, for the most part, is "where of the action **is**." Barrow is probably the only NSB village which has a surplus of qualified **people** for most positions. Barrow, for example, pays its mayor a **salary** and thus has an easier time attracting candidates.

Barrow also has an advantage over most of the other villages in that it is a **first-class** city under state law, which confers specific powers as **well** as obligations. Barrow's larger size and its position as a hub community to which residents of other villages come to buy certain items makes the money generated from a **local sales** tax a significant amount, rather than the relatively **paultry** amount generated in the other villages (\$4,000/year in Nuiqsut, for example). The types of grants that Barrow is eligible for as a **first-class** city are greater in number and wider in scope than for other NSB communities. Size is clearly a significant factor because with size comes a certain minimum guaranteed city income and a relatively large talent **pool** to draw from to help determine how to employ that income. The City of Barrow has been able to hire effective grant writers and obtain money for a number of projects independently of the NSB (the recreation building, for one) and runs certain programs (again the recreation program is a good example) independently of NSB funds. The fact that Barrow is the seat of the NSB government does not hurt the City of Barrow

in this regard, as they have been able to hire **non-Inupiat** consultants or employees who had initially been drawn to the community by employment opportunities with the **NSB**.

1. Employment Trends

A trend that was apparent as early as 1977 was the disproportionate representation of women in various occupational groups. **Inupiat** women tended to **fill** fill-time clerical and record-keeping jobs within the borough administration. Men, in **contrast**, took high-paying seasonal jobs. Because these jobs were seasonal men were able to continue subsistence activities to some degree (**Worl and Smythe 1986:136**).

This trend exists today as well and can be seen from Table **27-BRW**. While **Inupiat** women represent slightly over 50% of the Native population, they outnumber Native men in administrative support positions by **about** 9 to 1. In the teacher and teacher's aide occupations, there are six times as many women as there are men. In **service** positions, the proportion of Native women to Native men is approximately 2.6 to 1. Within the non-Native population, women constitute 43% of the work force. At the same time they outnumber men as administrators 5.4 to 1 and as teachers and teacher's aides by 2.5 and 16 to 1 respectively.

The implications of women occupying the **bulk** of the full-time year-round jobs are several. The traditional patterns of child care and **child** rearing are challenged. Mothers are no longer able to be the primary caretakers, at least for a portion of the day. In addition, the "cultural safety net" used to cope with such situations in the past, the care of such **children** by their grandparents or other relations, has become less possible as households have become increasingly nuclear in structure and distances between households, even in the same village, have become greater. In fact, lack of child care was frequently mentioned during fieldwork as a problem for working mothers.

Looking at the numbers of **people** one would assume to be in the labor force, namely those ages 16 through 59, some striking differences emerge. Of 463 **Inupiat** men in this age group, 390 are in the labor force and 352 are employed. Of 506 **Inupiat** woman in this age group, 351 are in the labor force and 331 are employed. Of 491 **non-Inupiat** men in this age group, 471 are in the labor force and 460 are employed. Of 357 **non-Inupiat** woman in this age group, 340 are in the labor force and 332 are employed. Essentially **all non-Inupiat** adults are in the labor force, as are the great majority of **Inupiat** men. Well over half of **Inupiat** women are in the labor force, but they are, as a group, the least active in the labor force. **Non-Inupiat** have a low unemployment rate, while there is significant unemployment among both male and female **Inupiat**.

The relationship between and implications of population, labor force, and employment data for Barrow for the years 1980 and ~~1983~~ are shown graphically in Figure 10-BRW. Also, these variables are projected to the year 1994. The figures for 1980 and 1988 show that the Barrow population increased from 2,389 to 3,223. Barrow's labor force (employed and unemployed persons age 16 to 64 that were willing and eligible to work) increased less rapidly from 1,347 to 1,547 persons. This relatively modest increase probably reflects the age composition of the population. While Barrow's **total** population increased over the eight-year period, the number of young persons just entering the labor force was not sufficient to dramatically **offset** labor force attrition from retirement and from other factors.

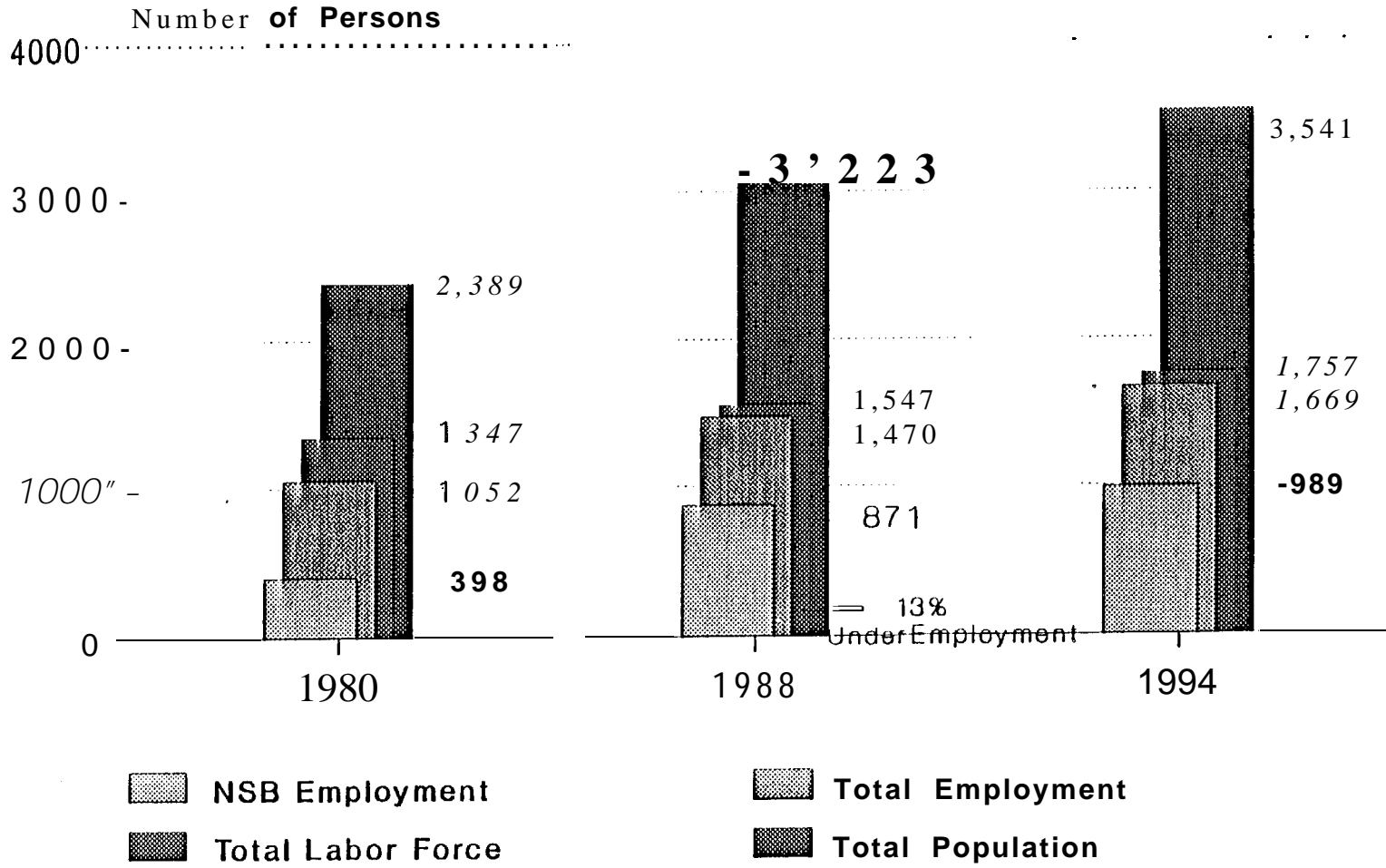
Table 27-BRW

Occupation Composition of Employment **by Sex and Ethnicity**
Barrow - 1988

OCCUPATION GROUPS	INUPIAT			NON-INUPIAT			TOTAL VILLAGE	% OF TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL		
EXEC. ADMIN. MGR.	51	66	117	109	81	170	287	19.5%
PROFESSIONAL	1	2	3	25	25	50	53	3.6%
TEACHER	2	12	14	21	52	73	87	5.9%
TEACHER AIDE	3	18	21	1	16	17	38	2.6%
TECHNICIAN	13	21	34	23	28	51	85	5.8%
ADMIN. SUPPORT SERVICE	13	116	129	17	92	109	238	16.1%
	27	71	98	79	48	127	225	15.3%
OPERATOR/MECHANIC	88	7	95	80	3	83	178	12.1%
PILOT	1		1	9		9	10	0.7%
LABORER	83	10	93	35	2	37	130	8.8%
CRAFTSMAN	61	1	62	54	1	55	117	7.9%
ARTISAN		2	2	1		1	3	0.2%
ARMED FORCES	1		1	2		2	3	0.2%
TRAPPER/HUNTER	1		1			0	1	0.1%
OTHER	7	5	12	4	4	8	20	1.4%
TOTAL EMPLOYED	352	331	683	460	332	792	1475	100.0%
% OF TOTAL	23.9%	22.4%	46.3%	31.2%	22.5%	53.7%	100.0%	
LABOR FORCE	390	351	741	471	340	811	1552	100.0%
% OF TOTAL	25.1%	22.6%	47.7%	30.3%	21.9%	52.3%	100.0%	
TOTAL UNEMPLOYED	38	20	58	11	8	19	77	
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE	9.7%	5.7%	7.8%	2.3%	2.4%	2.3%	5.0%	
TOTAL UNDER-EMPLOYED	99	41	140	42	11	53	193	
UNDER-EMPLOYMENT RATE	25.4%	11.7%	18.9%	6.9%	3.2%	6.5%	12.4%	

- Notes: (1) Total employed includes part-time, temporary, as well as full-time employment.
 (2) The occupation category "OTHER" includes underemployed persons otherwise not accounted for. Underemployment refers to persons that were unemployed because they could not find a job during part of the year.
 (3) Unemployed refers to persons out of work because they could not find a job for the entire twelve-month period.
 (4) Labor force = employed + underemployed + unemployed.
 (5) Unemployment rate = persons unemployed divided by the labor force.

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
Census of Population and Economy, 1989.



Population, Labor Force, and Employment
Barrow: 1980, 1988, and 1994 (Projected)

Figure 10-BRW

NSB Planning Department

2. Economic Trends

During the same time period, total Barrow employment increased from 1,052 to 1,470 persons. This strong employment increase coupled with less rapid labor force expansion translates to a direct reduction in unemployment. Between 1980 and 1988, the rate of unemployment (the number of persons unemployed divided by the labor force) in Barrow fell from 22 to 5%. This shift toward full employment is explained in part by a significant increase in direct NSB government employment. Modest labor force expansion also contributed to this favorable outcome. Between 1980 and 1988 NSB government employment more than doubled from 398 to 871. These figures understate NSB government contributions to local employment because they do not include funded projects and programs. Private sector employment and indirect NSB government employment are depicted in the bar labeled "Total Employment."

While the rate of overall unemployment declined markedly over recent years, a 13% rate of underemployment was observed in 1988. "Underemployment" refers to the count of persons that worked part of the year but would have worked more if additional jobs had been available.

In sum, the economic data for 1980 and 1988 are generally positive. The rate of unemployment fell sharply, due to expanding job opportunities provided primarily by the NSB government at a time of relatively slow labor force expansion. Barrow's underemployment rate (13%) was the lowest recorded among all eight NSB communities in 1988. Most everyone who wanted to work was able to do so for at least part of the year. This suggests that in 1988 jobs were widely distributed across the Barrow labor force.

3. Projection to 1994

Figure 10-BRW shows projected levels of population, labor force, and employment in 1994. The assumptions used to make these projections are:

- Recent historic rates of village population growth would continue into the future;
- Village labor force would change according to natural shifts in the age distribution of village population;
- The rate of village unemployment would be held at 5%; and
- The ratio of NSB government employment to total village employment in 1988 would prevail in 1994.

Application of these assumptions leads to increases across the board. Barrow population would increase to 3,541 in 1994. The labor force would grow at a faster rate than population, increasing from 1,547 to 1,757. In order to hold unemployment to 5%, total employment would increase from 1,470 to 1,669. NSB government employment required to support this level of total employment would increase by 118 persons from 871 to 989.

Labor force expansion is the critical element in this projection. The number of young persons entering the labor force will more than **offset** retirees and other labor force departures over the next six years. Village total employment must increase to support this labor force. This, in turn, would require NSB government to step up local employment opportunities either directly, or through programs that enhance private sector employment.

SECTION III: FORMAL INSTITUTIONS

The number of institutions has grown considerably in the region since the first formal political body, the village council, was established in 1939. Nowhere are the effects of this proliferation of institutions felt as much as in Barrow, where NSB institutions are headquartered. Two formal institutions that are specific to Barrow are the City of Barrow and the **Ukpeagvik Inupiat Corporation (UIC)**, the local village corporation established under the terms of **ANCSA** (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:517). There are other institutions in Barrow but they have a region-wide mandate so they are discussed in the regional section. They are the **NSB**, the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation (**ASRC**), and the **Inupiat** Community of the Arctic Slope (**ICAS**) (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:517). However, the scope of operations of these institutions is important in this discussion insofar as they cause conflict among individuals and disrupt traditional social structure.

A. Government

1. Organization and Scope of Operations

Formal local government in Barrow began with a tribal government which was established in 1939 and based upon the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 as extended to Alaska in 1936. The tribal government, or village council, was composed of a body of residents whose authority was initially under the jurisdiction of the federal government. This lasted until 1958 when Barrow was incorporated as a fourth-class city under the jurisdiction of the Territory of Alaska. The council was again reorganized in 1959 after Alaska became a state and jurisdiction of the village council was transferred from the federal government to the State of Alaska. The village council governing body remained until 1971, when **ANCSA** was passed and their authority was superseded, at least in theory, by the city council of the City of Barrow (**Smythe and Worl 1985:209-210**).

City of Barrow

After the passage of **ANCSA**, the NSB was created to promote the interests of the **Inupiat** on the North Slope. This is when the City of Barrow and the **UIC** were established. The City of Barrow, like the other incorporated villages on the North Slope, does not have much power since most municipal responsibilities are held by the North Slope Borough. As the largest municipality on the North Slope, however, Barrow does exercise more powers than the other cities. It administers recreation activities and a scholarship program for Barrow students who want to attend college (Alaska Consultants et al. 1983:519). The city also collects a local sales tax and retains powers over cemeteries, dog control, and the local curfew. This curfew was begun by the Mothers' Club but handed to the city for administration in 1970. The city in turn delegated the management of the curfew to the "alternatives for youth program," which receives its funding from the NSB Department of Health and Social Services (**Smythe and Worl 1985:213**). The NSB is not directly involved with enforcement of the curfew through the Public Safety Department because of legal restrictions. Writing legally enforceable curfew regulations is a complex process and one which no village on the North Slope has attempted (although many do have curfews of one sort or another).

The City of Barrow has resisted numerous proposals to merge with the NSB. By maintaining its independence, the City of Barrow has retained the power to provide residents with its own **services**. For example, with increased revenues between 1978 and 1983, the city embarked on many of its own capital improvements (Alaska Consultants et al. 1983:519; Smythe and Worl1985:213). The City of Barrow has constructed a community recreation building which houses a basketball court, racquetball courts, a sauna and showers, and the city recreation department offices. The city maintains a softball field as well. These facilities complement those available at the schools and provide the residents of Barrow with a wider choice than is available **in** any other village. The real advantage that Barrow possesses is that it can **employ** a person to organize and manage the community recreation program. The spring fair owes a great deal to city support and organization. Even NSB events such as the Messenger Feast rely on city assistance to a great extent.

Scope of Operations

The city council is composed of seven members, including the mayor, all of whom are elected **officials**. **Until** recently the position of Barrow mayor was almost entirely titular because the everyday administration of the city was conducted by a hired city manager. **In** 1984, the mayor did not have an office in the city administration building (Smythe and Worl1985:214). In 1987, dissatisfaction with the (then) current city manager and a desire to have local, **Inupiat** elected accountability in city hall sparked a movement back to a strong mayoral form of city government. One duty of the mayor is to attend NSB assembly meetings to keep abreast of current issues affecting Barrow. In other villages the job of monitoring **NSB** developments is performed by the village coordinator, a position that is nonexistent in Barrow.

The members of the city council are not directly related to each other, but do tend to be members of the larger families in Barrow. The council is currently totally **Inupiat**, and has been for most of its existence (a **non-Inupiat**, the **first**, was elected to the city council in 1982). The city manager between 1979-1981 was white and reportedly had a strong influence on the city council during that period (Smythe and Worl1985:216). Since then other city managers have been **non-Inupiat** as well. The recent return to the mayoral form of administration was at least in part a reaction to the hiring of non-local **non-Inupiat** 'experts' who then were perceived as having too strong an influence on local affairs. The man **servng** as city manager at the time of the referendum to change to a strong mayoral form of government is well known in the community as he has apparently made Barrow his home. He had worked in **several** positions in the NSB and city prior to his tenure as city manager and is currently working at the local radio station.

The city council has been in charge of several local elections concerning the sale and importation of alcohol into Barrow. In 1978, the community decided to make the sale of alcohol illegal. This decision forced the closing of the city liquor store, the **Ukpeagvik** Community Liquor Store, which had provided significant revenue to the city government's general fund (\$52,083, 15% of the budget, in **FY** 1977) (Smythe and Worl1985:212). The City of Barrow is a distant **second** to the NSB in terms of its **total** budget, and even though its budget is far larger than any of the other villages on the North **Slope**, it faces many of the same problems. The only revenue sources for the city are various state and federal programs, the NSB, and the local **sales** tax. The mayor and council

members are all essentially part-time volunteers. It is at times difficult to find the city mayor in his office.

2. Overlain in Authority and Conflicts Among Institutions

One of the main causes of conflict among institutions stems from the fact that many of the people on the city council **are** also members of other formal institutions. At times, the various institutional affiliations of various members can cause a **conflict** of interest to occur. It is frequently the case that the membership of the city council will overlap with that of the **NSB** Assembly, the ASRC Board of Directors, and the **UIC** Board of Directors. At other times members' kinship affiliations and interests may conflict with **institutional** roles and can result in **intrafamilial** strife. There has been an observable decline in the "interlocking **directorship**" of **formal** institutions in Barrow in the past five years, but it is still not uncommon for one person to **hold** positions in these different organizations sequentially. This can be **attributed**, at least in part, to the development of a set of unique interests within each institution to a degree that did not exist in the **past**.

B. Native Corporations

1. Organization and Scope of Operations

The **Ukpeagvik Inupiat Corporation (UIC)** is the Native corporation for Barrow established under the terms of **ANCSA**. The **UIC** mandate is to make profits for its shareholders, who, in this case, are individuals that were residents of Barrow at the time of the passage of **ANCSA**. The **UIC** has a number of landholding and business investments in approximately a dozen different companies, including insurance, construction, transportation, building **supplies**, and communication, **all** of which serve to make it a substantial economic force in the community (Alaska Consultants et al. 1983:520). The **UIC** is recognized in every **village** on the North **Slope** as the most successful village corporation in the region. This does not necessarily make it the model that all others wish to emulate, as there are differences of opinion as to the proper balance **between** profits, **local** hire, and service to the community. The **UIC** has been able to deliver to a substantial degree on all three, however, which most people attribute to its location in Barrow (large in size, large talent **pool** to draw on, and proximity to the movers and shakers, many of whom are indeed shareholders in **UIC**).

2. Overlaps in Authority and Conflict Among Institutions

The proliferation of institutions on the North Slope has brought a **whole** new political structure to the **Inupiat**. "Community leadership which at one time was vested solely in the **umialik** has become specialized, fragmented, and dispersed among the many organizations" (Wed and **Smythe** 1986:71). **The** consequences of this range from ineffective or inefficient decision making to altered **social** and familial interaction.

One of the biggest impacts that ANCSA has had on **Inupiat** has been the creation of many organizations that are of an unfamiliar structure. These organizations often have conflicting goals. **People** tend to over-identify with the particular organization they are involved with. The end **result is** conflict because of these new organizations having **conflicting** goals. So we have situations such as the ASRC against the North **Slope** Borough, or the **City of Barrow vs. UIC**, or the **ICAS** against the North Slope Borough . . . There is nothing traditional about these new organizations.

James **Stotts**

April 9, 1984

Mr. **Stotts** is a Barrow **Inupiat** who, at the time he delivered this passage, was a member of the **Inuit Circumpolar** Conference (ICC) Executive Committee, the **NSB Assembly**, and the ASRC Board of Directors. He has also been affiliated with the **Inupiat** Community of the Arctic Slope (**ICAS**), and the **UIC** (**Worl and Smythe 1986:70**). However, in **all** immunities of the North Slope such multiple roles are inevitable. There is a very small pool of people to staff **all** of the existing formal, informal, and **advisory** entities. Barrow is far larger than the other NSB communities, but as the hub also has many times the **formal** bureaucratic structure of the other communities. Conflicts of interest and of tradition are inevitable. Membership in these organizations requires allegiance to the stated goals of the institution over any familial or personal commitments that may be present.

Smythe and **Worl** (**1985:239**) present one interesting example of how the fragmentation of **Inupiat** social organization can come into conflict with tradition. A young man who served on a corporation board was required to do business with a **commission** on which his mother served. When he addressed his mother by her last name during a **formal** meeting, she later inquired why he had done that. The son essentially told her that their **personal** relationship could not interfere with their professional responsibilities. The mother was hurt by this.

Two Barrow-based organizations where a high degree of overlap and/or competition **could** be expected are **ASRC** and **UIC**. A discussion with officials of **UIC** outlined the complexities of the relationships between the two corporations. Both are profit-seeking entities with many of the same resources. **UIC** has surface rights to a limited amount of land, whereas ASRC has the subsurface rights to that land (as **well** as to the land of the other village corporations) as well as surface and subsurface rights to other land. **All UIC** shareholders are automatically ASRC shareholders, of course, and may comprise over half of the **total** ASRC shareholders. The **two** cooperate on a number of ventures. The **Piquniq** Management Corporation (**PMC**) has offices in the Barrow ASRC building, but **is** a equal joint venture of the two corporations. At the same time, the two entities also compete for certain contracts. **UIC** officials say that for the first five years of their existence that ASRC acted as a more-or-less guardian, with final approval or denial of **all** business activities. After five years, **UIC** shook off this supervision and struck off on their own. **UIC** officials think that at the time this upset ASRC officials and that it still has some ramifications in the present. Relations between the two are conducted on the basis of mutual

business interest, however, and each realizes that they are hiring and dealing with the same set of people. Thus, conflict is minimized and cooperation is stressed, while at the same time trust is tempered by the awareness that the other is after **all** looking **out** for its own economic interests.

The regional housing authority for the North Slope region (Arctic Slope Regional Corporation Housing Authority -- **ASRCHA**) is unique in the state of **Alaska** in that **it** does not actually build any housing and it contracts with the **NSB** for its staff. Thus, the **NSB** housing department staff **also** acts as the **ASRCHA** staff, and the **NSB** builds the housing. Most of these contracts have been made with various of the village corporations, usually in joint venture with a non-Native construction firm. When funds are available, the **ASRCHA** buys the housing from **the NSB** and they **become** part of one of **ASRCHA's** programs. By far the most popular program in the village is the home buyer's **plan**, where an individual can gain **title** to his house in twenty years for a monthly payment that is based on his income. The minimum monthly payment is \$100 (mostly covering the administration fees of the program) and this is the most common monthly payment for those participating in the program. The point of interest here is that the **NSB** staff and the **ASRCHA** staff (formally part of HUD) are composed of the same people. There is at **least** the potential for **NSB** and **ASRCHA** interests to be divergent enough to create conflicts of interest. **ASRCHA** has in fact not received any federal funds for the acquisition of new houses in recent years and the **NSB** has not built many new houses in that period, and is unlikely to in the near future.

3. Current Issues and Concerns

Another effect of the proliferation of institutions has been the replacement of traditional means of social **support** by **formal** institutional services. For example, there is now a Children's **Receiving** Home to take in children who cannot **be** adequately cared for by their parents. In the past, **such** situations, if they were to arise at all, **would** have been the responsibility of the extended family (Wed and **Smythe** 1986:72).

In addition, traditional lines of authority are being altered as a **result** of the proliferation of formal institutions. For example, since 1980, the **UIC** has had a predominantly young and educated corporate board. **While** the demographic shift in the **UIC** has made it possible, for the first time, for young **adults** to interact on an **equal** basis with older **Inupiat** representing different boards and commissions, it has also reduced the status traditionally accorded elders (**Smythe** and **Worl** 1985:240).

There are also concerns voiced about the divisiveness fostered by the existence of the different economic and governmental organizations which now **exist**. One particular example concerning **UIC** and **ASRC** was discussed above. Other examples abound. For example, the **Inupiat** Community of the Arctic **Slope (ICAS)** opposes oil development in general and especially offshore. While the **NSB** is not enthusiastic about **offshore** development (for subsistence, environmental, health, and perhaps other reasons), most **NSB** revenues are ultimately derived from the oil industry and the **NSB** is reconciled to a certain **level of** and time frame for development. **ASRC** may actually have a **financial** interest in offshore leases and **UIC** and **ASRC** certainly have an interest in supplying services to oil companies through **PMC**. Money **has** a 'way of changing relationships, or at least limiting them in certain ways. In general, informants say that money and the things

purchased with money are shared **less** frequently and with a more restricted range of people than are **harvested** subsistence resources. Our information from Barrow **is** unfortunately only general, as we did not have the time to devote to this question that would be required. It is possible that the ongoing Barrow subsistence study by **Braund** and Associates funded by MMS will provide more detail in this regard. In any event, the situation in general appears to be similar to that in villages for which more detail is available (Point Lay, for example).

C. Health and **Social** Services

Much of the discussion of Barrow **health** and social **services** is contained in the regional section because these **services** are administered on a regional basis by the **NSB's** Department of Health and Social **Services**. This avoids at least the grossest sort of redundancies. Barrow specific topics are covered in this section.

The only hospital on the North Slope is located in Barrow, and Barrow is the only community with resident medical doctors and nurses. All other villages have modern clinics staffed by health aides. These clinics are all recent and well **equipped**, but it is recognized that the **level** of care available in Barrow is superior to that available in the villages. However, there are serious delivery problems in Barrow as well as in the outer villages. While there are doctors in Barrow, informants report that it is difficult to see one. It appears that the number of doctors is too low for the patient load, which is one reason doctors do not visit the outer villages as often as they are actually scheduled to. Informants also do not like the hospital in terms **of** its atmosphere or the care provided. **Inupiat** consider it relatively unfriendly and complain that the doctors come and go so frequently that they never learn anything about their patients. Patients are not treated as individuals so much as they are considered a bundle of symptoms. The complaint that the doctors treat these symptoms rather than the underlying cause, because they do not know the patient well enough to know the fundamental cause, is heard in Barrow as frequently as it is heard in the outer villages. The facilities in Barrow are also inadequate for the number of patients. There is simply too little space. The outer villages have plenty **of** space and facilities for their patients, but generally lack medically trained staff. Although the **health** aides provide excellent care on a day-today basis, they are not trained to handle serious medical problems.

Non-Inupiat for the most part avoid the hospital altogether. When they require medical attention most prefer to go elsewhere (Fairbanks, Anchorage, or Seattle). Generally, **non-Inupiat** can afford to pay for this travel, are covered by good medical insurance plans, and have adequate sick leave. A good number of **Inupiat** also have these benefits, but many do not. **As** a group, **Inupiat** have many fewer choices in terms of medical treatment than do **non-Inupiat**.

A **survey** sponsored by the NSB in 1987 characterizes each of the NSB communities (Dann & Associates 1987). Knowledge of available **health services** is low in Barrow, but higher than in the outer villages. It is interesting to note that even though **services** are more readily available in Barrow than in the other villages, only in Barrow was an improvement in public knowledge of availability an issue that **survey** respondents commonly mentioned. Perhaps only in Barrow are **people** even aware enough of the programs to know that they exist and to realize that they do not know how to make use of them. The top health-related concerns in Barrow were about alcohol treatment programs and improving care at the hospital. These were also concerns in the outer

villages, but appeared lower on their lists. More **people in** the outer villages than in Barrow think that the hospital is doing a good job. Health aides are seen more positively than is the hospital. Other health and social **services** provided by the NSB are also seen in a generally positive light, although few people (less than a third) were enthusiastic enough to rate them as good or better.

Barrow has a much more varied population than any **of** the other **NSB** communities and thus **has** more of a challenge in terms of delivering services to all segments of the population. It is quite evident that such services are not evenly distributed and that certain groups request or demand more service than others. Little statistical information is available **in** this **regard**, but **field interviewers** with **service** providers **confirmed** the impression of **Worl** and Smythe (1986:331-337) that a limited number of families provided a major part of the **social** service case load. For the most part the description provided by **Worl** and Smythe remains **accurate**.

D. Religion

L History of Churches

The Presbyterian Church

When Alaska was divided up by the **missionizing** churches, the Presbyterian Church was given the North **Slope** of Alaska above Point Lay (Point Lay and Point Hope were designated as Episcopalian villages). The first missionary arrived in Barrow in 1891 and became firmly established in the community in 1899 (**Smythe** and **Worl** 1986:291). **The** political and social *power* of the church was, and **still** is, derived from its **close** association with the **school**, and later the National Guard (then the Territorial Guard). **The** Mothers' **Club, which** was started by Dr. Otto **Greist's** (the leader **of** the Presbyterian **Church** in Barrow) wife to improve the health and school attendance of **Inupiat**, was one of the earliest sources of power extended from the church. The Mothers' Club initiated a "truancy patrol" to prevent delinquency from school. In reference to the Territorial Guard, the Barrow Presbyterian minister was the first commanding officer of the Barrow unit which initiated 110 local men in the spring of 1942 (**Smythe** and **Worl** 1985:292).

However, even before these institutions were established, the Presbyterian Church was sanctioned by 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 1964:24 cited in **Smythe** and **Worl** 1985:291-292).

During the early period, the Presbyterian Church was fundamentalist in its religious orientation. In the 1960s the church introduced a taboo against hunting and whaling on Sundays, proclaiming it day of rest (**Smythe** and **Worl** 1985:292). Nevertheless, the Presbyterian Church was very successful in converting the **Inupiat** and **it** became an important mechanism for **social** cohesion (Milan 1964:71 cited from **Smythe** and **Worl** 1985:293). Christian practices such as prayer became **commonplace** before and after hunting animals and at major community feasts such as Thanksgiving and Christmas (**Smythe** and **Worl** 1985:293).

The Assembly of God Church

The first missionary from the Assembly of God church came to Barrow in 1954. He came with two assistants to construct the first church building. With the help of a converted young Inupiat, the missionaries were able to convert many other Natives after their first two-week revival meeting in the Barrow church in 1959. It is reported that 32 people signed up for baptisms and as many as 150 attended the services after the revival (Bills 1980, cited from Smythe and Worl 1985:294). Subsequently, the Inupiat church leaders met and decided upon certain restrictions to be followed by members of the church. They agreed that members of the church should not **drink**, smoke, attend movies, or dance even Eskimo dances since they believed its roots were in shamanism and devil worship. As a result of this latter proscription, the Assembly of God church lost some of its members (Smythe and Worl 1985:295, 298).

Despite their strict fundamentalist orientation, the Assembly of God church continued to acquire members. A new, larger church was built in Barrow in the 1960s and congregations were formed in other communities on the North Slope such as Wainwright and Kaktovik (Smythe and Worl 1985:295-96). A small but strong Assembly of God church also exists in Point Hope. Whereas the Point Hope Assembly of God church has a formal minister, the congregations in the other North Slope communities, including Barrow, are organized and led by lay leaders.

Other Churches

Several other churches now exist in Barrow (Catholic, Episcopalian, Baptist, and perhaps several smaller congregations of less formally organized groups). None of these have the historical roots in the community of the Presbyterian church, or even of the Assembly of God church. We therefore treat these churches in the section on contemporary churches in Barrow which follows.

2. Contemporary Churches

Membership in the Presbyterian church has declined and the nature of church activities has changed so as not to include much family participation. However, the Barrow Presbyterian church still offers social services and fellowship groups for the Barrow community. There is the Geneva Cross Fellowship for adults, a youth fellowship which, in 1985, had 75 members aged 13-18, a Sunday school group, and a women's association. In the area of social support services, the church provides Alcoholics Anonymous and the Ikayuqtit, or Helpers, for substance abuse problems. In addition, in 1985 the pastor sought grant funds to develop an adolescent drug prevention program. According to Smythe and Worl (1985:297), some of the local church members felt that these church-sponsored programs result from the pastor's personal agenda and do not represent their own efforts. This may have been one of the factors which led to this pastor leaving Barrow, which most informants linked to the election of the present NSB mayor. The pastor's departure was rather abrupt and left the church without a titular head for about a year and a half while a replacement was sought. During that time services were held and led primarily by a Presbyterian minister on temporary duty as an itinerant pastor and an Episcopalian deacon who had been assigned to the Barrow Presbyterian church even prior to this time by his bishop in the spirit of

cooperation and in accordance with the historical pact among the religious groups. The present pastor feels that his is still the main church in Barrow, and certainly the central **Inupiat** church in Barrow. He also feels that he and his wife (also ordained) have been well received, but that the church as a whole is now less directive in the sense that **people** now choose to attend or not, and in general are not too responsive to the censure of the church. He still sees himself (and all pastors) as role models, but thinks that he (and other pastors) have to be much more willing to listen to the congregation, rather than simply instructing them. He recognizes that his congregation has many problems, with alcohol and family violence ranking high among them, and thinks that community fellowship is one way to start resolving these troubles.

In this regard, the Presbyterian pastor was quite upset when the Episcopalian deacon in Barrow began to **hold** separate Episcopalian **services**, in conjunction with some Lutherans also in Barrow, in October 1988. This was done with no prior announcement to the Presbyterian pastor and with the **full** support of the Episcopalian hierarchy. The Presbyterian pastor considers this a breach of the agreement made by the original missionaries to divide **Alaska** into spheres of influence as well as a divisive influence in the community. He notes that the new Episcopalian/Lutheran **services** are almost totally **non-Inupiat** and fears that this will be the basis for an ethnic split in the community. The Episcopalian deacon maintains that only after being approached on this matter several times by individuals who felt that their spiritual needs were not being met by the Presbyterian **services** did he consider holding separate Episcopalian services. He stresses that besides the spiritual message of a church, and perhaps not distinguishable from it, is the fellowship of the congregation. He does not view the separate **services** as a schism, but as a search for the sort of fellowship stressed by the Presbyterian pastor. The Episcopalian deacon is clearly more sanguine about the possibilities of an **interethnic** sense of community for Barrow than is the Presbyterian pastor. The deacon would still like to cooperate with the Presbyterians as much as possible, but says that **in** many ways this is blocked by irreconcilable differences. He was denied permission to **hold** Episcopalian services in the Presbyterian church, ostensibly because the Presbyterians refuse to allow any **alcohol** into the church (or its manse) under any circumstances, whereas the Episcopalians insist upon using wine for communion. The Episcopalian deacon does not think that his congregation is self-supporting as yet, as it is comprised of **only** about forty families, most of whom do not intend to live in Barrow permanently. He does not think of his congregation as **non-Inupiat** in comparison to the **Inupiat** Presbyterian **congregation**. Instead, he characterizes Barrow Episcopalians/Lutherans as being more educated, with a better command of the English language, and perhaps having higher incomes than Barrow Presbyterians. Episcopalian **services** are not held in the summer, when **school** is out, **as** this is when a good portion of the congregation is traveling or in the lower-48. The Episcopalian deacon is included in this group, as he works for the NSB School District and spends a good deal of the summer outside of Barrow. He is not paid for his religious duties.

The contemporary Assembly of God church is quite **small** in Barrow compared to the Presbyterian church. In 1984 the reverend reported there were 40 registered members and a larger number who attended regularly. Of this number, there were 10 to 20 **non-Inupiat**. Its membership was reportedly more ethnically diverse than that of the Presbyterian **church** at that time, containing some Filipinos and Blacks (**Smythe and Worl 1985:298**). At the present time (early 1989) the Assembly of **God** remains relatively **small** and has a predominately **Inupiat** identity. There are some **non-Inupiat** members, but some Caucasians have said that they have been discouraged in efforts to join the Assembly of God. Without more research the question of the nature of the

Assembly of God congregation must remain somewhat vague. The Assembly of God church incorporated in 1984 and since then the pastor has been elected by the members of the congregation. The church is supported by both obligatory payments and donations (Smythe and Worl 1985:298-99). In this it is like the Presbyterian church, in that both are basically self-supporting.

The Assembly's strict fundamentalist approach to alcohol consumption has led to the development of a prevention program. This program seeks to prevent **alcoholism** through faith in Christ and, ". . . is supported by practices of group behavioral reinforcement" (Smythe and Worl 1985:299). According to the pastor this program has an 86% effectiveness rate in preventing alcoholism. Smythe and Worl suggest that this program may partially account for the success of the church (1985:299). Fieldworkers in other villages have noted that representatives from the Barrow Assembly of God church (Elders accompanied by other members) visit other villages periodically. **These** visits often coincide with times of community troubles, as was **observed** in Point Lay in 1987 "when delegation from the Assembly of God and Presbyterian churches came to give advice and consolation during an extended search and rescue operation (Point Lay Case Study, in draft). Trips by an Assembly of God delegation to **Nuiqsut** in 1984 were more in the nature of an attempt to win converts and establish relations with the Presbyterian congregation in **Nuiqsut**. On both occasions **public** testimonies played an important role in the services provided. Most testimonies centered around the part the church had played in salving the testifier's problems. These were frequently related to alcohol abuse. Another important aspect of Assembly presentations was music and singing. Singing and testimony are perhaps the **two** most important aspects of this church on the North **Slope**.

The Presbyterian church has exhibited somewhat of a movement towards the Assembly of God in terms of the content of their **services**. Presbyterian **services** are still more formal, given the hierarchical structure of that church, but now **incorporate** more singing than before and now even sometimes include testimonies from congregation members of a nature very similar to **Assembly of God** testimonies. It has been remarked upon in the past that **Inupiat** frequently made little or no distinction **between** different denominations in terms of doctrine, and that may be in operation here. Individuals certainly have a personal identity as a Presbyterian or Assembly of God member, but this identity is more often based upon **family** membership and socialization that religious doctrinal reasons.

This may or may not be the case with the other churches in Barrow, which are **all** smaller than the Presbyterian church or the **Assembly of God** church, are all different in terms of at least some doctrine, and are quite different in terms of the **social** characteristics of their congregations. The Episcopal church has been discussed above, and essentially **split** from the Presbyterian congregation. The Episcopalian deacon is quick to point out that a large number of his congregation did not attend the Presbyterian church with any regularity, since it did not **really** meet their needs. Rather, they went there because there was no other **place** to go. The Catholic church in Barrow is quite small and is made up primarily of Filipinos and other **non-Inupiat**. They have their own separate church, which they allow the Episcopalians to hold **services** in. A Catholic priest visits Barrow perhaps once a month and lay people lead the other services. The Baptist church congregation is **almost** entirely composed of Caucasian **non-Inupiat**. They have no building of their own and hold **services** in the teen center. Their congregation is small but fairly active in their support of the church. The Baptist minister has been on the North Slope for several years, but just recently

made the move from Wainwright to Barrow (another **couple** took over his church in **Wainwright**). There had been a previous Baptist church in Barrow, of a different doctrinal nature, which **had** gone out of business. The Baptist minister considered this an auspicious time for his branch of the Baptist church in Barrow and decided to attempt to build up the church there, where he considers the possibilities more promising than in the other villages, in any event. This assessment is shared by the Baptist minister in Point Lay as well.

3. Role of Religious Institutions in Sociocultural Systems on the North Slope

In addition to providing religious fellowship to the people of the Barrow and the rest of the villages on the North Slope, the Presbyterian and Assembly of God churches have played an important **role** in controlling **alcohol** abuse. **As** described above, the Presbyterian church has initiated an Alcoholics Anonymous group and the Assembly of God church has its own strict **alcohol prevention** program. The religious institutions on the North **Slope** have also been important in the whaling practices of the Inupiat, particularly in the form of prayer and “singspiration.”

There has **still** been little research on the degree to which Barrow churches are training grounds for leaders or areas where relationships among influential people are established. Most prominent **Inupiat** belong to either the Presbyterian or Assembly of God church. Most senior NSB **non-Inupiat employees** attend the Presbyterian church when they attend church, or at least this was true in the past. The effect the recent Episcopalian services have had on this pattern is unclear, as no services *were* actually attended. Nearly all boat captains profess church membership and begin the whaling season with prayers and religious ceremonies (the exceptions would be a few young captains exerting their independence). Religion is an important institution in Barrow, but difficult to pin down as to exact significance.

E. Infrastructure

L Utilities

Water

Barrow has no community-wide public water system. In **all** the other villages on the North Slope, the NSB delivers water by truck from a **local** water supply. In Barrow, the NSB has **built** a **Utilidor** system which **services** part of the community. The system was built by the **NSB** but is operated by **BUECI**, the local utility cooperative. This **complex** and expensive system is scheduled for expansion **and** was intended to serve the entire community, but whether this will ever eventuate is now open to question. Such expansion as is envisioned **will** use less costly construction methods than the first phase. When the existing **Utilidor** system was **built** most residents who were **able** to hook up and receive service did so. Now, people are more aware of the expense of the system and fewer are prepared to initiate **service**. Those who do not receive their water from the **Utilidor** system get it from a private firm or haul it in on their own in the summer and melt it from ice in the winter (Alaska Consultants 1983:109). The problems with relying on trucked water is that it

is both inconvenient and thought to contribute to the spread of communicable diseases (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:601).

The NSB Capital Improvements Program (CIP) has phased expansion of the Utilidor planned through 1990, by which time all users within the developed area of town (excluding Block "B") should be connected (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:602). However, several problems have prevented these plans from being implemented as written. One of those problems is how many older structures in Barrow which have no plumbing facilities can be economically connected to the Utilidor system. Another problem was the question of availability of enough water from the upper Isatkoak Lagoon, where the intake facility is located, to supply the community (Alaska Consultants et al. 1983:109-10,12). This problem of water supply has been solved for the immediate and foreseeable future. The water plant has the capability to "make" 120,000 gallons of a water a day (200,000 with minor modifications) while current demand is only 60,000 to 70,000 gallons a day. The water source still has reserves of a billion gallons and BUECI has never used the total level available from it. However, the Utilidor may never be complete in the form in which it was initially conceived. Construction proved to be much more expensive than budgeted for, so that a simpler technique is now being used. Also, the operating costs of the Utilidor are higher than anticipated. Even with a substantial subsidization from the NSB, use fees are still high enough to discourage a significant number of households who could physically hook up to the Utilidor from doing so. These people still rely on delivered water and let waste water run out on to the ground. Human waste is disposed of by the "honeybucket" method.

Waste Disposal

Until the opening of the Utilidor, all waste in Barrow was picked up and hauled to a dump, except for a very limited sewage "system" for the hospital/BUECI/school complex of buildings. This waste water was merely dumped into an outfall lagoon very close to the water source. This outfall lagoon went into operation in 1964 and was closed in 1983 when the complex was connected to the Utilidor (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:602).

Utilidor construction began in 1981. In 1983, the users of the Utilidor system included "... 130 units in the Browerville addition (primarily the NSB 12-plexes and 8-plex plus some Borough single-family units); 29-unit apartment buildings, the North Slope Borough administration building and the old hospital/BUECI [Barrow Utilities and Electric Cooperative]/Fred Ipalook school complex" (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:502). At present (1989), a substantial part of NSB housing in Barrow and a good portion in Browerville are serviced by the Utilidor. Substandard housing in Barrow is for the most part not connected to the Utilidor, and the most recently constructed NSB housing (mostly in Browerville, but a recent subdivision in Barrow as well) has not been connected as yet either.

Prior to recent times, the most common methods for the disposal of solid waste were by incineration or simply leaving it on the ice to be swept out to sea with the breakup. Since those times a dump was created. This proved to be an unsatisfactory situation because the solid waste was mixed with sewage from honeybuckets, and when left at the landfill created health problems. In addition, a shortage of gravel resulted in the garbage being left uncovered and exacerbated these problems. Garbage was blowing around the area, including the nearby beach. In 1983, the Alaska

Department of Environmental Conservation reported that the dump constituted an environmental hazard (Alaska Consultants 1983:303).

Some cleanup of the dump occurred when the lagoon was dredged. However, the state wanted that dump abandoned and a new landfill site, with a **honeybucket** trench, developed. In 1984, a trucked sewage incineration building was scheduled to be built. It has been built but never operated **properly** and is now unused. It is pointed out as one **of** the landmarks on the road from Barrow out to the end of Point Barrow. The landfill at this location is still used, as attested by the **flocks** of sea gulls that are always present there.

Gas and Electricity

Until gas was discovered by the Navy in the NPR-4, driftwood or coal hauled in from a mine near **Atqasuk** was the primary fuel source. After the discovery of gas, the residents had to petition Congress in 1959 to be allowed to purchase the gas from the Navy. Installation of the gas distribution system to Barrow residents was carried out by Barrow Utilities, **Inc. (BUI)** and was in operation by 1959. The **BUI** was later renamed the Barrow Utilities and Electric Cooperative, Inc. (**BUECI**). During this same period, an electricity distribution **system** was installed in Barrow by the Golden Valley Electric Association and later purchased by the BUI (Alaska Consultants et al. 1983:120, Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:605). Today, the **BUECI** is responsible for the generation and distribution of electricity throughout Barrow. **BUECI** is also involved in explorations aimed at discovering new gas **reserves** near Barrow, since the current gas **field** is nearing the end of its productive life.

The availability of “cheap” **fuel** to heat homes caused major social changes in Barrow. Prior to the availability of gas it was not uncommon for **twelve** to fourteen people to live in one household. **One** reason for this was the high price of **fuel** and the ability to save on heating costs. However, when cheap gas became available **people** enlarged their existing homes and sometimes families moved into separate **houses** (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:606). A housing boom was set into motion which was accelerated by the damages of a major storm and **energy** consumption in **Barrow** increased dramatically in the **late 1960s** (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:606). After the formation of the NSB, the relatively low cost for home heating **in** Barrow was the incentive for the **NSB** to “institute the program to subsidize the cost of heating **oil in** the outer villages. The rationale given was that settlement in the outer **villages** was to be encouraged, or at least not discouraged, and one way to do so was to minimize the economic penalty for living **in** an outer village (much the same reasoning which lies behind the **NSB’s** creation of jobs in the villages).

The demands on the electric power system, which is fueled by gas, reached peak loads of 1,850 KW in 1978. Peak load use reached 4,000 **KW** in 1982 (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:608) and . . . has continued to grow. Current generating capacity is 10,500 KW (three 3,000-KW generators and **two** 750-KW generator backups), which **BUECI** officials say is enough for the foreseeable future. The demand for more gas as Barrow continues to grow is **coinciding** with depleted reserves in the fields outside **of** Barrow (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:609). According to findings by **Coffman Engineers, Inc.** (cited from Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:609), the “. . . peak monthly demand for gas supplies in Barrow **will** exceed supply by the third quarter of 1991 and that average annual demand **will** exceed the available supply by mid-1992.” Alternative sources for gas are being

explored in the Prudhoe Bay/Kuparuk area but reserves have not been proven to be sufficient to meet community needs (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:609). This is probably because of the costs of getting the gas to Barrow from the Prudhoe Bay/Kuparuk area rather than because of a lack of gas. The Barrow gas field is currently being developed to extend the life of its reserves and new gas sources are being developed. The finds have been small, so that the supply of gas is still problematic for the future, but there is no immediate danger of running out.

A key difference between the villages and Barrow, and an issue that has been raised at the NSB level, is the management of utilities in Barrow by BUECI. All other villages have their utilities run by the NSB. BUECI began about twenty-five years ago as a cooperative utilities company whose aim was to provide quality utilities to the community of Barrow, which had not been made available up to that time. BUECI was so successful that when the NSB was formed no attempt was made to incorporate it within the NSB. Rather, the reverse has been considered at least two times. There would be significant advantages if BUECI were to assume responsibility for all NSB utilities, but also several potential liabilities. Officials at BUECI see the benefits as a more efficiently run operation with improved service. The drawbacks would be that local hire would probably decrease with an emphasis on competency and reliability rather than local residence. BUECI officials explained this in terms of their experience with their Barrow work force of forty-one. About half is Caucasian, a quarter Inupiat, and the other quarter Mexican, Filipino, or Black. All are competent and hires are made when possible at entry-level training positions so that the broadest range of applicants can be considered. This also ensures that every employee receives the training required for his or her position. The nature of the job requires that every worker be very dependable and shows up for his shift on time, however, and this interferes with what BUECI officials perceive as the local Inupiat life-style. Subsistence activities which cause a worker to miss shifts create problems, and entry-level workers are assigned the least convenient shifts to begin with. The result has been that even though Inupiat workers are as competent as any others, that they tend not to stay at BUECI as long as non-Inupiat. BUECI officials feel that BUECI work rules select against local Inupiat because of the constraints that employment at BUECI places upon the use of one's non-employed time. This is of course not a conscious bias against Inupiat or anyone else, but is due to the nature of the demands of the work involved. BUECI officials also note that annual turnover in their labor force averaged 700% nine years ago, but is currently at 7 to 10%. This also makes increasing the Inupiat proportion of their labor force a somewhat more difficult and long-term goal.

Communications

In the early 1970s there were less than 300 telephones in Barrow. The General Telephone Company of Alaska constructed a new central office in 1978. New underground cables were laid throughout the community and the old switchgear center was replaced with an automated digital system that precluded the need for operators (Alaska Consultants et al. 1983:134). The new plant is capable of handling over 3,000 telephone numbers if expanded. In 1983 there were more than 2,000 telephones in Barrow, with about 1,100 lines in use (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:613). Barrow residents have access to cable television through a private company, a state-funded education channel and a state-subsidized bush channel (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:614). Current levels of use are unknown, but expansion for business and the NSB has probably been

greater than for residential use. Many **Inupiat** households still **do** without telephone **service**, which is relatively easy to do with the community use of CB radios for **local** communication.

2. Transportation

Through the 1960s dog teams served as the primary mode of transportation, although roads for vehicular traffic first appeared **in** the 1940s. Snowmobiles began **to** phase out the use of dog teams. **By** the mid-1970s snowmobiles were the primary transportation **vehicle** (**Worl and Smythe 1986:66**). Today, they are used primarily for subsistence activities, as there is a public bus system in Barrow to service **local** transportation needs. The buses run seven days of the week **until 10:00** PM, and for the most part there is a bus every 20 minutes. **There** are **two** main scheduled routes, one through Barrow **proper** and the other through **Browerville** (Alaska Consultants et al. 1983:157). The old NARL **complex** is **also serviced** at more irregular intervals. Three-wheelers are used during the summer but they create and **perpetuate a lot of dust**. In addition, the number of privately owned vehicles in Barrow has grown substantially since the 1970s, attesting both to increases in the population and in the purchasing power **of** Barrow residents (**Worl and Smythe 1986:66-67**). In 1983, 495 vehicles were registered in **all** of the North **Slope** Borough communities; 443 of these vehicles were in Barrow. Table **28-BRW** gives the number of registered vehicles on the North **Slope** from 1979 through 1984 (Alaska Department of Motor Vehicles, cited from **Worl and Smythe 1986:67**). Most of these vehicles are located in Barrow. Current informants comment that traffic accidents are now not uncommon and that traffic itself is much heavier than ever before. Although vehicles and traffic have also increased in the outer villages, the **only** accidents that occur there are one-vehicle mishaps due to operator error. Owning a private vehicle is expensive in Barrow, both in terms of the initial cost and in maintenance. Such private ownership is on the increase, however, and **Inupiat** seem to outnumber **non-Inupiat** owners. This may be because of the more transient nature of **non-Inupiat** residence and the common access to work or business vehicles for many **non-Inupiat**.

Airplanes provide the major means of transportation of both people and freight into Barrow. Barges are used in late summer if the ice conditions permit passage (Alaska Consultants et al. 1983:147). **People will** use snowmachines to **travel** to and from **Atqasuk** on a regular basis, and to and from Wainwright and **Nuiqsut** on occasion. During the open water period in summer, boats are used to **travel** the full extent of the coast line, often in conjunction with subsistence hunting pursuits.

Table 28-BRW

Barrow
Registered Vehicles

<i>Year</i>	All Vehicles
1984	498
1983	443
1982	341
1981	259
1980	205
1979	188

Source: Alaska Department of Motor Vehicles.
Cited from: Worl and Smythe (1986:67).

3. Recreational Facilities

The City of Barrow is responsible for the recreation facilities and league sports in the community. The league sports that are administered by the city include volleyball, softball, and basketball (Alaska Consultants et al. 1983:102). These summer leagues continue to be very popular. The old school complex provided a recreation room and a gymnasium which was used extensively by the entire community ever since the NSB assumed control of the BIA's Barrow Day School (Worl and Smythe 1986:76). The new school complex has facilities for even more activities. *There is* a large swimming pool, a running track, a weight-lifting room, and an area for gymnastics and wrestling. The City of Barrow has also built a separate building for recreation which has a gymnasium, ball courts, showers and sauna, and other facilities. There is also a community center where bingo games are held on a regular basis. Although it was extensively remodeled in 1982, it is too small for its present uses. It also lacks flush toilets (Alaska Consultants et al. 1983:104-5). The library for the continuing education program occupies the front portion of this same building. A teen center also operates in Barrow, but no information was gathered on this activity and no information exists in the literature. In addition, the city sponsors an annual spring fair and cooperates with the NSB on occasional cultural events (Elders' Conferences, Messenger Feast).

All of these programs are headed by the recreation director. It is his or her responsibility to work with various organizations and individuals in the community to schedule the school gymnasium or recreation center as needed. The recreation coordinator must also cultivate good relations with community organizations such as the Mothers' Club, Barrow Search and Rescue, and the Lions Club since they have made donations for playground equipment and guard rails in the past (Smythe and Worl 1985:234). This post is recognized as of great importance for the community at large

and has recently been occupied by energetic and respected individuals. Just prior to our field research the **non-Inupiat** director left for a **NSB** position. **She** has been a long-term resident of Barrow, writes a regular **column** for the **local** newspaper, and has held a series of responsible positions in Barrow. Her successor is an **Inupiat** man active in many community affairs, and with ties to many of the voluntary organizations who support the city recreation programs.

Besides the formal, organized sports facilities and leagues available in Barrow, people engage in informal recreation activities such as hunting, driving **snowmachines**, playing bingo, and visiting **friends**. None of these activities are specifically thought of as recreation by Barrow residents, but they involve the family and “. . . are tied in **significant** ways to the culture of Barrow’s **Inupiat** people” (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984102).

4. Issues

The City of Barrow, as the center of the **NSB**, is **sometimes** difficult to discuss as an entity separate from the **NSB**. Barrow is the only **NSB** village which does not have a village coordinator, for instance, since it is assumed that the City of Barrow is in close enough proximity to the **NSB** offices that such an office **would** be redundant. There are certain infrastructure issues that **for** one reason or another help make the distinction between the two entities **clearer**. Three that are obvious are how recreation is dealt with in Barrow (a city program as well as a **NSB/school** program), the issue of the creation and expansion of the **Utilidor**, and the operations of **BUECI** **in** general.

Barrow is the only community on the North **Slope** to effectively run a recreation program independent of the **NSB** and the school. It developed this program in response to a community perception that Barrow was too large for the recreational facilities provided by the schools. To some extent this was aggravated by the relatively large **non-Inupiat** population which until recently had few children in school. Compared to the outer villages, the schools in Barrow were **underbuilt** **in** relation to the population as a whole. The City of Barrow’s course of action was to establish a department of recreation which established, at relatively low cost, a program of team competition **in** various sports, including softball (using a **pre-existing field**). Once the program was established a grant for the construction of a separate city recreation building was written and obtained, and once this building was constructed the city recreation program became a permanent Barrow fixture. **Fees** associated with the use of the building help defray costs and are reasonable, by Barrow standards. This **building** contains a **weight** room, a **basketball** court, several **racquetball** courts, showers, a sauna, **and** an indoor track. No information **exists on** the composition of the user population.

The **Utilidor** in Barrow was clearly intended as a showcase project. It is technically a very challenging project to provide sewer and water **service** to a community **underlain** by permafrost. The expense of doing so, both in terms of initial construction and operation and maintenance, has been greater than expected. This has resulted in **delays** in the expansion of the **Utilidor** to all areas of the community, a modification of **the** basic design of the **Utilidor** to make it simpler and cheaper to construct, and less of a demand for hook-ups than had been anticipated. One aspect of the **Utilidor** that was not fully anticipated was that a connected household uses much more water than one that **is** not connected. This not only increases the cost to the consumer, but also

places a larger service burden on the utility. It also increases the distinction between the outer villages and Barrow. Some people in the outer villages **still** express the desire for flush toilets in their homes, but most realize that this would be unreasonably expensive. Clearly there is some envy of the convenience available to Barrow residents in this regard.

While not strictly infrastructure in the same way, the present NSB policy in relation to diesel oil prices **is** also pertinent to this Barrow-outer village self-comparison. Barrow is presently the only village which is supplied with natural gas. As a consequence, heating **costs** are much lower in Barrow than in the outer villages. This was perceived as an inequality based strictly on location, and the NSB early on made a policy decision to subsidize the **cost** of heating oil in the outer villages in an effort to equalize these **costs**. This program has been described in more detail in another section. There are still enough disadvantages to heating with oil, and the cost to the consumer is still enough higher even with the subsidy, that natural gas would **still** be preferred by most outer village consumers as a heating fuel. Several studies have been done in various villages on the feasibility of natural gas for those villages, and none have been very promising. The one which seemed to indicate that **Nuiqsut could** develop an innovative gas delivery system for between three and four million dollars was never acted upon and seems to have never been **seriously** considered.

Barrow itself has a serious problem with its gas supply. Demand has risen **faster** than anticipated, supplies have declined somewhat more rapidly than expected, and the exploration and development **of** new fields has been delayed. These three factors have combined to make it almost certain that sometime in 1991 **BUECI** will have to start generating electricity with diesel (a less cost efficient fuel for them) so that there **will** be an adequate supply of gas for residential use. The major user of natural gas in Barrow is **BUECI**, so that with a partial conversion to diesel by **BUECI** residential customers are really in no danger of being without gas. Electrical rates in Barrow may very well have to increase, however, as **BUECI** cannot absorb the cost increase as the NSB could in a similar circumstance. **BUECI** is a non-profit corporation with its customers as its shareholders, and cannot run a deficit.

The problems with the **Utilidor** and the gas supply both demonstrate the consequences **of** unanticipated rapid growth and the lack of planning adequate to incorporate the implications of that growth. Simple extrapolation from past information did not predict the true future demand levels for **service**, let alone provide a reasonable margin for error or factors not taken into account. In Barrow, most infrastructure problems can **similarly** be traced to the consequences of unexpected growth, unexpected demand for **services**, or both. **Village** infrastructure problems are very different, as **will** be seen in the outer village chapters. For the most part, outer village infrastructure is overbuilt (sometimes to the point of being very difficult for the village to maintain and support) and is sometimes inappropriate for the village. At the same time, outer villages may lack relatively low cost items (city buses, for example) upon which they **place** a very high priority.

F. Fire Protection

1. History of Fire Protection Activities

Unlike **the** other villages on the North Slope where fire protection services and the training of firefighters are managed by the **NSB** but executed under the auspices **of the local** volunteer force, **in** Barrow these services are contracted out to the **City** of Barrow by the NSB. The **city then** contracts these duties to the Barrow Volunteer **Fire** Department (Alaska Consultants et al. **1983:71**; Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:579). These volunteers still receive the bulk of their training from NSB personnel and take direction on general **policy from** the NSB fire chief.

There are currently two fire stations in Barrow. The one located in Barrow proper was constructed in 1975. The second station was constructed **in Browerville in** 1979 and expanded in 1983. **It** housed the **City** of Barrow administration offices on the second floor for a time (Alaska Consultants et al. **1983:71**), but the city has since constructed a separate city hall **next** to the city recreation building in Barrow proper.

2. Organization and Activities

In 1983 the Barrow Volunteer Fire Department maintained about thirty-five trained volunteers, fifteen of which are trained Emergency Medical Technicians (Alaska Consultants et al. **1984:579**). This volunteer base is considerably larger now. The Alaska Department of Transportation and Public Facilities maintains a crash fire rescue truck and quick response vehicle at the Barrow airport maintenance shops for emergency response to **plane** accidents (Alaska Consultants et al. **1984:579**).

There have been some serious fires in Barrow. Structures destroyed by fire include the old laboratory at NARL, one at the first Top of the World Hotel, Brewer's hotel, the old **co-op** building offices, the **BUECI** office, the former public safety building, and some residences. Between 1970 and 1977, fifteen Barrow residents died in fires. Between 1977 and **1983**, there were not any fatalities (Alaska Consultants et al. **1983:72**; Alaska **Consultants** et al. 1984:580). In general, the recent past has been relatively free from fires, except for some damage to the elementary **school** complex.

There are really no Barrow-specific Fire Department issues that are not also regional issues, and so are better discussed as part of the general Barrow-outer villages comparison as it appears in the regional chapter of this report. Barrow is the only Native community on the North **Slope** large **enough** to need more than one fire station to provide **timely** response to any fire in the community. Barrow is the only NSB community with paid Fire Department personnel (although most firefighters are still volunteers). Barrow is the only NSB community where the Fire Department and the Search and Rescue organization are clearly differentiated. **All** of these are related to Barrow's size and its position as the administrative seat of the NSB.

G. Search and Rescue

1. History: Regional Development

The search and rescue **service** in Barrow was administered by a formal NSB department, the NSB Search and Rescue (**SAR**) organization. When the NSB created the Department of Public Safety, it also included a Division of Search and Rescue which now administers this **service** throughout the North Slope. Each village (including Barrow) also has a Voluntary Search and Rescue (**VSAR**) organization which in most cases predates the **NSB SAR** organization. The VSARS conduct most searches. The Barrow SAR is primarily the mechanism by which the **VSARs** are funded and equipped, and also will provide air support when it is deemed useful (to search or to handle other emergencies). The NSB SAR will also handle or at least help coordinate the logistics for a lengthy or complicated search. The NSB SAR Department does employ several **people** full-time (pilots, a coordinator) **while** VSAR organizations do not pay **members**. Public Safety and SAR have coordinated **closely** since both were formed because of obvious mutual interests and responsibilities, as well as the recognition that in the outer villages especially, the PSO wadis often the person best **able** to manage the logistics of a search effort. This role of the PSO in searches has changed recently to more of a support role. The NSB Fire Department is organized in much the same way as the NSB Department of SAR. There is a **small**, centralized staff of paid employees in Barrow and each village has a Volunteer Fire Department, equipped and trained through the NSB Fire Department, to actually fight the fires. In the villages of the North **Slope** the members of the fire departments are generally the same as those **of** the Search and Rescue team. However, at the NSB (paid) level, these departments are separate and must **justify** their budget requests independently.

2. Organization and Operations

The Barrow Search and Rescue organization had 35 to 40 members in 1983 but grew more than 150% in the following year. Membership in 1984 was reported to be 105 persons (**Smythe and Worl 1985:276**). Smythe and **Worl** suggest that the large membership is related to the prestige that is attached to being a Search and Rescue volunteer. The Barrow Search and Rescue Department is housed in the NSB Search and Rescue administrative building. The Volunteer Search and Rescue department in Barrow also **receives** financial support **from** the Borough (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:580). At present the Barrow VSAR is one of the largest and **best**-supported organizations in the village, although exact membership figures are not available. The Barrow VSAR is of course the largest VSAR on the North **Slope** and because of its proximity to the NSB SAR Department has obvious logistical advantages in terms of access to equipment and training. The Barrow VSAR is commonly called upon to assist in search efforts based in the outer villages where local manpower may not be adequate for a full-scale search (especially given the need to maintain village **services** at the same time).

Search and Rescue issues for the City of Barrow are discussed in the Search and Rescue portion of the formal institution section of the regional chapter of this document. That analysis covers the relationship between **NSB Search and Rescue** and the outer villages.

H. Public Safety

1. History

Until 1976, when responsibility for public safety was transferred to the NSB, the municipality of Barrow provided **police** services. **The** force then consisted **of** a police **chief**, two patrolmen, and some part-time jail guards but it had no vehicles or communications equipment. **The** police facilities were also inadequate. The building had been built in 1954 and **remodeled** in 1975 to provide additional space and a **jail**. The building still could not meet the requirements of the City for it was too small and lacked a plumbing system. In 1981 **the NSB constructed** a new public safety headquarters and jail facility (Alaska Consultants **et al. 1983:67**). The size of the force and the degree of professionalism has been constantly increasing. Currently there is a detective division which handles **all** investigations and a liaison with the NSB **school** system, as **well** as the patrol division. The **Public** Safety Department is currently pursuing the formal accreditation process and expects that this will assist in the **continued** improvement **of** the department.

2. Organization and Operations

Today public safety **services** are provided through the NSB Department of **Public** Safety. There is also an Alaska State Trooper stationed **full** time in Barrow. In 1983 the personnel of the public safety department included thirteen officers (including the department's director and his deputy), an investigator and eight correctional officers, and an administrative coordinator and eleven civilian support personnel who were responsible for records, dispatch, and maintenance. The new public safety building has 13,224 square feet. It houses five offices, **locker** room, a training room, temporary **sleeping** quarters for officers, a small **lounge** with a kitchenette, bathrooms, a jailer's office, and a nine-cell jail (Alaska Consultants **et al. 1983:67**). In 1988 the number of line officers increased to 20, with an additional five corporals, two sergeants, a captain, a commander, and a director. There were also an additional seven corrections officers serving in the jail and three civilian administrative aides in the central office. There were also fifteen other civilian support staff.

Officers in Barrow meet the training requirements **of** the Alaska **Police** Standards Council and are eligible for training at the State **Police** Academy in **Sitka** (Alaska Consultants et al. 1983:69, Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:576). There are five patrol cars for daily operations and four support vehicles, each of which is equipped with a multi-channel two-way radio. However, the **useful** life of each car is about two **years** because **of** the adverse weather **conditions** and lack **of** paved roads. "This makes Public Safety maintenance rather expensive. The department has **its** own garage facilities for repairs. Some senior off-duty officers who are on 24-hour call are allowed to take department vehicles home so that they have reliable transportation in case of emergency. The private ownership of automobiles in Barrow, while increasing, seems to be more common among **Inupiat** than **non-Inupiat**. Many people **rely** upon **access** to work or business vehicles for their transportation needs.

Barrow is unique on the North Slope in terms of the working environment it provides for **Public** Safety Officers (**PSOs**). By policy, all PSOs are periodically assigned to Barrow. The ideal pattern

is for **newly** hired officers to be stationed in Barrow at least a year and then to assume their place in the standard rotation of two years in an outer village, a year in Barrow, two years in an outer village (perhaps but not necessarily the same one), a year in Barrow, and so on. How this works out in reality is discussed in the regional section, but at least in theory **all** PSOS share a common range of experience gained through duty in Barrow. Barrow **is** also the only duty station on the North Slope where PSOS have definite shifts when they are on duty. In the outer villages PSOS are on 24-hour call (although in theory, with two **PSOs**, each is only on 12-hour call). Life for a PSO can therefore be much more planned and scheduled than for a village PSO, and contains a good **deal** more routine. Proximity to the central Public Safety administration also tends to formalize public safety procedure. More paperwork is filed in Barrow and patrols and duties are more narrowly defined than in the villages. The **Public** Safety Department has been instituting a computer network system to connect all the PSOS in the villages with Barrow, with one of its goals being the standardization of incident reports and the compilation of an accurate data base concerning the department's work load and activities.

Barrow PSOS have always had a jail and thus **always** have had the option of taking a person into custody. This has not been the case in all villages until the very recent past. Enforcement has thus been somewhat more consistent and stringent than in the villages. Barrow PSOS generally have adequate support in terms of secretarial assistance and can obtain **repairs** or **replacement** of defective equipment in relatively short order. This also affects the way that the law is enforced.

Public Safety issues for the community of Barrow are discussed in the regional section of this report.

I. **Schools**

1. History

The **BIA** constructed and ran the first school in Barrow. This school was built in 1965 and consisted of what is presently the Barrow elementary **school** complex. However, at the time it was **built**, the complex included a multipurpose building, a secondary school building, and associated teacher housing. The elementary **school** wing was added later. Students who desired to go to high **school** had to leave Barrow and attend **BIA-run** schools in Sitka (Mt. **Edgecumbe**), Oregon, Kansas, or Oklahoma. Some students participated in a boarding home program and so were able to attend school on Anchorage or Fairbanks (Alaska Consultants et al. **1983:91**).

As part of incorporation in 1972, the NSB was required to administer its own school district. In 1974 the Borough expanded its curriculum in Barrow so it was able, for the first time, to offer high school to **local** students. Through the CIP, the school facilities in Barrow were expanded and remodeled. A new high school complex was opened in the **fall** of 1983. This complex consists of five wings that house classrooms, recreation facilities, an auditorium, a vocational education unit, and a utilities structure (Alaska Consultants **1983:91**).

2. Organization and Operations

Today there are two schools in Barrow, the Fred **Ipalook** Elementary School and the Barrow High School. There is also a vocational education unit. There is no summer school but there are a variety of special programs including continuing education for **adults** and youth programs to supplement the regular curriculum. The school district has also made an attempt to provide young students with instruction **in Inupiat** culture and language. For example, there is a special program to teach children about **Inupiat** culture **called the Inupiat** Cultural Heritage program. This program is funded by federal Indian education grants. **Inupiat** language instruction is required for children from Early Childhood Education through the sixth grade. Throughout high **school Inupiat** language courses are optional. **"In addition, references to the Inupiat** culture have been incorporated into junior high and high **school** home economics courses and into vocational education classes" (Alaska Consultants et al. 1983:93). The school district in Barrow also maintains an **Inupiat** cultural resource bank containing books, films, slides, and other material (Alaska Consultants et al. 1983:93).

3. I s s u e s

Barrow is the largest **NSB** community, with the most diverse population, and is the administrative center for the school district. Thus, it is natural that school district issues are more visible here than in the other villages. Most are **only** specific manifestations of issues that do exist in all the other villages but do not take the same form there because of a **lack** of critical mass or other **local factors**. These issue **will** be described here **in** the Barrow context, but comparative discussion is reserved for the regional section.

Perhaps the key issue for public North **Slope** education is one that is given little **public** discussion, and is not as noticeable in the outer villages as in Barrow. Several teachers in Barrow have observed that on the average **non-Inupiat** students seem to have more success in school than do **Inupiat** students. They do not attribute this to any intrinsic difference in ability (at least in principal), but point to the different expectations and support provided by the parents of the students as the primary factor. One primary measure such teachers mentioned was the interest parents displayed in talking to the teacher about how their child was doing. **Non-Inupiat** parents as a group display such interest much more than **Inupiat** parents. Those **Inupiat** parents who do display such an interest tend **to** have children who are successful in school. Again, we must stress that these are not the **result** of systematic study, but are the observations of a few informants. It may be that since nearly all teachers are **non-Inupiat** that **Inupiat** parents are not comfortable dealing with them. Nonetheless, the apparent differential achievement rates of **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** students in Barrow, if substantiated by statistics, would indicate a fundamental problem in the educational delivery system. Such statistics and **records** were not **available** for this project.

A second key issue concerns who should control the educational process. That is, **people** are concerned over who should make the decisions about what is taught in the public schools. At the **NSB level** this takes the form of who is elected to the regional **school** board, who is hired as district superintendent, the relations between the school board and the superintendent, and the degree to which the school administration listens to **local** (Village) concerns about how the schools

are run. The last is of primary concern here. Barrow has a formal School Advisory Council, like all the other villages, which **serves** in an advisory capacity to the **local** school principal who in turn is supposed **to voice** these local concerns to the **school** board as a liaison for the village. This system has foundered in most of the villages because of a number of reasons - lack of local participation, the perception that the SAC is powerless and ignored, and the frequent impression that the local principal is using the arrangement to achieve his own agenda rather than the community's (to the degree that the principal **is** independent of the school board in any event). In Barrow, this has resulted in the impetus for the formation of a Parent-Teachers Association (PTA) so that the concerns of the parents and teachers can be more directly presented to the school board. While the PTA and SAC need not be **rival** groups, they have been assigned that status in Barrow. The situation was not resolved at the time of our **fieldwork**, and the situation is quite complex. Teachers are quite active in the PTA and have been accused **of** perhaps trying to dominate it in a **political/policy** power struggle with the central administration. There are no easy decisions to be made about how "Western" an education to provide, mode of instruction, and the extent of **Inupiat** cultural content to strive for. Unfortunately, these are the issues that need to be addressed if the public education system **is** to successfully **seine** its public, and there are no clear answers at present.

SECTION IV: CULTURAL ISSUES AND INFORMAL INSTITUTIONS

A. Patterns of Change in Informal Institutions

The **process** of informal institutions becoming formalized can be seen in Barrow in the context of the Barrow Search and Rescue team, which **appears** representative of a traditional element in the Barrow community. Many of the members **of** the organization are older whaling captains who represent traditional elements of **Inupiat** culture (**Smythe and Worl 1985:276**). They sometimes **act** as community **leaders** and advisors both in Barrow and **in** other villages in the borough as illustrated **by** Smythe and **Worl (1985:277)**. They relate that Barrow Search and **Rescue** had acquired a boat through a legislative appropriation grant and were bringing it up the coast from **Kotzebue**. On their way through Point Hope, Point Lay, and Wainwright the men offered advice to groups in those villages on how they too could receive similar funds. This example demonstrates that Barrow Search and **Rescue** is more than a search and **rescue** organization. Many of its members are esteemed residents of the community. The extent of their activities beyond search and rescue attest to this point.

B. Subsistence

1. Organization of Subsistence Activities

To guide this discussion on the organization of subsistence activities, the “. . . four basic patterns of employment/subsistence strategies” discussed by Worl and Smythe (**1986:196-209**) will **be used**. They are:

- (1) direct relationship between the wage earner/hunter and the elderly/hunter, (2) intermittent employment, (3) weekend hunter, and (4) subsistence/commercial hunter. **The first** three strategies are the most common and the subsistence/commercial hunter the least **prevalent**.

These are general trends that seem to emerge from the way traditional subsistence activities articulate with the wage labor economy in Barrow. They are not necessarily conscious “strategies” adopted by **people to allow** for the coexistence of subsistence and wage labor employment, but certainly often seem to have that effect. These patterns are useful in an analysis because they illustrate the **social** and institutional changes that have occurred in relation to subsistence and the wage **economy**.

Wage Earner/Hunter Relationship

This pattern typically involves one **male** member of a household who is financially supported by his kin so he is free to participate in subsistence activities. The wage earner may be male or female, perhaps **elderly**, but it is he or she that supplies the equipment (e.g., snowmobile, boat, motor) and lends it to the hunter. The hunters, in turn, distribute their catches among the kin who made the hunt possible. Worl and Smythe found that many of the hunters falling into this pattern were often alcoholics and likely to be viewed by their families as individuals who cannot hold a job. Often these hunters had not graduated **from** high school. But despite these negative aspects, the men whose subsistence activities are supported by kin “. . . fill a vital role in harvesting subsistence resources for their household and interrelated households” (Worl and Smythe 1986:200).

Intermittent Employment

Subsistence hunters following this pattern alternate between periods of employment and shorter periods of subsistence production. They usually participate in subsistence activities **while** unemployed but do not necessarily quit jobs to go hunting. This mixing of employment and subsistence has been occurring since wage employment first reached Barrow. Sonnenfeld (1957:482-483, cited from Worl and Smythe 1986:201) reported that at the ARCON facility in the early 1950s, **Inupiat** employment was inconsistent, as Inupiat men worked 25 months out of the possible 87-month work period.

Many of the men who follow this pattern work in order to engage in subsistence activities. They may retain their jobs for any number of weeks or months and then go hunting. Others who work only intermittently are not **able** to hold a job because of acknowledged drinking problems. They **will** not necessarily spend all of their unemployed periods hunting. However, it is not uncommon for any **of** these men to sell their ‘subsistence resources for additional income when not working. However, this trend may be changing, as suggested by **Worl and Smythe**. With the winding down **of** the major **CIP** spending in the **mid-1980s**, people are realizing that employment is becoming scarce.

Weekend Hunters

Weekend subsistence hunters enjoy hunting on a regular basis but they do not compromise their employment to do so. Significant variations occur in the amount of time fully employed men spend in subsistence production. However, **Kruse** found that **60%** of the **Inupiat** surveyed in 1977 reported they engaged in subsistence activities primarily on weekends and after work (1981, cited from **Worl and Smythe 1986:204**). Those who are avid hunters will take advantage of the flexible and liberal subsistence leave **allowances** offered by the **NSB** and other employers.

Subsistence/Commercial Hunter

Sometimes Barrow Inupiat **will** sell their subsistence **resources**, although this is **not** a very common way of combining subsistence and wage labor. The practice of selling subsistence resources in Barrow also appears to be unique among the villages of **the** North Slope. However, it is important to note that this practice “. . . provides a vital **service** to the community in supplying resources which otherwise might not be accessible to some local residents” (Worl and Smythe 1986:207). Usually, households involved in selling subsistence **resources** are older couples, assisted in various ways by younger kin. This is because older **people** have few financial obligations, typically have a steady retirement or rental income, and have enough free time to engage in prolonged subsistence pursuits.

The most common subsistence food to be sold is whitefish, and it is sold at prices that appear to be **below** the cost of production. Subsistence **resources** that are sold commercially are done so through the large retail store in Barrow. Subsistence resources that are not sold commercially are sold through private homes to other **Inupiat** in Barrow. However, goods are sometimes sent to **relatives in** other **villages** who can then sell the **fish** or meat themselves. The **local radio** station **in** Barrow regularly announces the sale of **these items over** the **air**.

Inupiat Women and Subsistence

The traditional **roles** of **Inupiat** women in subsistence production have changed for all except, perhaps, the older women. Women’s primary contribution to subsistence production has **always** been in the area of clothing preparation, which included the butchering, flensing, and tanning of ugruk skins for parkas. The ugruk **skins** were also **necessary** for construction of the umiak used in spring **whale** hunting. Barrow spring whalers now use a mix **of skin** and other boats, so this use is **still** quite important. The sewing of the ugruk skins on the umiak was being done by ten older women in 1985 but the **quality** of their work was apparently slipping because of the demand for their **services** and the fact that there were so few of them. Because of the shift to full-time wage labor jobs, which led to a fourfold increase in the **female** labor force between 1960 and 1977, women do not have as much time to devote to subsistence production as they had in the past (Kleinfeld 1981, cited in Worl and Smythe 1986:207). However, there are some who continue to process subsistence resources in addition to working at their full time-jobs.

There is an interesting phenomenon associated with degree of household subsistence participation which is represented in **Table 29-BRW**. One can see in the *first box* that those households which are most active in subsistence pursuits are not, on the average, the households with the highest annual income. This is true for both **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat**, but for different reasons. In the case of **Inupiat**, this surprising correlation could be an artifact of the way the **table** is organized (see **Tables 5-BRW** and **7-BRW**). On the other hand, while wage income would restrict the time available for hunting, it also **allows** the purchase of the **best** equipment so that the use of that time can be maximized. For **non-Inupiat** it may be that those **households** with the highest annual incomes are not permanent residents in the community, or at least do not behave as though they have a commitment to the village. Therefore, they may not participate in subsistence activities at the expense of employment.

Table 29-BRW

Barrow **Household Characteristics** -1988
By **Levels** of Subsistence Participation

	DEGREE OF SUBSISTENCE PARTICIPATION			
	MINIMAL	MODERATE	ACTIVE	ALL HHs
Average HH Income (\$):				
Inupiat HHs	\$ 4 1 , 9 0 2 :	\$66,458	\$56,299 :	
Non-Inupiat HHs	\$72,416	\$87,708 :	\$ 8 0 3 0 0 :	
All HHs	\$61,761	\$70,000 :	\$59,651	\$62,043
Cases:	504	72	179	75s
Average HH Size (# Persons per HH):				
Inupiat HHs	3.5	4.2	4.4	
Non-Inupiat HHs	2.5	3.3	2.8	
All HHs	2.8	4.1	4.2	3.3
Cases:	562	79	217	858
Average Meat & Fish Csmptn from Own HH Subsistence (%):				
Inupiat HHs	5.0%	31.7%	71.2%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	1.6%	28.4%	71.5%	
All HHs	2.8%	31.1%	71.3%	227%
Cases:	562	73	217	856
Average Mast & Fish Csmptn from Other HH Subsistence (%):				
Inupiat HHs	24.6%	18.0%	20.1%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	3.1%	9.5%	4.0%	
All HHs	10.4%	16.5%	18.0%	129%
Cases:	553	78	215	846
Average Meat & Fish Harvested and Given Away (%):				
Inupiat HHs	6.6%	16.5%	29.0%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	1.7%	15.8%	18.7%	
All HHs	3.4%	16.4%	27.7%	10.7%
Cases:	559	79	214	652
Average Proportion HH Income Spent in Village (%):				
Inupiat HHs	61.3%	53.7%	60.8%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	35.8%	34.9%	40.2%	
All HHs	44.4%	50.6%	58.2%	48.6%
Cases:	524	78	212	814

otes Degree of subsistence participation measured on the basis of how much HH meat & fish consumption was from the HHs own subsistent activities; where

MINIMAL Under 20% meat & fish from own HH subsistence

MODERATE: 20-40% meat & fish from own HH subsistence

ACTIVE: Over 40% meat & fish from own HH subsistent.

Total cases (households) = 988.

Source: NSS Department of Planning and Community Services
Census of Population and Economy

2. Inupiat Subsistence Ideology

"Inupiat subsistence ideology" as it applies to Barrow is not a "clear-cut topic, as community concerns blend with regional issues to an even greater extent than in the other villages of the North Slope. This is due to the fact that Barrow is the largest community on the North Slope, is the hub of the region in many different senses, and is the site of much of the political activity on the North Slope regarding subsistence issues. **If** some of the discussion carries beyond the concerns of the residents of Barrow, please bear in mind that Barrow is the largest community on the North Slope and contains a majority **of** the **Inupiat population**.

For a number of reasons, subsistence pursuits around Barrow are considered more difficult to pursue than in some of the other communities of the North Slope. In fact, former Barrow residents who are now living in other villages in the region often **give** as one reason for moving out **of** Barrow is that they wish to live where it is easier to hunt and **fish**. There are a large number of hunters in Barrow, and informants say that finding harvestable resources around Barrow is not all that easy. Two sorts of comments are especially telling. Informants from outer villages say that it is common for the "owners" of **fish** and hunting camps who live in Barrow to try and keep other people from using those sites and facilities. In the outer villages, they say, few people try to exert such prerogatives. Informants **also** say that there are now so many whaling crews and people in Barrow that even when a crew does catch a whale that a crew share is so **small** that it is only good "for a meal or **two**." Both these views address fundamental values of **Inupiat** subsistence ideology -- that an **Inupiat should** be allowed to hunt and **fish** wherever he wishes to on **Inupiat** land, and that subsistence harvests should be freely shared with anyone who needs the food, with proper respect being shown to the hunters and the animals. The "objective truth" of the informant assertions cannot be vouched for, but the perceptions which underlie them are **clear**. **At** least some people think of Barrow as a place where there is no longer free access to subsistence resources, and where one must be either **selfish** or lacking in Native food. **Nuiqsut** informants say that they do not use the **Teshkepuk** Lake area much from the **Nuiqsut** side, **since** this is one area that Barrow hunters use quite a bit. It is closer to Barrow, and there are generally areas closer to **Nuiqsut** for the same sorts of resources. When **Nuiqsut** hunters do go through the area, on their way to and from Barrow, they **usually encounter** too many Barrow hunters to be tempted to hunt themselves. **Only** if they need immediate food or supplies do they hunt on such trips (fur bearers may **be** an exception).

Another common perception of Barrow (especially by those who **live** outside of Barrow) is that **people** from Barrow try to monopolize or control the North Slope position on those issues which affect NSB subsistence. In terms of **Inupiat** subsistence ideology, the organizations most pertinent here are the ICAS and the **AEWC**.

The **ICAS** is the Barrow-based regional IRA organization and is most **commonly** perceived by informant as being run by a group of "radicals." Each village, in theory, has a representative to the **ICAS**, but in practice most of these representatives are rather inactive. The **only** village with a substantial **ICAS** presence is Barrow, and even in Barrow most people do not give the organization much weight. In the past the **ICAS** took the point position on the protection of subsistence resources, contesting the rights of the state and federal governments to **hold** lease sales on **Inupiat** lands. These cases have been lost and the NSB has since then modified its stance on development to more of a compromise position. The **ICAS**, by maintaining its hard-line ideological

stance of Inupiat land rights has, in effect, been left out on its own. People are, of course, evaluating the NSB's course as well, wondering if perhaps too many compromises with oil development have been made, but most fall closer to the NSB position than to that of the ICAS.

The AEWEC has often been called a Barrow-dominated group, even though it is composed of villages outside of the NSB as well as the six whaling villages of the NSB. Given the reality of the quota system and the formal allocation of strikes by village, this is an extremely important perception. The total bowhead quota for 1990 has been set at 41 animals taken or 47 strikes. One speaker at the 1990 AEWEC conference in Barrow suggested that the villages had up to this point been too interested in increasing the number of strikes for their village and not in seeing that as many villages as possible could whale. No communities were singled out as the subject of this remark, but Barrow has by far the largest number of whales allocated (15) and 42 of the total 140 whaling crews. Gambell and Savoonga, with perhaps 30 whaling crews between them, have only four whales each. These are clearly disproportionate. Other villages fall in between (Point Hope is allocated 6 whales, Wainwright 5, Nuiqsut 2, Kaktovik 2, Kivalina 2, and Wales 1). There was also a resolution introduced to define "residency" for purposes of defining who can whale as a recognized whaling captain out of a village. In essence, this resolution would make an individual live in a village for a year before he could outfit a crew and whale under the quota allocation for that village. No one would be allowed to live in one village and whale as a captain of a crew from another village. This was clearly seen as the larger villages protecting their quota allocations at the expense of the smaller villages with smaller (or no) quota allocations.

3. Issues

The establishment of a whale harvest quota by the International Whaling Commission (IWC) has decreased the amount of time spent whaling by Inupiat. Prior to the quota, it was not unusual for the spring whaling season to last as much as four weeks or longer. Today, this activity has been reduced to as little as four days, not including preparation time (Worl and Smythe 1986:155). Usually, fall whaling is not conducted out of Barrow because quotas are often met at the spring hunt and the conditions of fall whaling are much less pleasant than for spring whaling. Despite the decrease in the amount of time available for whaling, the costs incurred by whaling captains have increased sharply. In 1978, the average expense incurred by a whaling captain, and umialiq, was \$10,361. In 1984 the umialiq's expenses were estimated to be \$16,090 (Table 30-BRW).

Table **30-BRW**

Barrow
 Captain's Expenses, Spring Whaling

Capital Investments	
1 Skin Boat	1,500.00
2 Shoulder guns @ \$900	1,800.00
2 Darting guns @ \$700	1,400.00
2 Snowmachines @ \$3,500 each	7,000.00
2 Sleds @ \$400.00	800.00
1 CB , antenna and battery	550.00
1 Tent	400.00
1 Kerosene heater .	95.00
1 Line rope 600'	115.00
6 Harpoons with lines @ \$60	360.00
3 Tarps @ \$60	<u>180.00</u>
	\$14,200.00
Operating Expenses	
10 Bombs @ \$50.00	500.00
3 Drums of fuel	300.00*
1 Drum of kerosene	90.00
Food	<u>1,000.00</u>
	\$1,s90.00
GRAND TOTAL	\$16,090.00

* **The** stores offer a discount **price during** the whaling period. The normal price is \$160 per drum.

Source: Worl and Smythe (1986:156).

C. Traditional Sharing and Kinship Behaviors

1. Kinship Organization

Kinship organization in Barrow is discussed extensively in **Burch** (1975) and reviewed in Worl and Smythe (1986), but the main points **will** be noted here, especially as they relate to sharing. Prior to contact with non-Natives, **Inupiat** kinship provided the structural elements for settlements. **These** settlements were composed of a local family and two or more large, extended families living in closely **situated**, or interconnected dwellings. The domestic or nuclear family were the basic operating units within this system, but did not function independently **of** the larger “local families.” Sleeping, eating, or working could occur in any of the dwellings and subsistence resources were shared among everyone.

Since about 1850 and the arrival of the whalers, **Inupiat** family units have become smaller in size and simpler in structure. Burch claims that the reasons for this shift are primarily demographic. Of particular importance in the demographic changes were increases in family size due to reduced infant mortality and improved health care (Wed and Smythe 1986:228). Despite the trend toward nuclear family households, the wide-ranging character and flexibility of traditional kinship “organization continued to permeate **Inupiat** society. The basis for many social units and institutions in Barrow today are rooted on kinship ties. According to Worl and Smythe (1986:230), “**The** clearest expression of this structure **occurs** in the activities of hunting and dividing meat . . .” This will be discussed below.

2. Formal and Informal Sharing

The basis for sharing subsistence resources is founded on a social relationship between two individuals and/or the perception of a potential recipient’s need of an item. **Social** relationships are most often based on kinship, adoption, names, and partnerships. However, **neighbors**, friends, co-workers, or fellow church members may also provide the basis for receiving shares of subsistence resources. The formality of distribution of subsistence resources decreases from **whale** meat, to walrus or **ugruk**, to caribou and **fish**, which have the least formal **rules** for sharing. For whale meat, then, there is a very strict and formal system for distribution, which is based on the type and level of assistance rendered to the successful captain and crew (**Worl** 1978, VanStone 1982, cited from Worl and **Smythe** 1986:290).

The largest share goes to the boat which first struck the whale; the share is divided among the captain, crew, and the boat (the latter going to the boat owner if different from the captain). Much of this **maktak** and meat is redistributed extensively in the community during the celebration feasts and **Nalukataq**, Thanksgiving, and Christmas. Other boats which assist in landing the whale also receive shares. Finally, smaller shares are distributed to community members who help **pull** the **whale** onto the shore ice, participate in butchering it, or make contributions **of** food or money to the captain for maintaining his crew on the ice or at **Nalukataq**. (**Worl** and **Smythe** 1986:290-91.)

This **seemingly** complicated system also provides for secondary distribution of the meat that sometimes **reaches** related individuals in other villages and cities, and even out of state (Worl and Smythe 1986:291).

For sharing walrus, **ugruk**, and smaller seals, there are rules which are similar in structure to those applying to the distribution of whale meat. One share automatically goes to the captain or whoever is the owner of the boat. **In the case of** walrus, the “boat share” includes the head of the walrus. **With ugruk, the** “boat share” includes the skin. The rest of the catch is distributed among those who share in the butchering of the animal. Women have a large role **in** this aspect of subsistence production. **In** one unusually large catch witnessed by Worl and Smythe during their fieldwork, the entire group of hunters and butchers were **close** lineal relatives, or spouses of relatives, descended from two brothers. It **is** also not unusual for distribution to be based in part on a household’s **expected level of consumption** (Worl and Smythe 1986:291-93). “

The **rules** that apply to the distribution of caribou and fish are even more flexible and informal than those for the larger sea mammals. Usually these catches are shared only within families since one person or family on a fall inland camping trip is responsible for hunting them. The caribou and/or fish is divided upon the family’s return to Barrow. After the hunters have provided a share for their family they will share any remainder “with just about the whole family’ (**lagiit**) and with **people** outside the family” (Worl and Smythe 1986:295).

There is one curious difference between sharing caribou and the larger mammals such **as** walrus, **ugruk**, and seal. While women who assist in butchering the **ugruk** and walrus are entitled to a **share** of it, this is not the case with the butchering of caribou. To receive a share of caribou, a woman must be a member of the family who hunted it or the caribou must simply be offered to her (Worl and Smythe 1986:295).

Other aspects of sharing can be gleaned from Tables 5-BRW and 7-BRW, which show the relationship between various household characteristics, and household size and household income respectively. Based upon Table 5-BRW, it appears that the largest **households** are most active in subsistence participation, more likely to both share and receive subsistence resources, and **likely** to spend more of their income in Barrow than smaller **households**. This at least holds true for **Inupiat** households. The **likely** explanation for this trend is that larger households are better prepared financially to support active participation in subsistence. This contention is supported by **Table 9-BRW** which shows that households in the highest income categories share more than those in lower income categories.

One also notices from **Table 8-BRW** that the highest income **Inupiat** households spend less of their incomes in Barrow than do lower income households. One explanation for this **is that** these wealthy **Inupiat** households are purchasing expensive goods such as outboard motors, boats, and **snowmachines** from outside of Barrow to be used in the village. This may not be the same explanation one would give as to why higher income **non-Inupiat** households do not spend as much **of** their income in the village. As mentioned above, not spending income in the village probably represents a lack **of** commitment to the village and the application of income to capital purchases or investments outside of the community. There is also a limited variety of goods to buy within Barrow.

3. Ideology of Kinship and Sharing

This topic has been treated in the discussion of the sharing of subsistence resources above. It is important to note that in Barrow, **unlike** other villages on the North Slope, the selling of subsistence resources is common. It is also important to note that the degree of the formality of sharing (and the consistency of sharing “rules”) varies from specie to specie.

4. Issues

Barrow is the regional hub community. **As** such, most transportation routes **funnel** into Barrow. It is thus a natural gathering place for shared products (most importantly subsistence foods) and people traveling from one place to another. This is discussed in the regional chapter and that treatment is **best** not duplicated here. There are a few **issues specific** to Barrow that should be mentioned, but a full treatment is beyond the scope of **this** report since they are not treated in the literature and fieldwork **was limited in scope.**

Because of the great diversity of the Barrow population, sharing patterns and networks are often greatly different **from** those in other villages. Non-Natives are more frequently incorporated into such networks, and the resources they contribute may be different from those contributed by Natives. This has not been investigated. There are also extended Native household networks in Barrow which are very much like those described for Point Hope, as well as more confined networks. Diversity is perhaps the key descriptive word. Because of the size of the Barrow population, **people** sometimes **complain** about the decline of the sharing **ethic in** Barrow. This **is** perhaps exemplified best by the common complaint that crew shares have been so reduced in size because of the large number of crews. This is actually a sign that sharing is perhaps too much adhered to. Those who produce the **harvest** often in fact **feel** that they receive too little. The true extent of this feeling or perception is not clear, but it certainly contributes to the ebb and flow of population between Barrow and the outer villages.

Barrow is also the **only** village with special housing set apart for the elderly. This housing effectively separates them from the rest of the population, although it is near a bus line and within walking distance of a number of places. The housing is **still** located on the margins of Barrow and may contribute to the isolation of **at least** some of the people who live there. Again, this was not much investigated due to lack of time and is not treated in the literature.

D. Attitudes Toward Development

Barrow is in a somewhat different position with respect to development when compared with other villages on the North Slope. **As** the seat of the economy of the North Slope, there are many more direct benefits of regional economic development in Barrow than in the outlying villages. Although data were not systematically collected on this subject, it is obvious that Barrow attitudes toward development are shaped by the perception that **to a significant degree** Barrow is able **to control** the direction of development. In the other villages, a very significant factor **in** attitudes toward development is the feeling that there is not sufficient local **control** of either regional or outside

entities. In these communities, there is often a **NSB/Barrow** versus “us” dynamic; this element is missing in Barrow itself.

E. Attitudes Toward **Local** control of schools

Barrow is in a unique position on the North Slope as the **NSB** School District is headquartered in the community. **Through** immediate access, **and** through political power borne of population proportion, Barrow is effectively able to assert local control over the **school** system. The Borough system is, to a large degree, the Barrow system. Barrow is the only community on the North Slope that has **local** control over its schools.

F. Secularization

Community life in Barrow, as in **all** the **NSB** villages, has become more “secular” through time. **As** the hub community, this is perhaps more noticeable in Barrow than in the other villages. There is a greater diversity of population and opportunities in Barrow than elsewhere on the North Slope, which seems to have reduced the feeling of community unity and role of religion in everyday life.

1. Public Celebrations

Because of its size, there are very few public celebrations that involve the entire community of Barrow. Many community members do not know each other, again because of the size of the community. Yet, most events must **be** organized so that community members who do not necessarily know each other can participate together. In this Barrow is different from **all** the other **NSB** Native communities, which are **all** face-to-face villages. Barrow is also the only **NSB** community to” formally organize public celebrations of more than one day’s duration that are explicitly designed to involve any community member (in some cases defined as the entire **NSB**) who decides to attend. In this sense, Barrow serves as a regional ceremonial focus. **As** expected, it is the **NSB** which sponsors most of these events.

The three main events of this nature are the spring festival, which includes dog races and various sorts of physical competitions, the Messenger Feast in January, and the Elders’ Conferences which are held from time to time (generally not every year). Events are scheduled to take place where it makes the most sense to conduct them. **NSB** sponsorship generally favors no group over any other, and no group other than the **NSB** is **really** associated with either event. The Messenger Feast, and to some extent the Elders’ Conferences, do have spiritual overtones, but these have not been explicitly examined in the literature and **Inupiat** are quite rightfully suspicious of any **non-Inupiat** statements about **Inupiat** belief systems and their relation to “traditional” and “Christian” traditions. We therefore do not try to address this question.

Other community-wide celebrations are **held** at Thanksgiving and Christmas, and perhaps Easter. These events tend to be associated more with churches than the events discussed above, in that people generally attend a feast organized by the church they normally attend. At Christmas there is a series of games organized on a community-wide basis. These are no longer 24-hour, **around-**

the-clock games, however, but are scheduled for the evenings to accommodate the many individuals employed during the day. **Only** some of the outer villages attempt to continue the tradition of 24-hour games. On all three of these days there are church **services** at all the churches and probably a majority of the **Inupiat** population attends at least one service.

One other class of celebrations should be mentioned. Whaling as an activity has been at least outwardly secularized to a great extent. **Equipment**, boats, and crews are **still** blessed before they go out, and thanks is given for every whale **harvested**, but overall whaling activities are operationally organized rather than explicitly ideologically. There is no religious competition in regard to whaling. Instead, the main churches take turns holding the main **services**. The feasts to distribute the products of the hunt held at various times during the year again are mainly secular in form. They start with a prayer of thanksgiving, but generally no denomination is stressed over any other. The main focus is on the distribution and sharing of the food which has been prepared in a more-or-less **collective** effort. When a whale is taken and the shares are being transported to the captain's house for the required open house, secular concerns seem to predominate.

2. Role of the Church in Everyday Life

There is still an overall community feeling that the church is important, and this is observable especially during public celebrations. However, this is more a general attitude than an explicitly expressed **belief** system (see above). In everyday life the church seems to have lost much of its relevance in Barrow. **This** may be partially due to the development of religious competition in Barrow. The Presbyterian church used to be the only church, and could thus serve as a community focus and a center to organize public celebrations. For the most part this is what occurred and Barrow was identified as a Presbyterian community. With the rise of the Assembly of God church in Barrow, and more recently the Episcopalian, Baptist, Catholic, and perhaps some other denominations, this unity has been fragmented. Many **Inupiat** (just as many other Christians) are not terribly interested in the details of doctrine and find this religious diversity quite confusing.

There is some evidence that the development of this religious diversity is related to the development of residential ethnic diversity in the community. While leaders of the various churches often wish to downplay this aspect of their congregations, most community informants had little difficulty with the idea. Indeed, most volunteered that the Catholic church is mainly Filipino, the Episcopalian church **non-Inupiat** (white), and the Presbyterian church **Inupiat** (even though the pastors are **non-Inupiat**). The Assembly of **God** church also seems to be predominately **Inupiat**. At any rate, no longer is there a church in Barrow that serves as a Community focus.

Attendance at church is also reported to be lower than in the past, except on special ceremonial occasions. Until recently, the **non-Inupiat** population did not attend church very often. Most church attenders still are **Inupiat**. It is **only** recently that the **Inupiat** population has become more residential and family-oriented in Barrow. Before, most **non-Inupiat** were single **males**, and while this category is still quite large, there is now also a fairly large group of professionals employed by the NSB with families. Barrow, as the hub of the NSB, can support such a **subpopulation**. The outer villages do not have the jobs or resources to attract a similar group, for the most part.

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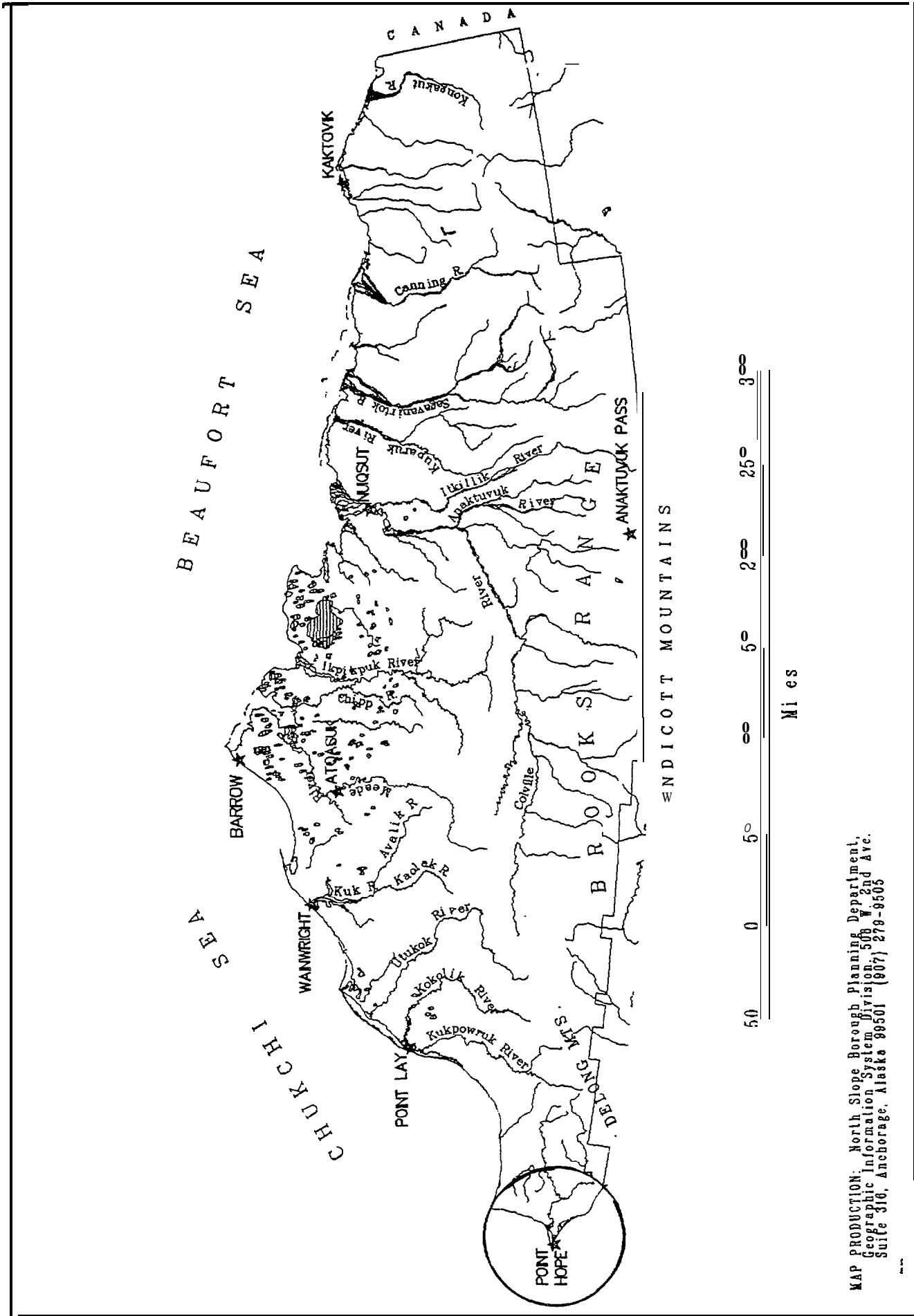
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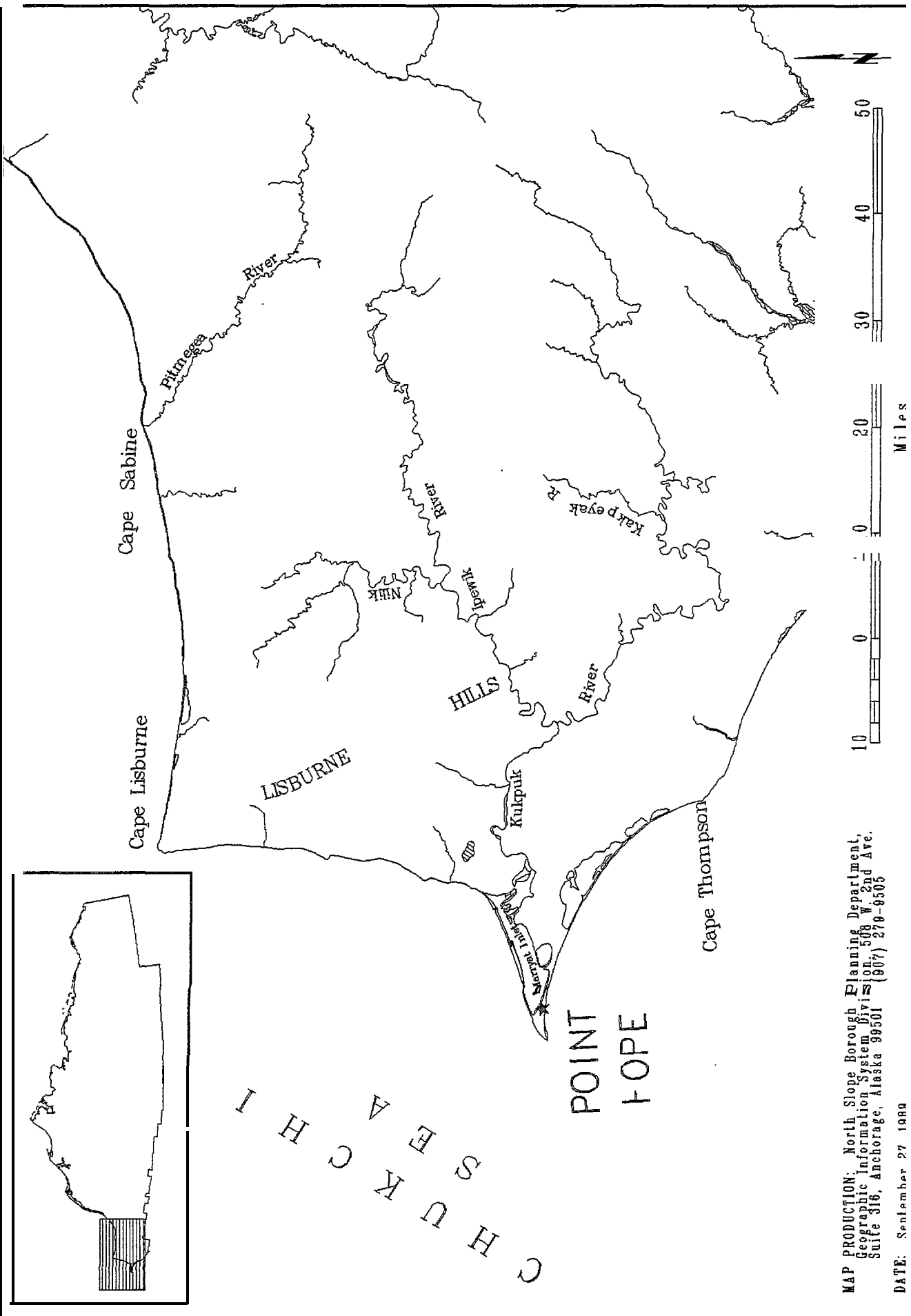
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POINT HOPE



MAP PRODUCTION: North Slope Borough Planning Department,
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 Suite 316, Anchorage, Alaska 99501 (907) 279-9505



C H U K A
H I L L S

P O I N T
B A R R O W

MAP PRODUCTION: North Slope Borough Planning Department,
Geographic Information System Division, 508 W. 2nd Ave.
Suite 316, Anchorage, Alaska 99501 (907) 270-9503

DATE: September 27 1989

PT. HOPE, ALASKA

LEGEND:

NSB REAL PROPERTY

1. Four Plex
2. Mobil Equipment Stor.
3. Housing Maint. Fac.
4. Sr. Citizens Center Complex
5. Elem. & High Sch. & Pool
6. Elem. Gymnasium & Shop
7. Sch. Voc Ed./Shop #1
8. Sch. Voc Ed./Shop #2
9. Portable Classrm. #4
10. Portable Classrm. #5
11. Portable Plant
12. Generator Garage
13. School Treatment Fac.
14. Water Treatment Pumping Fac.
15. Sewage Pumping Fac.
16. Health Clinic
17. Public Safety Office
18. Fire Station
19. Public Office/CATV Headend Fac.
20. Central Dial Office
21. Old Generator Plant
22. City Hall
23. Airport Terminal
24. Daycare Center
25. U.S.D.W.



NSB Planning Dept.
NSB Information System
Geographic Nov 1988

Airport Terminal #22
2 Miles West

POINT HOPE

SECTION I: POPULATION	1
A. Size and Composition	1
Demographic Characteristics..	1
Influences on Point Hope Household Size and Composition	11
Influences on Population Size and Structure	12
B. Household Size and Composition	13
C. Educational Characteristics	19
D. Marriage Pattern s	26
Characteristics of Marriag e.....	26
Changes in Marriage Patters	26
E. Migration Pattern s	28
Characteristics of Migration	28
Influences on Migration Patters..	28
Community History of Migration	29
SECTION II: ECONOMY	30
A. Historical Overview	30
B. The Public Sector	30
Organization	30
Employment	31
C. The Private Sector	44
Organization	44
Employment	47
Revenues	47
D. Economic Issues and Concerns	48
Effect of Wage Economyon Other Institutions	48
Role of Subsistence in the Market Economy	48
Patterns of Economic Change in Borough and Other North Slope Communities	48
Trends un employment	48
Population, Labor Force , and Employment	49
Projection to 1994	52

POINT HOPE

SECTION 111: FORMAL INSTITUTIONS 55

- A. Governmen t 55
 - Organization and Scope of Operations 55
 - Overlaps in Authority and Conflicts Among Institutions 58
 - Government** Institutions and ANCSA Corporations 59
- B. Native Corporations 59
- C. **Social Services** 60
- D. Health 62
- E. Religion 64
 - History of Churches 64
 - Contemporary Churches 67
 - Role of **Religious** Institutions in **Sociocultural** Systems on the North slope 71
- F. Infrastructure 72
- G. Fire Protection 74
- H. Search and Rescue 76
- I. Public Safety 79
 - History 79
 - Organization and Operations** 79
 - Service Calls in Point** Hope, by Call Type 80
 - Service Calls in Point Hope, Reported Involvement of Alcohol 81
 - Service Calls in Point Hope, Involving Alcohol/Service Calls in Point Hope, Not Invoking Alcohol 81
 - Service Calls in Point Hope, Involvement of Alcohol Not Specified 81
 - Issues 85
- J. Schools 87
 - History 87
 - Organization and Operations 89
 - Issues** 92

POINT HOPE

SECTION IV: CULTURAL ISSUES AND **INFORMAL** INSTITUTIONS 95

 A. Patterns of Change in Informal Institutions 95

 B. Subsistence95

 Organization of Subsistence Activities 95

Inupiat Subsistence Ideology97

 Issues 100

 C. Traditional Sharing and Kinship Behaviors 103

 Kinship Organization 103

 Household Network A 104

 Household Network B 106

 Household Network C 108

 Other Household Networks 109

 Formal and Informal Sharing 109

Ideology of Kinship and Sharing.. . . . 109

 D. Attitudes Toward Development 110

 E. Attitudes Toward Local Control of Schools 111

 F. Secularization 111

BIBLIOGRAPHIC SOURCES: POINT HOPE 113

List of Tables - Point Hope

Table 1-PHO	2
Total Population	
Table 2-PHO S	3
Contemporary Age, Sex, and Ethnicity Distributions	
Population Percentage Comparisons	
Table 3-PHO	4
Population Composition -July 1980	
Table 4-PHO	5
Contemporary Age, Sex, and Ethnicity Distributions- 1985	
Table 5-PHO	6
Age, Sex, and Race Composition of Population -1988	
Table 6-PHO	/
Ethnic Composition of Population -1988	
Table 7-PHO	11
Age Categories as Percentages of the Inupiat Population for 1980 and 1985	
Table 8-PHO 00... .	14
Age of Head of Household for Alaska Natives, Non-Natives, and All Groups -June 1980	
Table 9-PHO	15
Household Composition-July 1982	
Table 10-PHO	16
Household Composition - July 1983	
Table 11-PHO	17
Household Composition - July 1984	
Table 12-PHO	17
Total Population Household Size Statistics	
Table 13-PHO	18
Household Size-1988	
Table 14-PHO	21
Household Income and Spending- 1988	

List of Tables - Point Hope

Table IS-PHO	22
Household Characteristics- 1988	
By Categories of Household Size	
Table 16-PHO	24
Highest Level of Education Attained by Age Group	
Inupiat Residents- 1988	
Table 16-PHO (continued)	25
Highest Level of Education Attained by Age Group	
Non-Inupiat Residents -1988	
Table 17-PHO	27
Marital Status by Ethnicity - 1988	
Table 18-PHO	32
Industry Composition of Employment by Sex and Ethnicity - 1988	
Table 19-PHO	33
Composition of Employment by Race and Sex-July 1980	
Table 20-PHO	34
Composition of Employment by Age, Race, and Sex - July 1980	
Table 21-PHO	35
Primary Occupation - February-March 1986	
Table 22-PHO	37
Sources of Employment -February-March 1986	
Table 23-PHO	39
Total Gross Income- 1985	
Table 24-PHO	39
Number of People Who Worked a Second Job- 1985	
Table 25-PHO	41
Monthly House Payment-February-March 1986	
Table 26-PHO	41
Monthly House Payment-February-March 1986	

List of Tables - Point Hope

Table 27-PHO	50
Occupation Composition of Employment by Sex and Ethnicity -1988	
Table 28-PHO	53
Household Characteristics- 1988	
By Levels of Household Income	
Table 29-PHO	98
Household Characteristics -1988	
By Levels of Subsistence Participation	

List of Figures - Point Hope

Figure 1-PHO 8
Inupiat and Total Population in 1988

Figure 2-PHO 9
 Population Characteristics- 1988

Figure 3-PHO 10
 Ethnic Composition of Population -1988

Figure **4-PHO**20
 Average Household Income Distribution
 Native and Non-Native Households by Household Size -July 1980

Figure 5-PHO23
 Educational Attainment-February-March 1986

Figure **6-PHO**36
 Employment Distribution - February-March 1986

Figure **7-PHO**38
 Employment Categories -1986

Figure **8-PHO**40
 Income Distribution - **February-March 1 986**

Figure **9-PHO**42
 Duration of Employment -1986

Figure 10-PHO43
 Employment by Month -1985

Figure 11-PHO51
 Population, Labor Force, and Employment -1980, 1988, 1994 (Projected)

Figure **12-PHO**82
 Service Calls-By Call Type

Figure **13-PHO**82
 Service Calls-Reported Involvement of Alcohol

Figure **14-PHO**83
 Service Calls-Involving Alcohol

List of Figures - **Point** Hope

Figure 15-PHO83
Service Calls-Not Involving Alcohol

Figure 16-PHO84
Service Calls-Involvement of Alcohol Not Specified

Figure 17-PHO90
School Enrollment -1980-1987

Figure 18-PHO91
High School Graduates- 1985-1987

POINT HOPE

SECTION I: POPULATION

A. Size and Composition

1. Demographic Characteristics

Prior to the 1940s, many of the people living in or around Point Hope lived a mobile lifestyle, as did many of the **people** living in the area **of** the nearby contemporary community of Point Lay. Indeed, the land used by the two “groups” overlapped to a great degree and to speak of separate populations is to misrepresent the situation. Only after 1940 or so did the population of Point Hope begin to increase significantly over the levels **of** the first decades of this century. The reasons for this increase were multiple, and connected to a general transition from small seasonally occupied settlements to permanent villages. Point Hope as a community survived this transitional time due to several factors, including a geographical location close to rich concentrations of marine resources (particularly marine mammals, including bowhead whales), the **fact** that it had an established church and school, and the fact that it had a comparatively large initial population.

Such population figures as do exist are summarized in Table 1-PHO and reproduced in more detail in Tables 2-PHO through 7-PHO and **Figures** 1-PHO through **3-PHO**. In 1850, Point Hope and Barrow were essentially the only permanently settled sites on the North Slope. The large decrease in population **for** Point Hope after 1850 is attributed to the effects of disease and other consequences of contact with **non-Inupiat**. To some extent it may also reflect people choosing to live out on the land rather than in the village that Point Hope had become (**Burch 1981:19**). The establishment of the first non-Native shore-based whaling station in 1887, the founding of the mission in 1890, and the use of Point Hope as a supply depot (both for crew and provisions) for whaling ships on extended voyages in the Arctic, all contributed to a small net increase in the area’s population in the late 1800s and early 1900s. **With** the decline of whaling and the introduction of reindeer herding in 1908 and the increasing importance of the fur industry, the central population dispersed in a pattern akin to more traditional times, utilizing many formerly abandoned winter settlement sites in the region. About the time when both the fur market declined and reindeer herding wound down the population in Point Hope again started to increase.

With the passage of the **ANCSA** and the formation of the NSB, Point Hope suddenly acquired a substantial wage economy base. It should be noted, however, that due to the larger size of Point Hope, similar programs have resulted in less per capita income in the village as opposed to smaller **North Slope communities**, such as Point Lay. **It** is also apparent that **Point Hope did** not experience the same type of housing crunch that was seen **in** some of the other villages **in** the **region** at this **time, which served** to **limit** population growth. **Point** Lay, for example, has been virtually **built** from scratch twice **since** 1973. Although housing **is still** considered **tight in** Point Hope today, **Point** Hope had at **least** the rudiments of an infrastructure and housing supply to begin **this period** with (although **Point** Hope has also been relocated once **in this time** period, and hence experienced a construction boom).

Table 1-PHO

Total Population
Point Hope, Alaska

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population of Point Hope</u>
1850	854
1880	276*
1890	295*
1900	623***
1910	243*
1920	141*
1929	139*
1939	257*
1950	264*
1960	324*
1970	386*
1973	376
1975	384 or 404
1976	408
1977	412
1978	464
1979	527
1980	464* or 480 or 527
1981	531
1982	513** or 544
1983	499** or 570
1987	573
1988	591

Unattributed figures are from various (and often inconsistent) North Slope Borough sources.

* U.S. Census

** Alaska Permanent Fund Checks distributed to people in the village

*** Fullerton and Hall 1987. This figure, if taken at face value, is in stark contrast to that estimated by Burch 1981 of about 240 for the entire Point Hope area. It seems likely that the high number includes a significant number of transients employed in whaling operations (both ship and shore) that the low number may not. In any event, this period was characterized by a decline in natural Native population of the area. combined with an influx of Natives and non-Natives from other areas. As both population estimates agree that this was the operative population dynamic in effect at that time, the numerical difference is not as significant as it may first appear to be, and a reasonable estimate would be closer to the lower number than to the higher.

Table **2-PHO**

Contemporary **Age, Sex, and Ethnicity** Distributions
Population Percentage Comparisons - Point Hope

	<u>1980</u>	<u>1985</u>
Total Population	464	533
# of Inupiat	434	494
% of Total Pop.	93.5	92.7
% Male	53.0	53.4
% Female	47.0	46.6
% 0-19	50.5	51.0
% 20-54	39.9	40.7
% 55+	9.7	8.3
# of Non-Inupiat	30	39.
% of Total Pop.	6.5	7.3
% Male	63.3	51.3
% Female	36.7	48.7
% 0-19	26.7	25.6
% 20-54	73.3	61.5
% 55+	0.0	10.3

Source: North Slope Borough Planning Department (note 1985 figures are inconsistent with 1985 survey conducted for the NSB Public Works Department [Table 3-PHO])

Table 3-PI-IO

Population Composition *
Point Hope, July 1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Under 5 years	28	33	61	0	2	2	28	35	63
5 - 9	20	22	42	0	0	0	20	22	42
10-14	2	4	4	2	1	3	26	25	51
15-19	3	4	6	0	2	2	34	32	66
20-24	27	18	45	0	0	0	27	18	45
25-29	20	14	34	1	1	2	21	15	36
30-34	11	6	17	3	1	4	14	7	21
35-39	9	7	16	1	1	2	10	8	18
40-44	8	8	16	1	0	1	9	8	17
45-49	9	7	16	1	0	1	10	7	17
50-54	9	7	16	0	1	1	9	8	17
55-59	3	5	8	0	0	0	3	5	8
60-64	5	2	7	1	0	1	6	2	8
65-69	4	5	9	0	0	0	4	5	9
70-74	3	3	6	0	0	0	3	3	6
75 and over	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	2
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>215</u>	<u>192</u>	<u>407</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>225</u>	<u>201</u>	<u>426</u>
<u>Median Age</u>	<u>20.3</u>	<u>18.2</u>	<u>19.3</u>	<u>31.0</u>	<u>17.5</u>	<u>30.2</u>	<u>20.9</u>	<u>18.1</u>	<u>19.5</u>

* Figures exclude a total of 54 persons (17 Alaska Native males, 18 Alaska Native females, 10 non-Native males and 9 non-Native females) for whom no age information was provided. Thus, a total of 480 persons in Point Hope were surveyed by Alaska Consultants, Inc.

Source Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 4-PHO

Contemporary **Age, Sex, and Ethnicity** Distributions
Point Hope -1985

<u>Age Category</u>	<u>Inupiat</u>		<u>Non-Inupiat</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
0-4	58	35	2	4	60	39
5-9	38	35	1	3	39	38
10-14	24	25	0	0	24	25
15-19	16	21	0	0	16	21
20-24	26	19	0	0	26	19
25-29	23	25	1	2	24	27
30-34	21	15	2	3	23	18
35-39	13	8	5	0	18	8
40-44	7	9	6	1	13	10
45-49	5	6	0	2	5	8
50-54	14	10	1	2	15	12
55-59	7	7	1	1	8	8
60-64	1	6	1	0	2	6
65+	11	9	0	1	11	10
Totals	264	230	20	19	284	249
	494		39		533	

Source: North Slope Borough Planning Department.

Table 5-PHO

Age, Sex, and Race Composition of Population - 1988
Point Hope

	INUPIAT			NON-INUPIAT			TOTAL			% TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	
UNDER 4	31	27	58	3	3	6	34	30	64	11.6%
4 - 8	46	31	77	9	4	13	55	35	90	16.2%
9 - 15	37	40	77	6	3	9	43	43	86	15.5%
16 - 17	6	8	14	0	2	2	6	10	16	2.9%
18 - 25	35	25	60	1	2	3	36	27	63	11.4%
26 - 39	55	54	109	9	7	16	64	61	125	22.6%
40 - 59	37	29	66	10	5	15	47	34	81	14.6%
60 - 65	5	5	10	1	0	1	6	5	11	2.0%
66 +	6	12	18	0	0	0	6	12	18	3.2%
TOTAL	258	231	489	39	26	65	297	257	554	100.0%
%	46.6%	41.7%	53.2%	7.0%	4.7%	11.7%	53.6%	46.4%	100.0%	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS

37

TOTAL POPULATION

591

AVERAGE AGE
(years)

ENTIRE POPULATION 23.8

MALE 23.2

FEMALE 24.6

INUPIAT 23.8

NON-INUPIAT 24.2

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1969.

Table 6-**PHO**

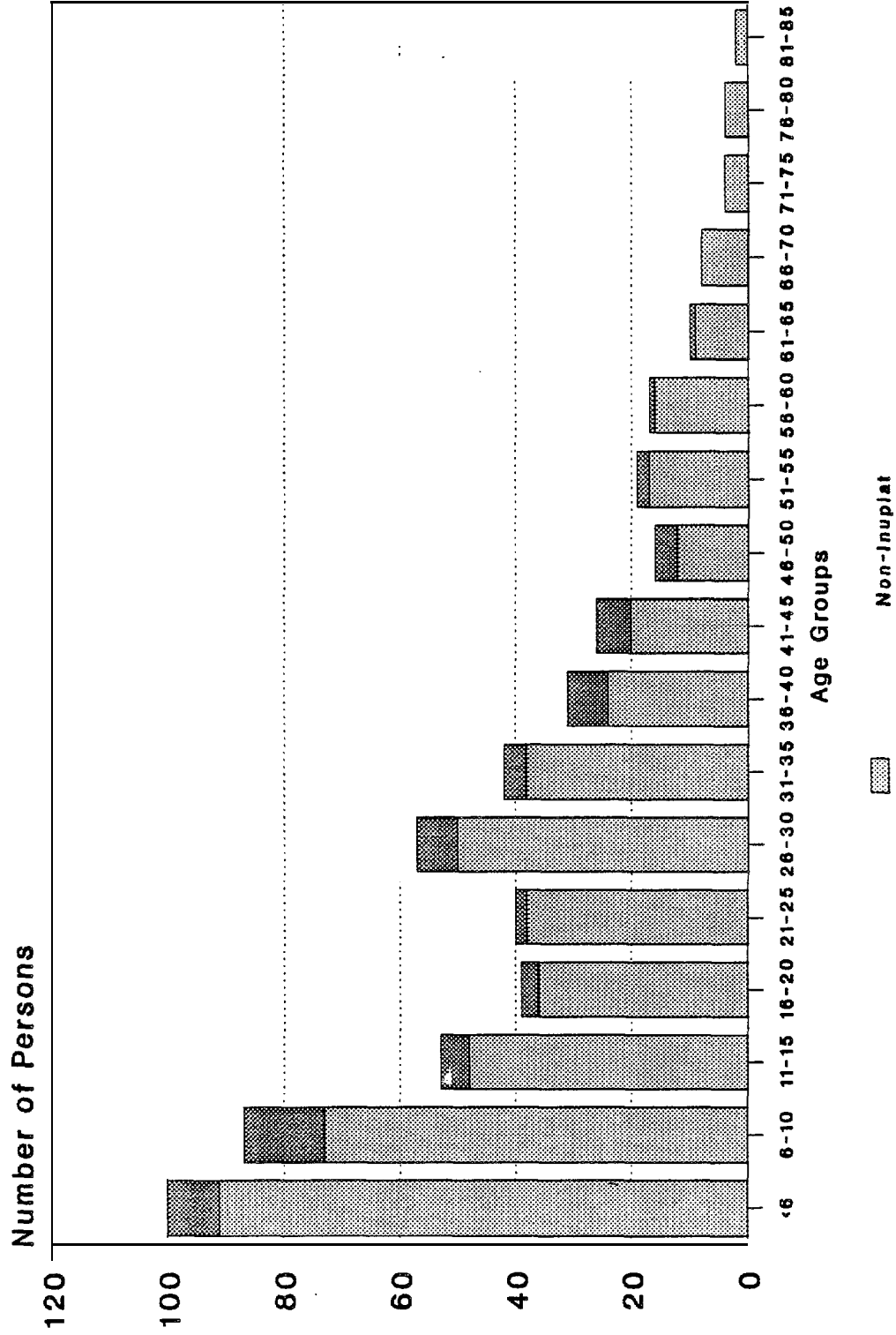
Ethnic Composition of Population -1988
Point Hope

ETHNIC CATEGORY	TOTAL POPULATION			
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL
INUPIAT	272	241	513	66.9%
OTHER AK NATIVE	5	4	9	1.5%
WHITE	22	16	38	6.4%
AMERICAN INDIAN	1	1	2	0.3%
HISPANIC	1	0	1	0.2%
BLACK	3	0	3	0.5%
OTHER	10	10	20	3.4%
NOT ASCERTAINED	3	1	4	0.7%
TOTAL	317	273	590	100.0%
%	53.7%	46.3%	100.0%	
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS			1	
TOTAL POPULATION			591	

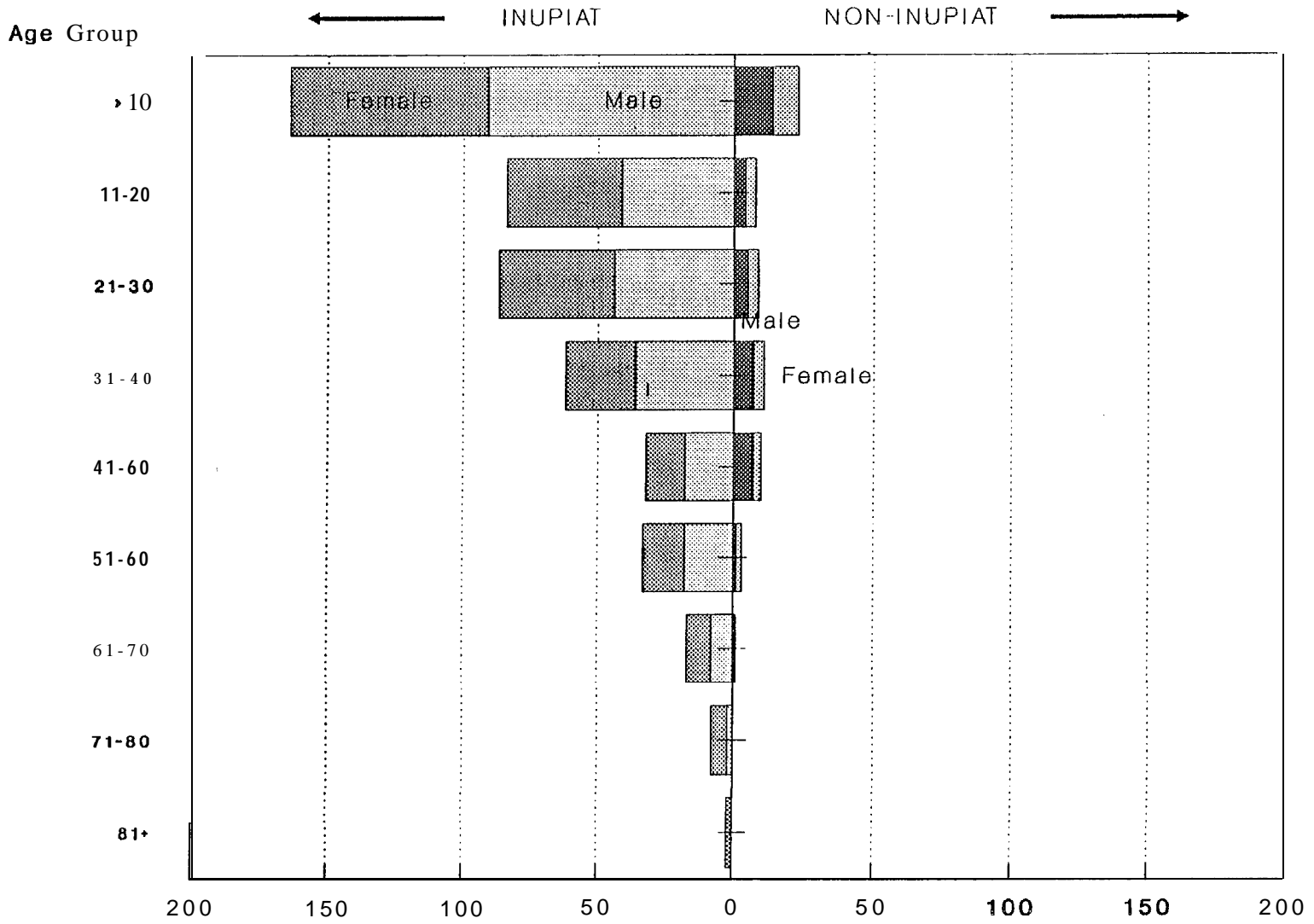
Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Figure 1-PHO

Inupiat and Total Population in 1988
Point Hope



NSB CENSUS OF POPULATION AND ECONOMY

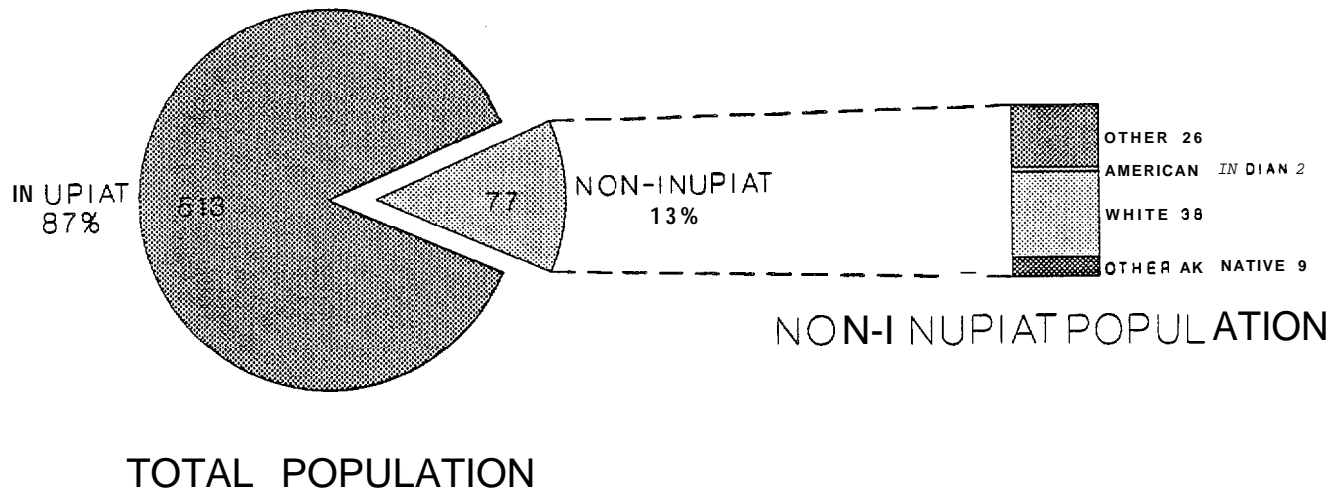


Point Hope Population Characteristics - 1988

Figure 2-PH

Figure 3-PHO

Ethnic Composition of Population -1988
Point Hope



NSB CENSUS OF POPULATION AND ECONOMY

Table 7-PHO

Age Categories as Percentages of the **Inupiat** Population of Point Hope
for **1980** and 1985

	<u>1980</u>	<u>1985</u>
Inupiat Population	434	494
<u>Age Category</u>		
0-4	13.1	18.8
5-9	10.1	14.8
10-14	11.3	9.9
15-19	15.9	7.5
20-24	10.6	9.1
25-29	8.3	9.7
30-34	5.8	7.3
35-44	7.8	7.5
45-54	7.4	7.1
55-64	4.4	4.2
65+	5.3	4.1

Source: North Slope Planning Department.

Income patterns for 1980 and 1988 are displayed in Figure 4-PHO and Table 14-PHO. It is clear that although **non-Inupiat** household incomes were higher than Inupiat household incomes in 1980, this difference has become much greater in 1988. The number of missing cases for each of the years makes this conclusion somewhat less definitive than would be desired, but this is the best available information. It is apparent that this change is primarily the result of the increased household incomes of non-Inupiat, especially since it appears that **Inupiat** household income has risen somewhat in this same period.

2. Influences on Point Hope Household Size and Composition

Figure 4-PHO illustrates graphically some interesting comparisons between **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** households, as well as within **non-Inupiat** households of different sizes for 1980. Average income for Inupiat households was pretty much independent of household size. There was some variation, with “medium” size households having the highest average income, but the total range was only \$28,065 to \$30,595. **Non-Inupiat** households, on the other hand, had an income range of \$42,500

to \$84,583 and it was the smallest households which had the highest average. Also, there were no “large” **non-Inupiat** households. It is likely that one known, structurally unique family can explain this unexpected income distribution in relation to **non-Inupiat** household size. It does point out that the more permanent **non-Inupiat** households in Point Hope were more similar to the characteristics of Point Hope **Inupiat** households than were the more transient **non-Inupiat** households. The more transient **non-Inupiat** households generally had both spouses **working** and thus had higher incomes.

Although Point Hope is a large community, by North Slope standards, and the residents of the community have had a great deal of continuous interaction with non-Natives, both as co-residents and as transients, it should be noted that outsiders are quickly noticed in the village. Outsiders are objects of curiosity to children, and not infrequently adults will ask the outsider’s purpose in the community. A number of non-Natives have married into the community, and a number of non-Natives are well accepted in the village, but other outsiders who have lived in Point Hope have noted that they feel there is a barrier between them and **Inupiat** life long residents. Interpersonal frictions are sometimes seen as having ethnicity at their center. According to one non-Native resident, “there are those who use their culture as a weapon to strike at outsiders . . . use their culture as something to hide behind in their personal unhappiness.” One other long-term non-Native resident, however, stated that Point Hope was the friendliest of communities and that the **Inupiat** residents of the community judged **non-Inupiat** persons on an individual basis, even though based on negative experiences in the past one had every right to expect less-than-friendly attitudes toward non-Natives.

3. Influences on Population Size and Structure

Economic influences on the population of point Hope are discussed at some **length** in the Point Lav Case Study (Impact Assessment, in draft). It has been noted, for example, that it is the case for virtually all **Inupiat** adults contacted in Point Hope that they had lived at least some portion of their lives outside of the community due to the need to find employment elsewhere. The present state of the local economy is detailed in that study as well, and incorporates the available economic information for the past several years. The perception of chronic underemployment is discussed as well, along with the perceived benefits of **living in** the community even in tough economic times, and the difficulties associated with going out of the community to work even on a cyclic basis.

Political influences on population size and structure in Point Hope are quite different than in several of the other North Slope Borough communities. For example, its closest neighboring community in the borough, Point Lay, was reestablished as a vital community through the North Slope Borough resettlement program. Point Hope, on the other hand, is arguably the longest continuously occupied site in North America. That is not to say that the community has been unaffected by NSB housing programs, and the location of **CIP** projects. Additionally, the village of Point Hope was moved in the **mid-1970s**. The community moved from a site at the end of the **Tigara** spit to one farther east on the south shore of the spit. This move was made due to the rapid erosion of the **townsite**. Undoubtedly, there were a number of changes brought about by the move in and of itself, but this has not been systematically documented. It should also be noted that the site of Point Hope, the old site, is actually a series of sites, and that there were a number of

small villages in the vicinity of contemporary Point Hope at the time of contact and through the early years of this century.

Information on **sociocultural** influences on population size and composition in Point Hope maybe extracted from the Point Lay Case Study (Impact **Assessment**, in draft) treatment of kinship and value systems. Kinship information has been collected for the village during 1988 as part of that study. While information is not complete, given the pragmatic constraints of the research design, the information is sufficient to support a meaningful discussion. Edith Turner has characterized the cognitive genealogies of Point Hope, that is, the web of genealogical ties as people normally think of and act on them, as strings that go around the village tying the present village together (Turner 1987: personal communication). The emphasis in everyday life is on being related, not necessarily on how related. This is as opposed to the inverted pyramidal structure often used to construct individual genealogies or the pyramidal structures used to trace the descendants of a particular figure. This may be the case, in part, because pyramidal structures, inverted or upright, focus on ego or a particular ancestor and see kin units as **distinct**. In Point Hope, **while** family units are perceived as distinct to a degree, there are recognized ties between families and recognized relationships with common ancestors. With the multiplex relations common in Point Hope, creating complex interrelationships of individuals and **social** units things become muddled, particularly if there are numerous adoptions added to the system. Clearly, there are factions within the village that run deep and along family lines. These are not infrequently expressed in political and economic contexts. **Qalgi** groups create other ties, but these are only activated during particular occasions associated with whaling and do not generalize to other contexts as they were reported to have done in the past. Relations between Point Hope and Point Lay are well understood and these data are presented in the Point Lay Case Study (Impact Assessment, in draft). However, relations to other villages are less well understood.

B. Household Size and Composition

The literature is relatively weak with respect to Point Hope household information. Such information exists for 1980 (Tables **8-PHO** through **10-PHO**). Distributions for the population at large do exist for 1982-1984, and as stated before, represent primarily the **Inupiat** majority population (Tables **11-PHO** through **14-PHO**). Good household descriptive statistics can be gleaned from a number of sources for recent years, and current information on characteristics of households (descriptive statistics and household structure and relationships among members) from the 1988 NSB census is displayed in Table **15-PHO**.

Table 8-PHO

**Age of Head of Household for
Alaska Natives* **, Non-Natives* **j and All Groups****
Point Hope, June 1980**

Household Size	<u>14-24</u>			<u>25-34</u>			<u>35-44</u>			45-64			<u>65+</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Non-		Total	Non-		Total	Non-		Total	Non-		Total	Non-		Total	Non-		Total
	Native	Native		Native	Native		Native	Native		Native	Native		Native	Native		Native	Native	
1 person	3	0	3	5	1	6	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	8	2	10
2 persons	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	2	1	0	1	5	1	6
3 persons	2	0	2	3	1	4	1	0	1	3	0	3	0	0	0	9	1	10
4 persons	0	0	0	4	0	4	2	0	2	7	0	7	4	0	4	17	0	17
5 persons	0	0	0	4	0	4	4	1	5	1	0	1	3	0	3	12	1	13
6 persons	0	0	0	2	0	2	4	0	4	4	0	4	1	0	1	11	0	11
7 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	2	0	2	1	0	1	5	0	5
8 persons	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	6	0	6	0	0	0	8	0	8
9 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
10 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	3
11 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
12 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
13 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	7	0	7	19	2	21	16	1	17	29	2	31	10	0	10	81	5	86

* For purposes of the housing survey, the adult Alaska Native in combination Alaska Native/non-Native households was always designated head of household.

•* Figures exclude 12 heads of household for whom no age information was Obtained.

• Figures exclude 7 heads of household for whom no age information was obtained.

•••• Figures exclude 19 heads of household (12 Alaska Natives and 7 non-Natives) for whom no age information was Obtained.

Source Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 9-PHO

Household Composition
Point **Hope**, Alaska - July 1982

<u>Household Size</u>	<u>Total #</u>
1	10
2	6
3	27
4	19
5	19
6	13
7	10
8	2
9	7
10	2
Total	115

Average household size is 4.5.
Median household size is 4.
Mode household size is 3.

Source: Abstracted from unpublished NSB housing survey. NSB Planning Department.

Table 10-PHO

Household Composition
Point **Hope**, Alaska - July 1983

<u>Household Size</u>	<u>Total #</u>
1	14
2	9
3	19
4	26
5	24
6	11
7	11
8	5
9	3
10	1
11	1
12	0
13	2
Total	126

Average household size is 4.5.

Median household size is **4**.

Mode household size is 4.

Source: Abstracted from unpublished NSB housing survey. NSB Planning Department.

Table **11-PHO**

Household Composition
Point **Hope**, Alaska - July 19S4

<u>Household Size</u>	<u>Total #</u>
1	14
2	9
3	19
4	26
5	23
6	11
7	11
8	5
9	3
10	1
11	1 “
12	0
13	1
Total	124

Average household size is 4.5.

Median household size is 4.

Mode household size is 4.

Source: Abstracted from unpublished NSB housing survey. NSB Planning Department.

Table **12-PHO**

Total Population Household Size Statistics
Point **Hope**, Alaska

	<u>07/82</u>	<i>m</i>	<u>07/84</u>
Average HH Size	4.5	4.5	4.5
Median HH Size	4	4	4
Mode HH Size	3	4	4

Source: Unpublished NSB housing surveys. NSB Planning Department.

Table **13-PHO**

Household Size- 1988
Point Hope

NUMBER OF PERSONS	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS			
	INUPIAT	NON- INUPIAT	TOTAL	% TOTAL
1	15	5	20	13.9%
2	20	8	28	19.4%
3	12	2	14	9.7%
4	21	1	22	15.3%
5	20	2	22	15.3%
6	15		15	10.4%
7	8		8	5.6%
8	8		8	5.6%
9	5		5	3.5%
10	2		2	1.4%
11			0	0.0%
12			0	0.0%
TOTAL OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLD	126	18	144	100.0%
AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD SIZE	4.4	2.3	4.1	

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Inupiat households both give and receive a substantial amount of subsistence food, with some variation due to household size. Larger households tend to give more and receive less on a percentage basis. **Non-Inupiat** households do not give or receive much at all. Small, higher income non-Inupiat households do not **harvest** subsistence resources, while “lower income” medium-sized households do (at a lower level than **Inupiat** households). For **all** households, the percentage of income spent in the village is inversely proportionate to the total amount of household income.

Field research indicates that there is a perceived need for additional housing in the community. Several members of some of the larger households in the community have indicated that they would move to other housing if it were available. It is also apparent, however, that the economic and labor sharing seen in the larger households also figures into residency decisions.

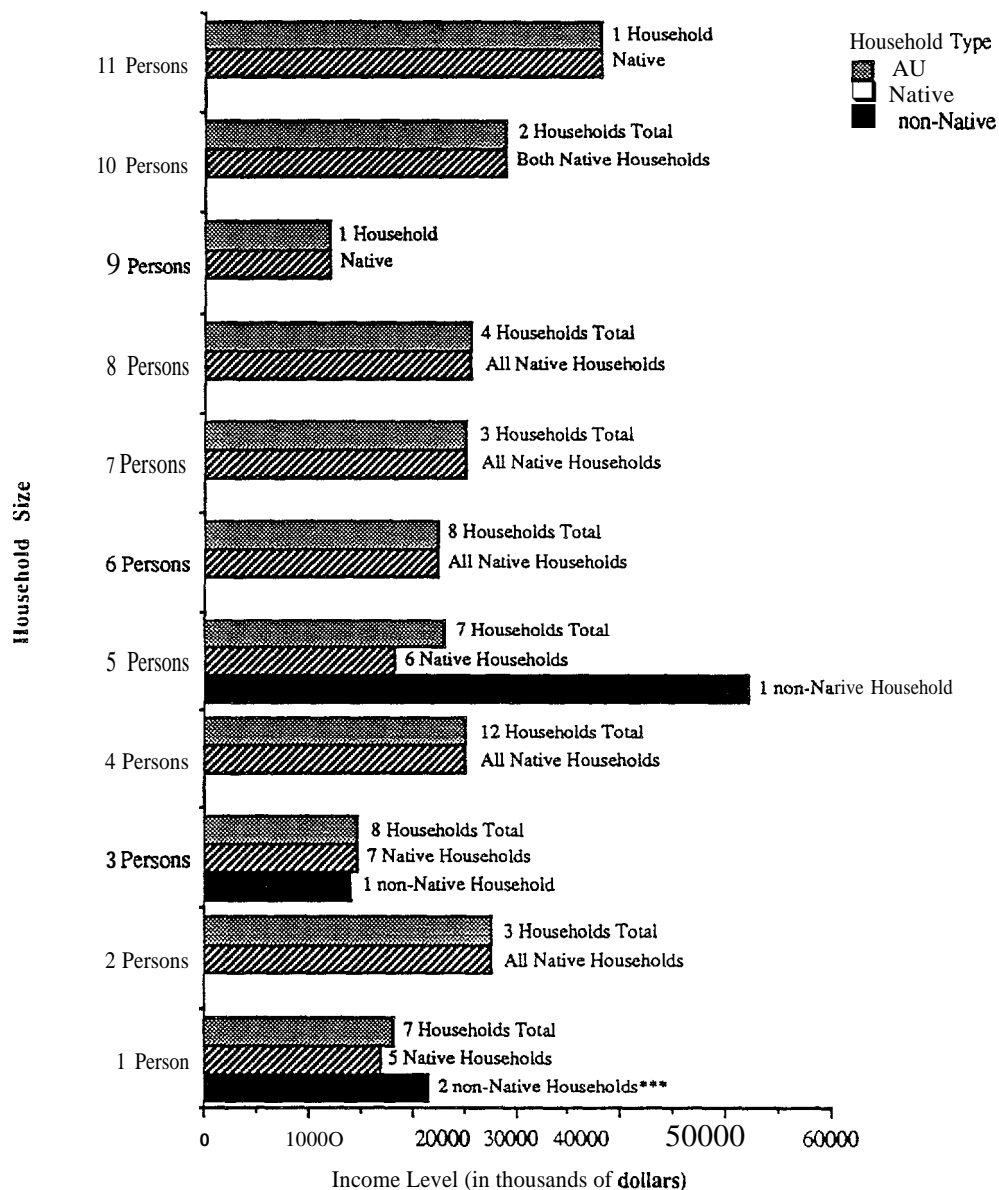
C. Educational Characteristics

Educational attainment for the population as a whole for 1986 is displayed in Figure 5-PHO. (Please refer to Figures 17-PHO and 18-PHO for 1980-87 school enrollment and 1975-1987 graduation figures.) Current (1988) educational levels and social and ethnic differences in educational levels are displayed in Table 16-PHO. What is most striking from this last table is that for both of the age groups, 18-25 and 26-39, only about one-sixth (16.7%) of the group has not completed at least high school. Among those age 40-59 this increases to about three-eighths (37.5%) and for those age 60 and above is about four-fifths (80%).

Like other communities on the North Slope, educational characteristics are markedly variable by ethnicity, with a relatively small number of non-Native residents having a relatively large amount of the post-secondary education in the community. This is not surprising, considering that professional employment is the reason that many of the non-Natives living in Point Hope chose to come to the community, and is the reason for their continued residence. In other words, the **Inupiat** portion of Point Hope more closely approximates a normal distribution curve in many aspects, whereas the non-Native component of the population does so to a much lesser extent, due to the particular aspects of the employment market that attracted them. There are, of course, significant exceptions to this generalization.

Figure 4-PHO

Average Household Income Distribution
 Native* ** and non-Native Households by Household Size
 Point Hope, July 1980



Total Number of Households 56
 Mean Household Income:
 All: \$22,363
 Native \$21,987
 Non-Native: \$27,250

• Figures exclude 49 households (41 Alaska Native and 8 non-Native) for whom no income information was obtained.
 **For purposes of the housing survey, the adult Alaska Native in combination Alaska Native/non-Native households was always designated head of household
 *** This figure is an interpretation of aggregated data and may not be precise.

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey.
 Prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage. September 1980.

Table 14-PHO

Household Income and Spending - 1988
Point Hope

HOUSEHOLD INCOME CATEGORY	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS			% TOTAL
	NON- INUPIAT	INUPIAT	TOTAL	
UNDER \$20,000.	30		30	27.3%
\$20,000 - \$40,000	45	2	47	42.7%
\$40,000 - \$60,000	16	4	20	18.2%
\$60,000 & ABOVE	5	8	13	11.8%
TOTAL	96	14	110	100.0% ¹¹
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS				34
TOTAL OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS				144

	FOR AU VILLAGE HOUSEHOLDS	
	MEDIAN	AVERAGE
HOUSEHOLD INCOME	\$32,500	\$35,705
PROPORTION OF TOTAL HH INCOME SPENT IN VILLAGE (1)	75.0%	66.2%
MONTHLY HOUSING PAYMENT (2)	\$100	\$212
MONTHLY HEATING COSTS	\$250	\$252
MONTHLY ELECTRICITY COSTS	\$60	\$96

Notes: (1) For food, clothing, and other household goods.
(2) Includes rent and mortgage.

Source: NSB Census Of Population and Economy, 1989.

Table 15-PHO

Point **Hope Household** Characteristics .1988
By Categories of Household Size

	HOUSEHOLD SIZE			
	SMALL	MEDIUM	LARGE	ALL HHs
Average HH Income (\$):				
Inupiat HHs	\$28,065	\$32,386	\$30,595	
Non-Inupiat HHs	\$84,583	\$42,500		
All HHs	\$43,837	\$32,826	\$30,595	\$36,705
Cases:	43	46	21	110
Average HH Size (# Persons per HH):				
Inupiat HHs	1.9	4.9	8.0	
Non-Inupiat HHs	1.8	4.7		
All HHs	1.9	4.9	8.0	4.1
Cases:	62	59	23	144
Average Meat & Fish Consumptn from Own HH Subsistence (%):				
Inupiat HHs	46.8%	56.9%	68.3%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	0.8%	25.0%		
All HHs	35.5%	55.1%	68.3%	49.6%
Cases:	49	64	21	124
Average Meat & Fish Consumptn from Other HH Subsistence (%):				
Inupiat HHs	23.2%	24.0%	13.8%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	9.6%	3.3%		
All HHs	19.8%	22.8%	13.8%	20.1%
Cases:	49	54	21	124
Average Meat & Fish Harvested and Given Away (%):				
Inupiat HHs	27.7%	31.7%	33.6%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	4.2%	11.7%		
All HHs	21.9%	30.6%	33.6%	27.7%
Cases:	49	54	21	124
Average Proportion HH Income Spent in Village (%):				
Inupiat HHs	70.1%	71.2%	73.1%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	25.2%	43.3%		
All HHs	59.6%	69.6%	73.1%	66.3%
Cases:	47	53	21	121

Notes: Household size categories measured as follows:

SMALL: Under 4 persons per household

MEDIUM: 4-6 persons per household

STRONG: 7 or more persons per household.

Total cases (households) = 144.

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
Census of Population and Economy

Figure 5-PHO

Point Hope Educational Attainment
February - March, 1986

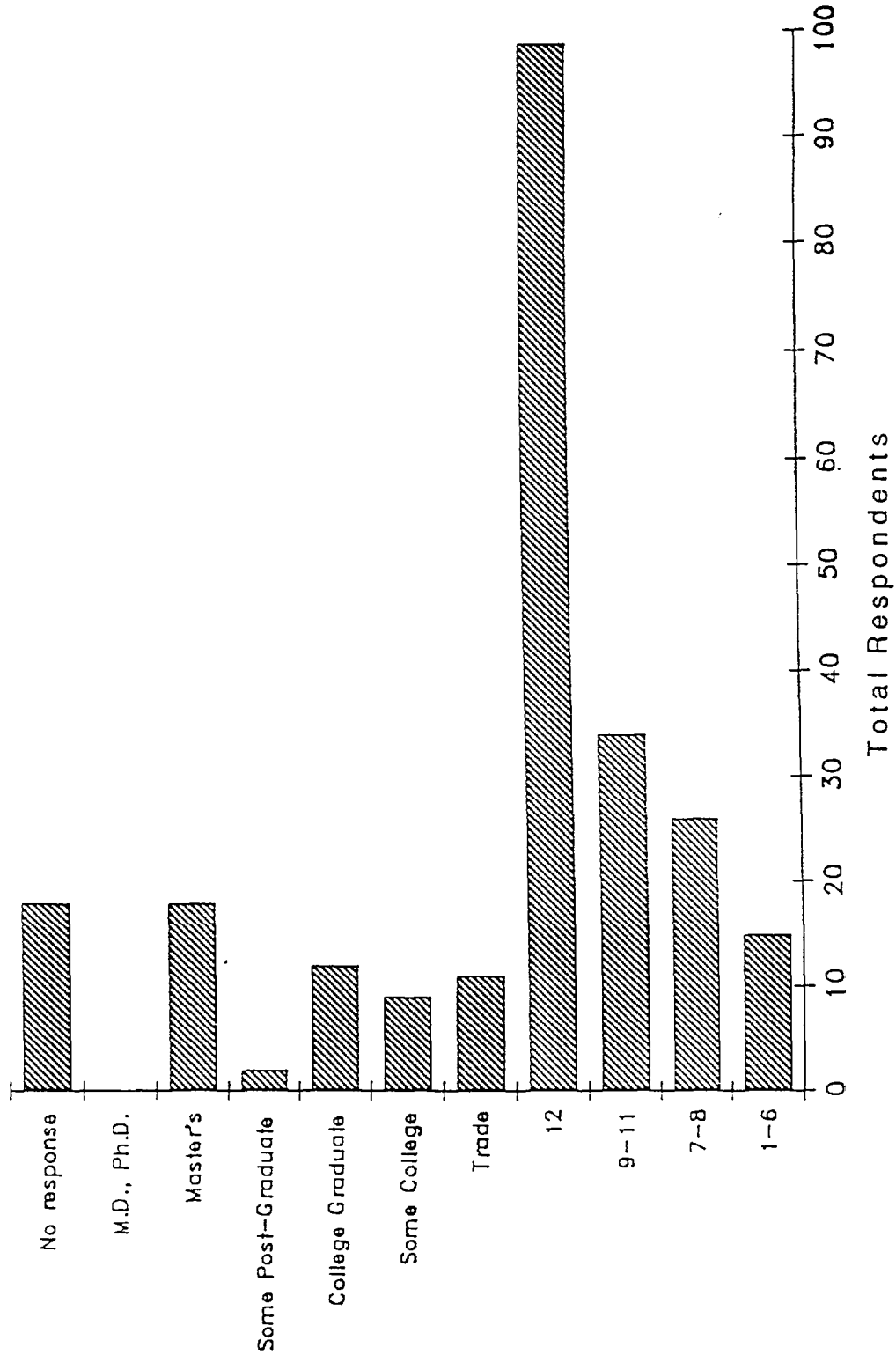


Table 16-PHO

Highest Level of Education Attained by Age Group
Inupiat Residents, Point **Hope** - 1988

	<u>SOME</u> <u>COLLEGE+</u>	<u>SOME</u> <u>COLLEGE</u>	<u>VO TECH</u> <u>GRAD</u>	<u>HIGH SCH</u> <u>OR GED</u>	<u>NOT FINISH</u> <u>HIGH SCH</u>	<u>STILL IN</u> <u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>NOT IN</u> <u>SCH YET</u>	<u>NOT</u> <u>ASCERTAIN</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
UNDER 4						14	41	3	58
4 - 8						75	2		77
9 - 15						76		1	77
16 - 17					0	14			14
18-25		6		39	10	3		2	60
28-39	2	11	2	72	23				110
40 - 59	3	4	1	22	33			2	65
60 - 65	0				10				10
66+		1		3	14				18
TOTAL	5	22	3	136	90	182	43	8	489
%	1.0%	4.5%	0.6%	27.8%	18.4%	37.2%	8.8%	1.6%	100.0%
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS									33
TOTAL POPULATION (Inupiat)									522

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
 Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Table 16-PHO (continued)

Highest **Level** of Education Attained by Age Group
Non-Inupiat Residents, Point Hope -1988

	<u>COLLEGE+</u>	<u>SOME COLLEGE</u>	<u>VO TECH GRAD</u>	<u>HIGH SCH OR GED</u>	<u>NOT FINISH HIGH SCH</u>	<u>STILL IN SCHOOL</u>	<u>NOT IN SCH YET</u>	<u>NOT ASCERTAIN</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
UNDER 4						2	4		6
4 - 8						13			13
9-15						9			9
16 - 17					1	1			2
18 - 25		2		1					3
26-39	8	2		6					16
40-59	13	1	1						15
60-65	1								1
66+									n
TOTAL	22	5	1	7	1	25	4	0	65
%	33.8%	7.7%	1.5%	10.8%	1.5%	38.5%	6.2%	0.0%	100.0%
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS									4
TOTAL POPULATION (Non-Inupiat)									69

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
 Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

D. Marriage Patterns

1. Characteristics of Marriage

Good current marriage records do not exist for Point Hope, and furthermore it is clear that in a significant number of cases relationships that are effectively marriages are not **formal** marriages, and vice versa. The **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** populations of Point Hope both seem to have low rates of divorce, separation, and termination of marriage by death. **Table 17-PHO** summarize information from the 1988 NSB census. Unfortunately, the figures are for the population at large, **but** the actual case numbers are so small that it makes **little** difference for the interpretation. It is **likely** that these numbers are a serious understatement of the instability of household unions in Point Hope, but this will be discussed in the regional comparative section as it is a slope-wide problem.

2. Changes in Marriage Patterns

One clear change in marriages in Point Hope over recent years is reportedly the **relation** of childbearing to marriage. As discussed in the Point Lav Case Study (Impact Assessment, in draft), in Point Hope a relationship between two young people that results in a pregnancy does not necessarily result in the creation of a new primary **social** relation or unit. In some cases, it adds to the complexity of the relation of the new mother to her family **of** origin. If the young mother is still living at home, it is not unusual for the new child to be raised as the offspring of the young mother's parents -- that is, what is actually a grandparent/grandchild relationship is functionally a parent/child relationship which may or may not become a **formal** or informal adoption. Pregnancy, or the subsequent birth of a child, does not necessarily lead to a marriage of the child's parents either, and it certainly does not necessarily **lead** to the creation of a new, independent family unit. Marriage without pregnancy does not systematically lead to the immediate creation of a new family unit either.

Attitudes toward teen pregnancy in Point Hope, according to informants, has changed markedly in the last few years. Young women who **become** pregnant are not hidden, nor does it necessarily mark the end of their high **school** education as it typically did in the past. Girls now have the option to leave school for the birth itself, and then return. Teenagers in Point Hope are concerned about the possibility of pregnancy, but do not ordinarily express concern in terms of changes in career options, or generally being denied the experience of being a young single adult parent. **In** general terms, Point Hope families seem to genuinely love **small** children and the addition of a new child into the family, independent of the marital status of the mother, is not a matter for social stigma. As another general rule, it is **clear** that there are few opportunity costs perceived as significant associated with a young woman having a child.

Table 17-PHO

Marital Status by **Ethnicity**
Point Hope -1988

<u>MARITAL CATEGORY</u>	<u>INUPIAT</u>			<u>NON-INUPIAT</u>			<u>TOTAL VILLAGE</u>	<u>% OF TOTAL</u>
	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>		
NOW MARRIED	60	62	122	12	8	20	142	45.7%
WIDOWED	4	10	14			0	14	4.5%
DIVORCED	4	6	10	2	1	3	13	4.2%
SEPARATED	1	3	4	1		1	5	1.6%
NEVER MARRIED	74	50	124	6	7	13	137	44.1%
TOTAL	143	131	274	21	16	37	311	100.0%
%	46.0%	42.1%	88.1%	6.8%	5.1%	11.9%	100%	
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS							4	
TOTAL POPULATION (age 16+)							315	

Nota: Figures include persons age 16 and above.

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
Census of Population and Economy, 1969

In addition to a pregnancy not necessarily resulting in marriage and creation of a “new” family, and the mother or grandparents raising the child in the extended family context, adoption is quite common in Point Hope. Although the number of adoptions has not been quantified in recent years, for every family known during field research there were examples of adoption. Formal divorce rates are unknown for the community. It may be expected, however, that like formal marriage rates not being representative of the formation of stable relationships, formal divorce rates would likewise not represent the dissolution rate of central, non-consanguineal kin relationships.

E. Migration Patterns

1. Characteristics of Migration

Point Hope men are known to work in other villages for construction projects, although apparently much less frequently than in the past. It is also important to note that there is a local distinction between “moving” to a village for permanent wage labor, as opposed to “visiting” a village for wage labor for the duration of a particular construction project, even if the project is of extended duration. Seasonal subsistence movement, though it can no longer be accurately termed seasonal migration, is discussed in the Point Lav Case Study (Impact Assessment, in draft), which draws on several earlier subsistence studies and subsistence-related studies, as well as current information. Information on significant movements to fish camp, and particularly whaling camp, indicate that seasonal movement out of the village is an event that people look forward to with great anticipation. While not “traditional” seasonal migration, the annual movement of people for whaling in particular profoundly influences village social organization. The opportunity to “get out of town,” and at the same time participate in activities that are culturally valued, is something that is indeed a highlight of the year for many people.

2. Influences on Migration Patterns

Subsistence activities, particularly whaling, are seen as one of the more desirable aspects of life in Point Hope, and is cited as one of the reasons that adds give for moving back to the village after a period of time out. This influence is not nearly as strong, at least statistically, as the influence of subsistence in attracting residents during the resettlement of other villages. For example, subsistence activities were strongly involved as a dimension of the “resettlement” of Point Lay and Nuiqsut, which are both examples of the largest scale of Inupiat migration seen on the North Slope. Interestingly, a great deal more subsistence activity takes place in Point Hope, however, so it must be noted that active participation in subsistence is quite a different subject than motivation for movement. At the time of the move of the village of Point Hope in the mid- 1970s, there were differing opinions on the most desirable new location for the village. Beacon Hill was one site that enjoyed some popular support, but in the end was not chosen. There are individuals in the village today who think this was a mistake.

Education as a reason for migration is discussed under the topic of education. As previously noted, all adults contacted during the course of the Point Lav Case Study (Impact Assessment, in draft) in Point Hope had spent a portion of their lives outside of Point Hope. Until relatively recently, all high school children left the village for school. Marriage as a reason for migration cannot be

accurately assessed with existing data, but it is safe to say that compared to other reasons, this is a relatively small factor, in and of itself, but it is also apparent that once individuals have moved, if they find a spouse in their new location, marriage is frequently a reason for their “staying put.” In other words, when non-residents who have come to Point Hope meet and marry a local, these people are very much more likely to stay in the community than individuals who come to the community under similar circumstances but who do not marry into the community. On the other hand, people who are from Point Hope seem less likely to move back to Point Hope if they meet and marry someone while they are living away from the village.

3. Community History of Migration

According to VanStone (1989: personal communication), in 1955 a large number of men left the village in summer to work for wages at Cape Thompson, Fairbanks, and elsewhere. Since in summer there were a minimum of subsistence activities, money could be earned without a major effect on the early subsistence cycle. Today it would appear that employment has a much greater impact on subsistence. Jobs in the village cannot readily be abandoned even during the whaling season and men and women cannot adequately prepare for whaling if they have full-time jobs. For those employed, hunting of any kind is largely confined to after hours and weekends. Today there would seem to be no regular pattern of employment outside the village, the wage earner knowing that he will be away for a specified length of time and then return to take up his life in the village. In sum, in 1955 employment did not impact on traditional subsistence but it does in the contemporary community.

SECTION II: ECONOMY

A. Historical Overview

The resource base of Point Hope is well documented and the record of the human use of the area testifies to its abundance. The Point Hope spit has been continuously occupied longer than any other site in the North American arctic. Local physical and climatic features have allowed a sustained harvest of marine and terrestrial mammals as well as fish and waterfowl (Alaska Consultants and Braund & Assoc 1984). Point Hope's sustained introduction to Western culture and economics resulted from its favored location as a place to harvest bowhead whales, which brought the whaling fleets of the mid-1800s.

The population of Point Hope stabilized in the 1940s at around 260 individuals and grew slowly from that period through 1970, when 386 persons were recorded in the village. During this period the local economy remained heavily oriented toward subsistence harvests. While subsistence still plays a large role in contemporary Point Hope, the increased employment opportunities associated with North Slope oil development and the resultant formation of the North Slope Borough changed the economy of Point Hope dramatically. Increased air transportation allowed individuals to more easily work in other locations and return to Point Hope on a periodic basis, and through the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act and the formation of the Tigara Corporation, local individuals and groups were able to benefit in a number of ways from the borough Capital Improvement Projects in the village.

With the formation of the NSB, Point Hope's relations with other villages on the North Slope changed. Formerly, except for a close relationship with Point Lay, the major direction of Point Hope's interests was to the south. Close contacts were maintained with Kivalina where many Point Hopers had relatives. Kivalina residents frequently came up to Point Hope for whaling and the Episcopal priest made periodic visits there. Kotzebue was the administrative center for a large area that reached as far north as Point Hope. Mail was delivered from Kotzebue, radio communication was through the Alaska Communication System (ACS) (a military communications network that served rural Alaska before telephone service was widespread) station there, and scheduled air service and medical services originated there. With the formation of the NSB, relations of Point Hope with the other villages on the slope reversed, with Barrow becoming the administrative center. Scheduled air service now comes from both directions. Medical services are now received from both Barrow and Kotzebue which has caused some administrative and logistic difficulties for the Point Hope clinic. A significant fact is that Point Hope is no longer regarded, in terms of the intervillage communication, as the northern most extension of Kotzebue Sound, a position that it had occupied for centuries.

B. The Public Sector

1. Organization

The influence of the federal and state government on employment is minuscule in Point Hope compared to the borough government. In 1982, for example, Alaska Consultants found that out of 50 government jobs in the community, one was a federal job and the other 49 were NSB jobs (Alaska Consultants 1983). In a survey conducted by the NSB in early 1986, 43 NSB jobs were

noted, as opposed to only three federal government and two state government jobs. If the employment of the NSB school district is added (62 positions), the borough government influence in the local economy is even more pronounced, accounting for 105 jobs out of the total of 182 reported. Given the fact that the Tigara Corporation is a quasi-governmental entity, and accounts for 56 of the remaining positions, the net effect of borough-related employment is truly profound.

Table **18-PHO** is useful for introducing the general discussion of employment in Point Hope. It can be seen that if the NSB 1988 census categories are used, **fully 74.9%** of all employment is in the public sector. Once the positions that are classified as “Industry Group,” which are also in actuality funded for the most part by public sources of money (at a minimum, many of the Tigara Corporation and most construction positions), are also included in the public sector, this percentage increases to approximately **87%**.

2. Employment

Tables **19-PHO** and **20-PHO** show the composition of employment by race and sex for various employment sectors for 1980 and the composition of employment by age categories. One can see the predominance of local NSB employment (although it is non-construction, which is unusual). This trend continued into 1988 as seen in Table **18-PHO**. In addition, it is apparent that the bulk of employed **Inupiat** in 1980 were in the 20-29 year age range. This is in marked contrast to the age composition of **non-Inupiat** employees.

The North Slope Borough conducted a survey of employment in Point Hope in 1986. Responses to the question of primary occupation are found in Table **21-PHO**; this information is also displayed in **Figure 6-PHO**. Employment categories are in Table **22-PHO** and **Figure 7-PHO**. Caution in interpreting the data based on this survey is in order, given the high rate of “no response” answers to the questions.

This same North Slope Borough survey requested information on levels of income by household. The levels of income indicated are displayed in Table **23-PHO**. This information is also displayed in **Figure 8-PHO**. Information on the number of people who work more than one job is displayed in Table **24-PHO**. Information on housing payments is displayed in Table **25-PHO**; marital status of head of household is displayed in Table **26-PHO**. Duration of employment in Point Hope is displayed in **Figure 9-PHO**. Seasonal variation of employment in the village is displayed in **Figure 10-PHO**.

Table 18-PHO

Industry Composition of Employment by Sex and Ethnicity
Point Hope- 19SS

INDUSTRY GROUP	INUPIAT			NON-INUPIAT			TOTAL VILLAGE	% OF TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL		
PRIVATE SECTOR								
FISHERIES			a			0	0	
MINING	2	1	3			0	3	
CONSTRUCTION	4	1	5	1		1	6	
TRANSP/COMM/PUBLIC UTIL	1		1			0	1	
TRADE	2	4	6			0	6	
FINANCE/INSUR/REAL EST			0			0	0	
BUSINESS/REPAIR SERV		1	1			0	1	
ENTERTMT/REC/TOURIST SERV			0			0	0	
HEALTH, SOCIAL, & EDUC SER	1	1	2			0	2	
SELF-EMPLOYED			0			0	0	
NATIVE CORP & AFFILIATE	10		10	t		f	21	
OTHER	1	1	2	1		f	3	
SUBTOTAL	21	19	40	3	0	3	43	25.1%
NSB GOVERNMENT								
HEALTH	3	14	17			0	17	
PUBLIC SAFETY			5	1		1	6	
MUNICIPAL SERV	20		20	3		3	23	
FIRE DEPT			0			0	0	
SEARCH & RESCUE			0			0	0	
HOUSING	4		4			0	4	
WILDLIFE MGT			0			0	0	
RELI & MJP	7	9	16	1	1	2	18	
LAW OFFICE			0			0	0	
ADMIN & FINANCE			0			0	0	
PLANNING			0			0	0	
INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT			0			0	0	
HIGHER EDUCATION CENTER		1	1			0	1	
MAYOR'S OFFICE & ASSEMBLY	2		2			0	2	
OTHER NSB	1		1			0	1	
SUBTOTAL	37	24	61	5	1	6	67	39.2%
NSB SCHOOL DISTRICT	7	24	31	8	9	17	48	28.1%
NSB SUBTOTAL	44	43	87	13	10	23	115	57.3%
OTHER LOCAL GOVT		8	8		1	f	10	5.5%
STATE GOVT			1			0	1	0.5%
FEDERAL GOVT			1			0	1	0.6%
ARMED FORCES			1			0	1	0.3%
SUBTOTAL ALL GOVT	48	55	103	13	11	24	128	74.9%
GRAND TOTAL	69	75	144	16	11	27	171	100.0%
% of Total	40.4%	43.9%	54.2%	9.4%	6.4%	15.4%	100.0%	

Notes:

(1) Figures equal to number of persons employed, including part-time, temporary, and full-time employment.

NIPA Draft Find Report

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Table 19-PHO

Composition of Employment by Race and Sex* **
 Point **Hope**: July, 1980

<u>loym</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Mining	6	0	6	0	0	0	6	0	6
Contract Construction	33	2	35	0	0	0	33	2	35
Transportation, Communication, and Public Utilities	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Trade	2	3	5	2	0	2	4	3	7
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	8	2	10	0	1	1	8	3	11
Services	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	2
Government									
Federal	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	2
State	1	2	3	0	0	0	1	2	3
Local	18	20	38	13	6	19	31	26	57
Construction	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Non-Construction	(18)	(20)	(38)	(13)	(6)	(19)	(31)	(26)	(57)
TOTAL	72	30	102	15	7	22	87	37	124

* Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.
 ** Employment figures exclude 22 Alaska Nativea (10 males and 12 females) who listed various forms of assistance, primarily Social Security, as their major source of income. Employment figures also exclude 151 Alaska Nativea (71 males and 80 females) and 5 non-Natives (all females) aged 16 and over for whom no employment information was provided or who claimed to be unemployed.

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Worka Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 20-PHO

Composition of Employment by **Age, Race, and Sex***
 Point **Hope: July, 1980**

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15 - 19	3	4	7	0	0	0	3	4	7
20-24	15	7	22	0	0	0	15	7	22
25-29	9	3	12	1	0	1	10	3	13
30-34	6	2	8	3	0	3	9	2	11
35-39	7	4	11	1	1	2	8	5	13
40-44	6	3	9	1	0	1	7	3	10
45-49	6	4	10	1	0	1	7	4	11
50 - 54	8	1	9	0	1	1	8	2	10
55-59	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	2
60-64	4	0	4	1	0	1	5	0	5
65-69	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
70-74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Age unknown	7	0	7	7	5	12	14	5	19
TOTAL	72	30	102	15	7	22	87	37	124

* Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table **21-PHO**

Primary Occupation
Point **Hope**, Alaska

February - March 1986

<u>Primary Occupation</u>	<u>Respondents</u>
Professional (lawyer, doctor, teacher)	42
Manager (businessperson, administrator, elected official)	20
Clerical (office worker, secretary)	23
Craftsman (foreman, carpenter, plumber, electrician)	46
Operator (heavy equipment operator, machinist, truck driver)	20
Service (babysitter, hospital, hotel, or restaurant worker)	29
Laborer (semi-skilled, general construction work)	14
Armed Forces (National Guard)	2
Artisan (ivory carver, mask or basket maker, skin-sewer)	2
Trapper, hunter	3
Houseperson (takes care of family)	20
Not in labor force (retired)	1
No response	18

Source: 1986 NSB Planning Department Survey.

Figure 6-PHO

Point Hope Employment Distribution
February - March, 1986

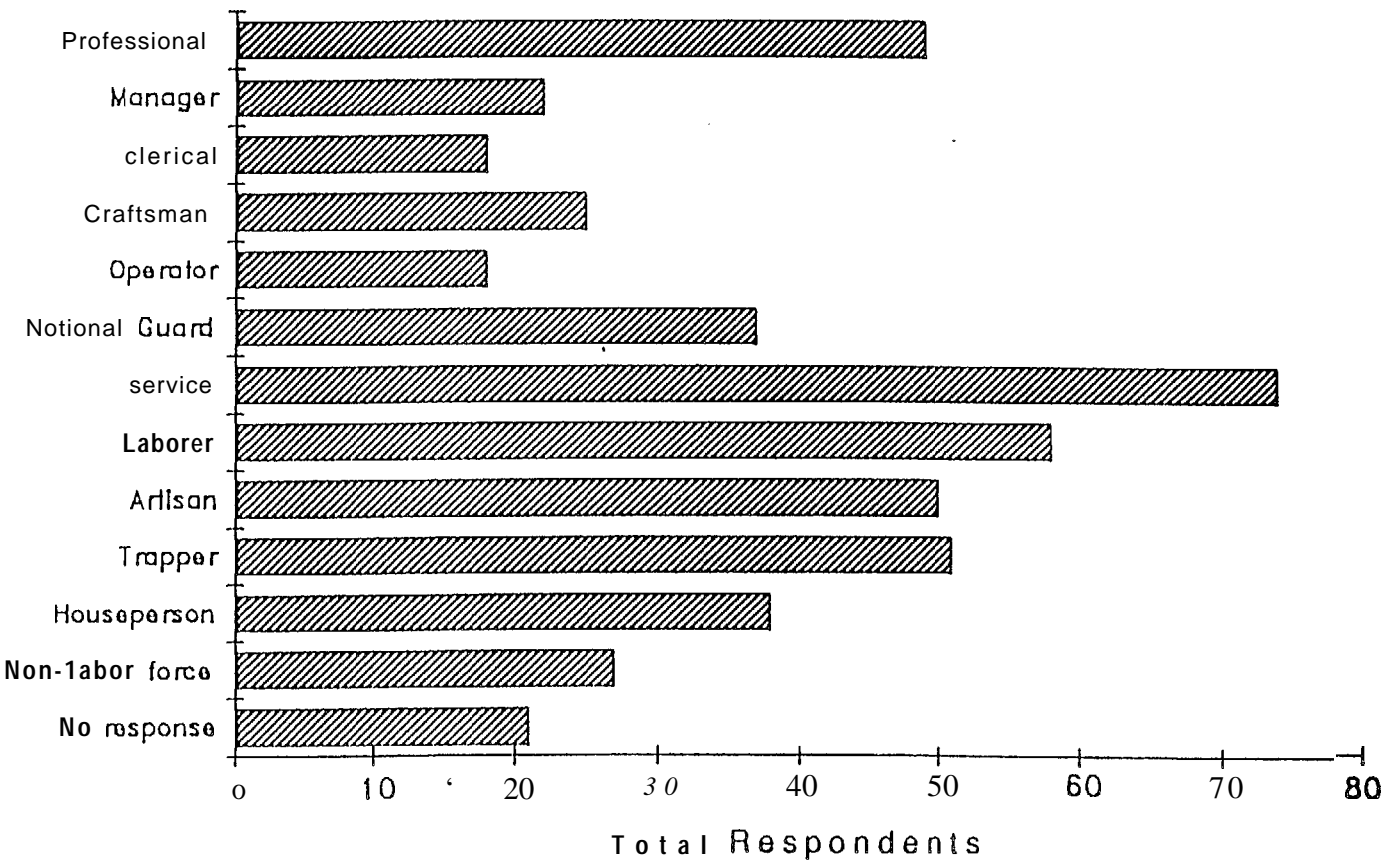


Table **22-PHO**

Sources of Employment
Point **Hope**, Alaska

February - March 1986

<u>Employers</u>	<u>Respondents</u>
Federal Government	3
State Government	2
North Slope Borough	43
North Slope Borough School District	62
Village Government	0
Village Corporation or subsidiary	56
Private Construction Company	5
Oil Industry	1
Transportation	2
Communication	0
Trade (sells goods)	2
Service (provides assistance)	5
Finance, Insurance, Real estate	0
Other response	1
No response	56
Don't know	2

Source: 1986 NSB Planning Department Survey.

Figure 7-PHO
Point Hope Employment Categories: 1986

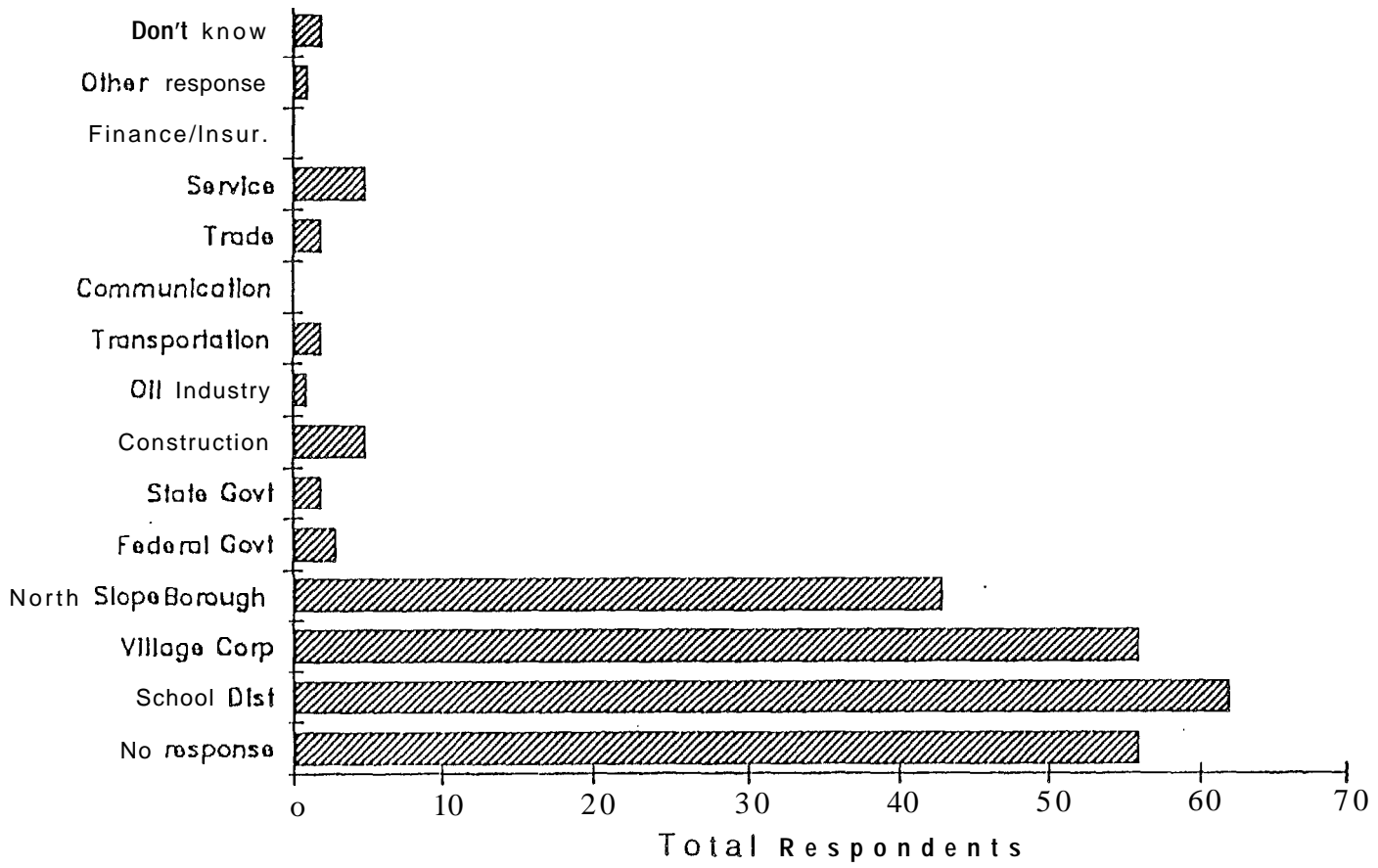


Table **23-PHO**

Total Gross Income
(before taxes and other deductions)
Point **Hope, Alaska**
1985

<u>Income Level</u>	<u>Respondents</u>
\$0-14,999	73
\$15,000 -19,999	13
\$20,000-24,999	10
\$25,000-29,999	10
\$30,000-34,999	12
\$35,000-39,999	11
\$40,000-44,999	12
\$50,000-54,999	9
\$55,000-59,999	1
\$60,000-64,999	2
\$65,000-69,999	1
\$70,000-74,999	0
\$75,000 or over	2
Refused, don't know, or other response	73

Source: 1986 NSB Planning Department Survey.

Table **24-PHO**

Number of People Who Worked a Second Job
Point **Hope, Alaska**
1985

	<u>Respondents</u>
Yes	45
No	107
Don't know	1
Other response	7
No response	81

Source: 1986 NSB Planning Department Survey.

Figure 8-PHO

Point Hope **Income** Distribution
February - **March, 1986**

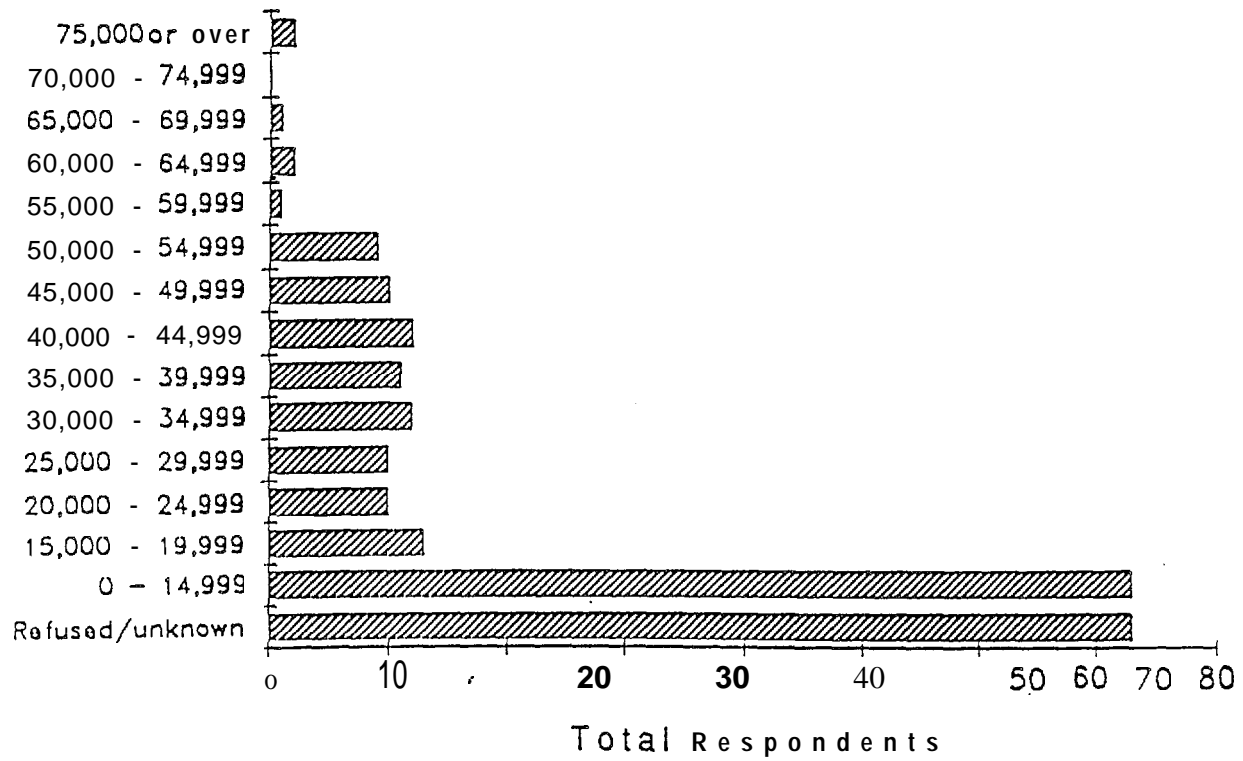


Table **25-PHO**

Monthly House Payment
February-March 1986
Point **Hope**, Alaska

<u>Monthly Payment Range</u>	<u>Respondents</u>
\$001.00 to \$100.00	61
\$101.00 to \$200.00	10
\$201.00 to \$300.00	20
\$301.00 to \$400.00	1
\$401.00 to \$500.00	1
\$501.00 to \$600.00	1
\$601.00 to \$700.00	2
\$701.00 to \$800.00	6
\$801.00 to \$900.00	1
\$901.00 and over	1
No monthly payment or no response	27
Don't know	2

Source: 1986 NSB Planning Department Survey.

Table **26-PHO**

Monthly House Payment
February-March 1986
Point **Hope**, Alaska

<u>Marital Status of Head of Household</u>	<u>Respondents</u>
Marned	70
Separated	3
Divorced	3
Widowed	7
Living with another adult	10
Other response	8
No response	34

Source: 1986 NSB Planning Department Survey.

Figure 9-PHO

Point Hope Duration of **Employment:** 1986

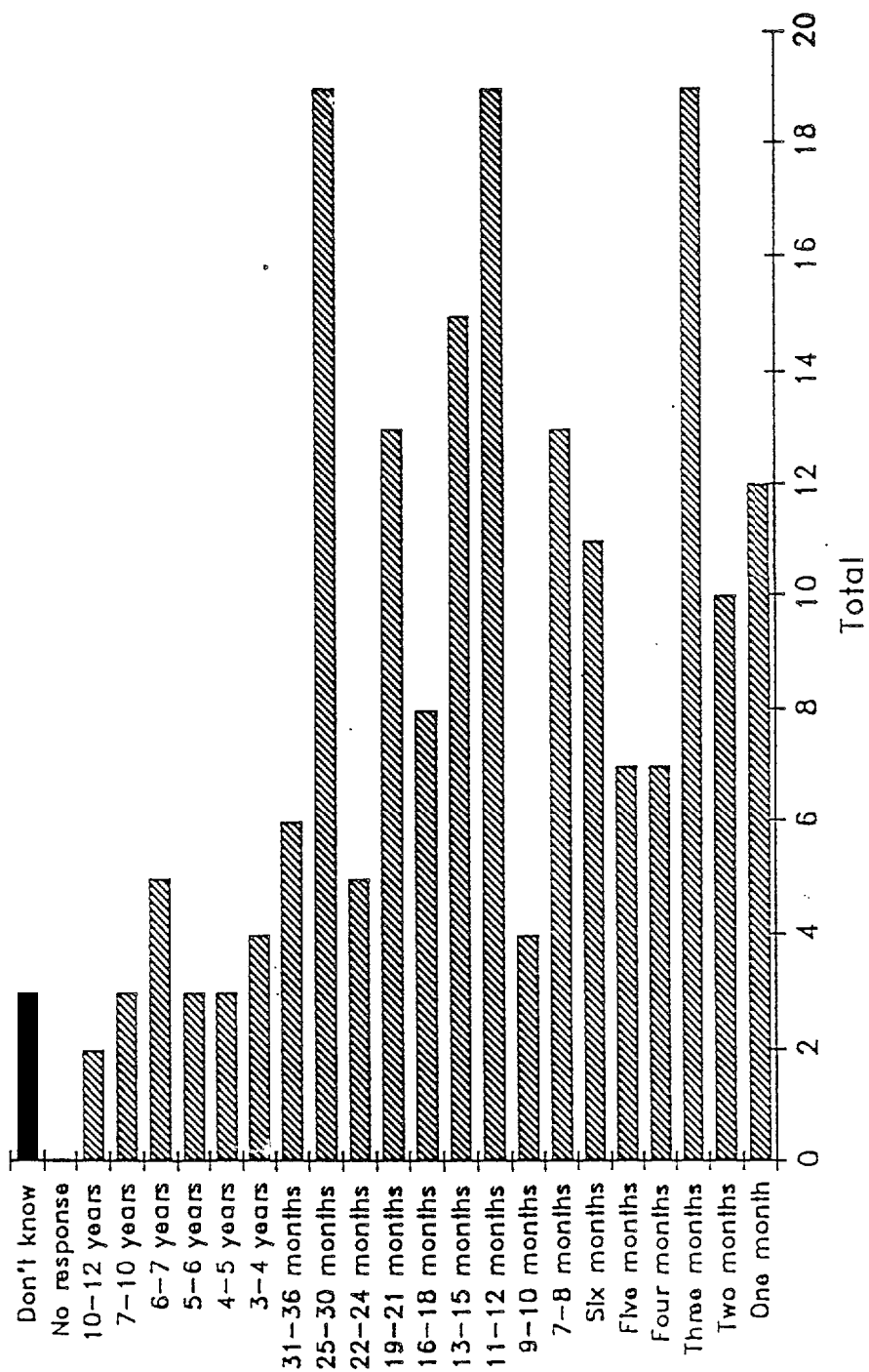
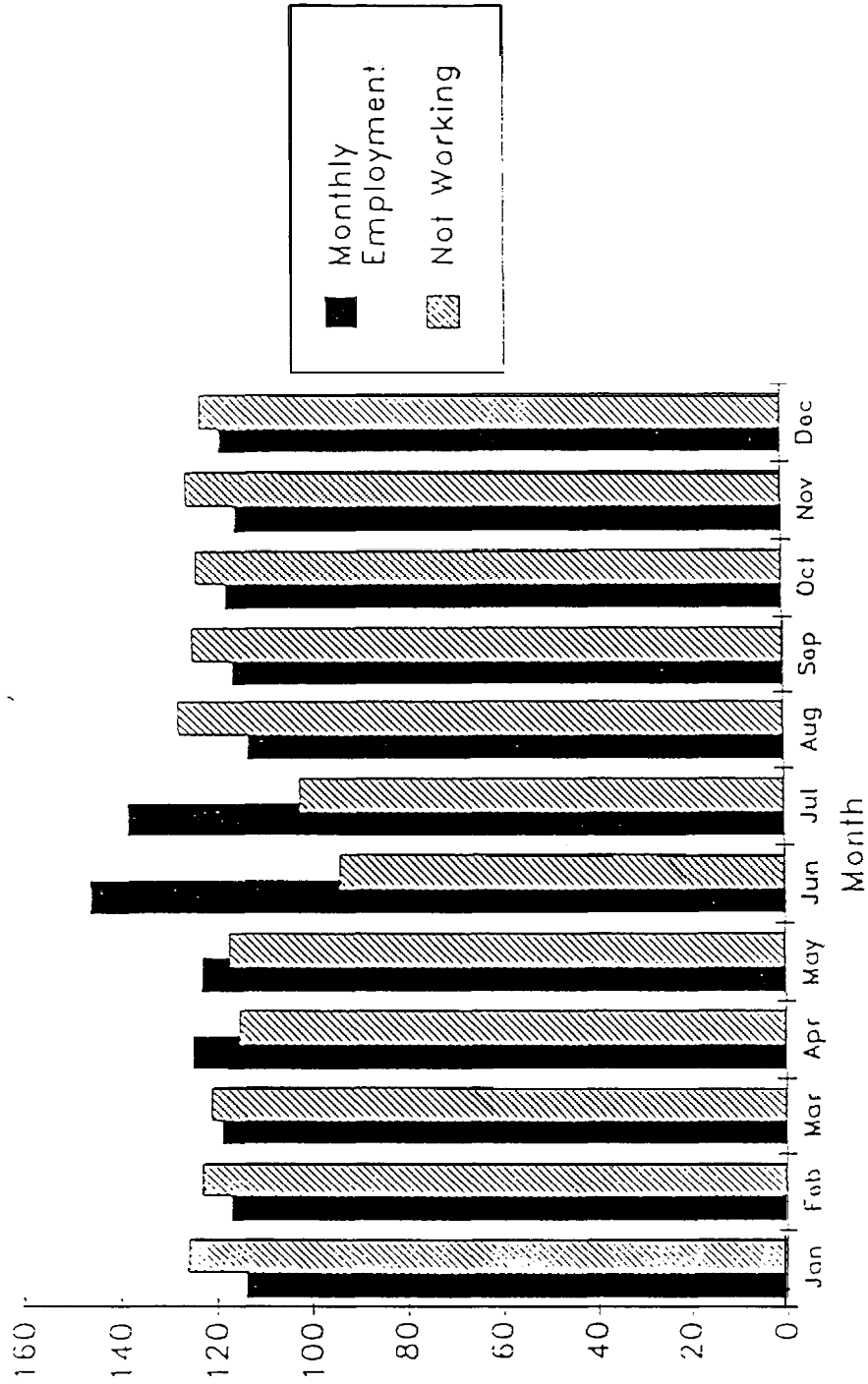


Figure 10-PHO

Point Hope Employment by Month: 1985



At the time of field research (April 1989), the mayor estimated the employment of permanent residents as follows:

- 8 jobs working on the road to the freshwater lake
- 7 jobs in the RELI program
- 6 jobs in the **housing/kunnichuk** program
- 3 teacher's aides
- 6 direct employees of the city
- 3 jobs related to teleconference
- 10 jobs in the Mayor's Job Program
- 4 jobs in the senior's program
- 4 jobs in the **Tigara Corporation**, exclusive of the Native **Store**.

While a formal employment survey was not done at the time of field research, it is obvious that the largest change in gross number of jobs was in construction employment of local residents between 1980 and 1989, or even between 1986 and 1989. If one adds the 17 Native Store employees and the clinic employees to the mayor's estimate, the contrast is more obvious. That is to say, the levels of employment outside of the Tigara Corporation are more comparable; the number of jobs provided by the **Tigara Corporation** (including its now defunct construction subsidiary) have dropped sharply). This is another indication of the move of the regional economy away from capital improvement projects in the **villages** to more of an operations and maintenance mode. Another change in the local economy is seen in the fact that the city now has six direct employees as opposed to none in 1986.

C. The Private Sector

1. Organization

As noted in the regional discussion, the oil industry is by far and away the major private industry on the North Slope. Point Hope, however, does not 'interact directly with **current production** ventures in the region. It is a paradox that the **oil** industry, in the form of tax **payments**, has shaped the structure of the borough, which has in turn in many ways made the Point Hope of today what it is, is not present in any way whatsoever in the village. The largest entity in the private sector in Point Hope is the **Tigara Corporation**.

The Tigara Corporation is the for-profit village corporation for Point Hope established under the terms of **ANCSA**. When first formed, Tigara enrolled 500 shareholders. The corporation also received cash, and the right to select 138,240 acres of land (surface estate) around the community, under the terms of the Act. It is involved with several different aspects of the economic life of the community. For example, it distributes all of the fuel in Point Hope, including that used in borough facilities (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:164). Tikigaq Construction, a wholly owned subsidiary of the Tigara Corporation, was an active contracting entity in the village and had been active as the prime contractor, or as a participant in joint ventures, for the borough capital improvements in the village. It was also active as a contractor in the community of Point Lay with NSB construction projects. These activities provided employment for local residents and revenues for the corporation, but with the downturn of **CIP-related** work and the problems of the parent corporation, Tikigaq Construction was not in business at the time of field research in April 1989.

The Tigara Corporation is an active stockholder in the Pingo Corporation, which has been active in Prudhoe Bay oil activities. Tigara Corporation has also been active in land development in Anchorage. Recently, however, the corporation has experienced difficult times and at the time of field research (April 1989), it was reorganizing under bankruptcy proceedings.

Some management level personnel with the Tigara Corporation are non-Native, both in Point Hope and at the corporation's Anchorage office. The most visible of the Point Hope non-Native employees is the manager of the Native Store. This position, like the other management positions, represents a non-Native being in a position of designated "expert," and there are some strong feelings in the village about this type of position. At the 1988 Tigara Corporation annual meeting, the new store manager was introduced to the shareholders. This prompted a discussion over the hire of non-residents for such a position. On the one hand, the need to efficiently run the store and the value of experience in the field was recognized, while on the other hand it was argued that it was a bad decision not to train a local person to do the job, particularly when employment is so eagerly sought by many residents. Complicating this debate was the fact that the Corporation was more restricted in what it could and or could not do than usual, given its bankruptcy status. Having much of the corporation's business run by non-Natives in Anchorage produced heated debate among shareholders as well. Again, there is an inherent difficulty in balancing the need for employment of local individuals (and the desirability of having local control and accountability) with the desire for extensive experience in business management. A point of debate, particularly in the instance of the store manager position, is the fact that the store has been run in the past with local Inupiat managers.

There is also ambivalence toward non-Inupiat individuals in corporation leadership positions who control locally-held assets while living and working away from the village. This is due to the fact that these "absentee" individuals are in a position to relatively easily take unethical financial advantage of their position, should they chose to do so, and the chances that they would not be discovered for a significant period of time are good. This apparently has happened in the recent past, the effects of which were still being sorted out in early 1989.

It should be noted that shareholders in the Tigara Corporation are not randomly distributed in the population of Point Hope. Due to the date of incorporation and shareholder qualification criteria, a disproportionate number of shareholders are older individuals. One of the effects of this, pragmatically, is that Inupiaq is used at corporation meetings, which seems to exclude many of the younger adults in the village. At the 1988 annual meeting, for example, the one Inupiat adult who wanted to address the board and shareholders at length could not speak Inupiaq and was at a disadvantage. This was interesting, because there are so many people who do not speak or understand Inupiaq well, especially the younger shareholders. This seems to be a way to assert the Inupiat identity of the corporation, as well as perhaps a way for the older shareholders to retain control.

In Point Hope the Tigara Corporation is a sort of nominal sponsor for bingo. Bingo games are held after working hours in one of the rooms of the Tigara Corporation building. A nominal rent of \$75/night is paid to the corporation for the use of the building by whichever group is sponsoring bingo that particular evening.

Point Hope also features a recently reconstituted IRA council. Reactivated in 1987, this council effectively had no role in the community for over twenty years, from the time of city incorporation

until its reconstitution. It was reformed for a variety of reasons, including a desire to protect village lands and resources from changes brought about by changes in status of the **Tigara Corporation** as a result of ANCSA provisions changing in 1991, a desire by the village to exert a geographically larger sphere of influence and control around the community, and the desire to have a one-to-one relationship with the federal government and the degree of sovereignty such a relationship implies.

The Tigara Corporation in Point Hope is clearly in part a political entity in addition to being an economic one. **It** functions independently of both the city and IRA councils. These organizations often disagree as to priorities and what course of action would be the best for the village. **As** evidenced by the 1988 **annual** shareholders meeting, there is sharp disagreement among shareholders as to the preferred course of action of the corporation. Given the cognitive salience of the problem of unemployment in the community, the corporation is under pressure to create as many local jobs as it can. On the other hand, there is the need, mandated by the bankruptcy court, to **justify** all business decisions on the basis of the bottom **line**. This **has** meant, for example, the hiring of a non-local **non-Inupiat** store manager in Point **Hope**, a **fact** that has not set well with many residents. Unfortunately the corporation, even if it increased dramatically the number of people hired locally, does not have a reasonable chance to meet the hiring level expectations of some people in the village. **Unlike** in some other North Nope villages, kinship is openly discussed as being involved in local politics.

Point Hope has, in addition to the Native store run by the Tigara Corporation, a number of smaller stores that individuals and families run. During 1989 there were five such private stores and, **while** varying in their blend of inventories, they generally catered to the after-regular-store-hours market for soda pop, candy, and miscellaneous convenience foodstuff. One store specialized in sewing supplies; another maintained an inventory of toys and some specialty foods. Private stores in Point Hope are run in a number of different ways. Two were **housed** in their own buildings near their owner's homes, two were in the owner's homes, and one was in a cargo container adjacent to the owner's **house**. According to one Tigara Corporation official, the small stores in the community are not in direct competition with the Native Store. "I have seen a lot of them come and go . . . People do compare prices, and the Native Store is a lot lower. We are not a business [oriented] people. The little stores make **people** happy, they do not bother us [at the corporation]. They **do** not hurt the business at **the** Native Store." It should be emphasized that in each and every case, the **small** stores are operated in a family context, and create no employment in the community outside of **the** immediate family members who run the store.

There are **very** few other private enterprises in the village, In addition to the private stores in Point Hope, there is an arcade that caters to young people. Formerly a private enterprise, it has come to be run by the city. The Tigara Corporation runs a hotel and restaurant in Point Hope, but this has operated only sporadically over the course of the past two years.

In only one instance was significant irritation expressed toward researchers for either the Point Lay Case Study (Impact Assessment, in draft) or this study in Point Hope. One individual contended that there were too many whites were imported to work in the village when, in fact, Natives could and should be hired because "we are starving." He was additionally irritated by the Tigara Corporation because "they do not do enough for the village" and specifically because they **closed** the restaurant that day to anyone not staying in the Whaler's Inn. This meant that even though he had the money for breakfast that morning, he still couldn't eat there and because of this he felt that the corporation was running the restaurant "for the whites."

2. Employment

In 1982, non-governmental employment in Point Hope accounted for 62.5 jobs in the community, as **compared** to 50 government jobs, or 55.6% of the employment (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:158). This figure is misleading, however, in that it implies too large of a private **workforce** in the community unrelated to government spending. If one takes into account that the 38 construction jobs listed in the non-government **total** are in actuality jobs that are directly dependent upon government capital improvement projects, then government and direct **governmentally-dependent** employment accounts for 78.2% of the jobs in the community. In **reality**, the influence of the government on the economy is even much stronger than this figure would imply, as the strong majority of the remaining jobs are government-related in one way or another and by 1988, as noted above, this figure had climbed to approximately **87%**. With NSB revenues declining, the outlook for a strong employment market in Point Hope is not **good**.

At the time of field research (April 1989), the **Tigara** Corporation employed three persons in their office. Two were full-time, the president and the secretary, and one was part-time, the land chief. Two persons were also employed at the Whaler's Inn. This figure is down from past levels, and the restaurant at the inn is no longer open to the general public, just to the people staying at the inn. One janitor position is shared between the Whaler's Inn, the corporation building offices and bingo room, and the Native Store. The Native Store had a total of 17 employees. Eight were **full-time** positions, and the rest were part-time. Several of the part-time workers were high school aged, and worked only a few hours a week. Apparently employee turnover has been a problem with the corporation. According to one corporation official, "the problem with corporation jobs is not getting people, it is keeping them, because we do not pay as much as some of the other jobs around." At the same time, the Anchorage office of the **Tigara** Corporation employed a manager, a bookkeeper, and an accountant, along with a secretary and an expeditor for the Native Store.

Tikigaaq Construction no longer exists. According to one corporation official, the only construction work that the corporation is involved with in now is "things like getting a piece of work for the different construction projects in the village, such as the RELI bedroom additions program, or the planned school addition, and supplying the workers for those types of things." **All** operations, with the exception of the Anchorage administration office itself, are locally based. "The corporation is not now involved in any ventures outside of the village. Things are being handled very carefully now, and [we are] not getting into anything risky." The Native Store provides the main income for the corporation, and operations in all areas are, by design, conservative and small-scale.

3. Revenues

Hard data on assets and expenditures for small private sector businesses in Point Hope have not been possible to obtain. This information is considered proprietary at the least, and private information for social reasons as well.

D. Economic Issues and Concerns

1. Effect of Wage Economy on Other Institutions

The interaction of wage labor and subsistence institutions is discussed under the topic of subsistence in Section IV of this chapter. It should be noted that what drives the economy of Point Hope is what drives the economy of all of the North Slope villages, namely the North Slope Borough which is, of course, in turn driven by oil revenues. This has not only provided the overwhelming majority of the employment opportunities in the village, it has **also** provided the institutional infrastructure of the village in the form of available services, such as health care and education. **These** institutions are each discussed in turn below.

2. Role of Subsistence in the Market Economy

This topic is addressed in the section on informal institutions later in this chapter. Some individuals in Point Hope balance full-time employment with evening and weekend hunting other individuals are more subsistence specialists within a household where other members are **the** primary cash income providers and where they work **on** project-oriented construction or other jobs. **Still** other individuals are **fully** involved in wage employment and volunteer work in the village and devote very little time to subsistence activities, but receive subsistence goods through sharing networks. These different patterns are discussed **below**.

3. Patterns of Economic Change in Borough and Other North Slope Communities

The effect of energy-related development on economic change in Point Hope has been through the NSB, and has not been seen at the local level directly. Energy-related development is involved in virtually all aspects of change that have occurred on the North Slope, and in Point Hope the most visible aspects of this change are the various legacies of the capital improvement and housing programs. Economic change has come about through the construction of these projects and the wage labor that these have **entailed**; expectations of wages are based on this baseline. Additionally, energy related development has brought money into the community through participation of the Tigara Corporation in Pingo projects in the **Prudhoe** Bay area.

4. Trends in Employment

Table 27-PHO points out ethnic differences in jobs in Point Hope. **Non-Inupiat** are concentrated into three main job areas. They serve as teachers, managers, and **in** the service area (in decreasing order of number of jobs). They essentially monopolize the teaching positions except for those dealing with teaching **Inupiat**. They occupy about 29% of the management jobs in Point Hope, even though they are **only** 14.6% of the population and most of the village institutions have **an Inupiat** preference for hiring. They are a minority in the service sector.

Inupiat have several areas of job concentration. One of interest is teacher's aide positions, which are exclusively **Inupiat**. This contrasts with **teachers**, who are almost exclusively **non-Inupiat**.

Inupiat are also concentrated in the administrative support and service areas. These are the relatively low paying positions in the village and there are indications that more woman than men may be employed in these sectors. **Inupiat** are also concentrated in the positions of operator/mechanic, laborer, and craftsman. These are all “male” occupations relating to construction of the operation of the village’s infrastructure.

One of the more common complaints regarding employment heard in the village is that of nepotism. For jobs with the city and the borough, there is a formal application process where applicant’s job qualifications are screened, but there are those who believe that this process has little to do with actual hiring practices. It is believed that particular families control aspects of different borough projects on the local level. It is a common belief in Point Hope that the larger one’s family, the larger the political clout that one is able to access. A corollary to this belief is that when one has political clout, one is able to obtain desirable employment more easily.

Population, Labor Force, and Employment

Population, labor force, and employment for Point Hope are shown in Figure 11-PHO for the years 1980 and 1988. Also, these variables are projected to the year 1994. The figures for 1980 and 1988 show that while village population increased from 480 to 591, the labor force (employed and unemployed persons age 16 to 64 that were willing and eligible to work) increased from 212 to 233 persons, representing a slower rate of growth than that exhibited by population during the same time period.

Total village employment increased from 124 to 213 persons between 1980 and 1988. Point Hope employment increased about three times faster than village labor force expansion during this time period. As a result, the rate of unemployment (the number of persons unemployed divided by the labor force) fell from 42% in 1980 to 8.6% in 1988.

This shift toward full employment is explained in part by a significant increase in direct NSB government employment. Between 1980 and 1988 NSB government employment more than doubled from 57 to 116. These figures understate NSB government contributions to village employment because they do not include employment expansion in the private sector brought about by **NSB-funded** projects and programs. Private sector employment and indirect NSB government employment are depicted in the bar labeled “Total Employment.”

While the rate of overall unemployment declined markedly over recent years, a fairly high, 28%, rate of underemployment was **observed** in 1988. “Underemployment” refers to the count of persons that worked part of the year but would have worked more if additional jobs had been available.

Table 27-PI-IO

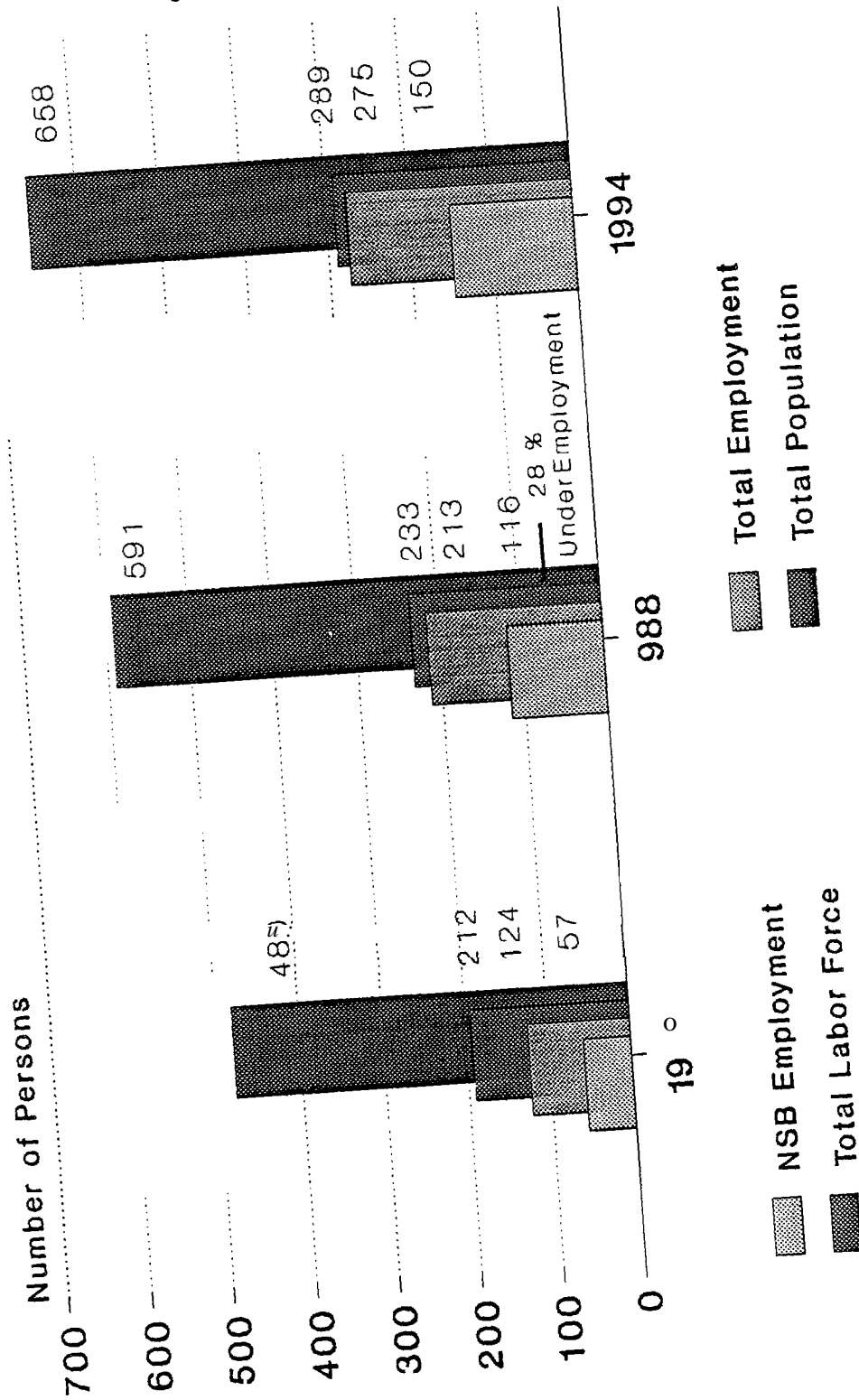
Occupation Composition of Employment by Sex and Ethnicity
Point Hope - 1988

OCCUPATION GROUPS	INUPIAT			NON-INUPIAT			TOTAL VILLAGE	% OF TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL		
EXEC. ADMIN. MGR.	11	6	17	6	1	7	24	11.3%
PROFESSIONAL			0			0	0	0.0%
TEACHER		2	2	5	8	13	15	7.1%
TEACHER AIDE	2	16	18			0	18	8.5%
TECHNICIAN		3	3			0	3	1.4%
ADMIN. SUPPORT SERVICE	3	12	15		1	1	16	7.5%
	5	27	32	2	1	3	35	16.5%
OPERATOR/MECHANIC	20		20	1		1	21	9.9%
PILOT			0			0	0	0.0%
LABORER	10	6	16	1		1	17	8.0%
CRAFTSMAN	15		15	1		1	16	7.5%
ARTISAN		3	3			0	3	1.4%
ARMED FORCES	1		1			0	1	0.5%
TRAPPER/HUNTER			0			0	0	0.0%
OTHER	33	6	39	4		4	43	20.3%
TOTAL EMPLOYED	100	81	181	20	11	31	212	100.0%
% OF TOTAL	47.2%	38.2%	85.4%	9.4%	5.2%	14.6%	100.0%	
LABOR FORCE	112	89	201	20	11	31	232	
% OF TOTAL	48.3%	38.4%	85.8%	8.6%	4.7%	13.4%	100.0%	
TOTAL UNEMPLOYED	12	8	20	0	0	0	20	
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE	10.7%	9.0%	10.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8.5%	
TOTAL UNDER-EMPLOYED	43	17	60	4		4	64	
UNDER-EMPLOYMENT RATE	38.4%	19.1%	28.9%	20.0%	0.0%	12.9%	27.6%	

- Notes: (1) Total employed includes pm-time, temporary, as well as full-time employment.
 (2) The occupation category "OTHER" includes underemployed persons otherwise not accounted for. Underemployment refers to persons that were unemployed because they could not find a job during part of the year.
 (3) Unemployed refers to persons out of work because they could not find a job for the entire twelve-month period.
 (4) Labor force = employed + underemployed + unemployed.
 (5) Unemployment rate = persons unemployed divided by the labor force.

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Figure 11-PHO
Population, Labor Force, and Employment
Point Hope - 1980, 1988, 1994 (Projected)



NSB Placing Department

In sum, the data for 1980 and 1988 indicate improved conditions in Point Hope's economy. The picture is not unmixed, however, as the underemployment rate was high in 1988. However, unemployment fell sharply. A much larger proportion of the labor force work was able to find gainful employment for at least part of the year.

Projection to 1994

Figure 13-PHO also shows projected levels of population, labor force, and employment in 1994. The assumptions used to make these projections are:

- o Recent historic rates of village population growth would continue into the future;
- o Village labor force would change according to natural shifts in the age distribution of village population;
- o The rate of village unemployment would be held at 5%; and
- o The ratio of **NSB** government employment to total village employment in 1988 would prevail in 1994.

Application of these assumptions leads to increases across the board. Village population would increase to 658 in 1994. The village labor force would grow from 233 to 289. In order to hold unemployment to 5% total employment would increase from 213 to 275. NSB government employment required to support this level of total employment would increase by 34 persons from 116 to 150.

Labor force expansion is the critical element in this projection. The number of young persons entering the labor force will more than offset retirees and other labor force departures over the next six years. **Village total** employment must increase to support this labor force. This, in turn, would require the **NSB** government to step up **local** employment opportunities either directly, or through programs that enhance private sector development.

Table 28-PHO makes some of the income and expenditure comparisons between **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** households evident. Although totals and averages for the two ethnic groups are not provided, it is clear that **non-Inupiat** households have greater incomes, on the average (there are no **non-Inupiat** households with incomes below \$20,000 and in all other categories the average **non-Inupiat** household income is greater than the **Inupiat** household income). The per capita income comparison is even greater, as **Inupiat** households are significantly larger than **non-Inupiat** households. Income is for the most part correlated with subsistence resource harvest activity for **Inupiat**, but strongly negatively correlated with income for **non-Inupiat**. Income is negatively correlated with the receiving of subsistence resources from other households for both groups. The sharing of subsistence resources is correlated with the giving of subsistence resources for **Inupiat**, and seems to be mildly negatively correlated with income for **non-Inupiat**. Higher income **Inupiat** households spend a smaller percentage of their income in the village than do lower income **Inupiat** households, while the pattern for **non-Inupiat** households is unclear. The level of **non-Inupiat** spending in the village is much smaller than for **Inupiat** households in any event.

Table 28-PHO

Point Hope Household Characteristics -1988
By Levels of Household Income

	HOUSEHOLD INCOME CATEGORIES				
	BELOW \$20K	\$20-40K	\$40-60K	ABOVE \$60K	ALL HHs
Average HH Income (\$):					
Inupiat HHs	\$12,833	\$30,389	\$48,125	\$83,000	
Non-Inupiat HHs		\$37,500	\$51,250	\$102,500	
All HHs	\$12,833	\$30,691	\$48,750	\$95,000	\$36,705
Cases:	30	47	20	13	110
Average HH Size (# Persons per HH):					
Inupiat HHs	4.5	4.5	4.7	6.2	
Non-Inupiat HHs		2.5	2.5	1.9	
All HHs	4.5	4.4	4.3	3.5	4.3
Cases:	30	47	20	13	110
Average Meat & Fish Cmpn from Own HH Subsistence (%):					
Inupiat HHs	58.3%	49.8%	65.3%	79.0%	
Non-Inupiat HHs		25.0%	6.3%	1.5%	
All HHs	58.3%	48.7%	53.5%	31.2%	50.1%
Cases:	30	46	20	13	109
Average Meat & Fish Cmpn from Other HH Subsistence (%):					
Inupiat HHs	21.0%	21.0%	20.4%	12.0%	
Non-Inupiat HHs		55.0%	0.0%	1.9%	
All HHs	21.0%	22.4%	16.4%	5.8%	18.9%
Cases:	30	46	20	13	109
Average Meat & Fish Harvested and Given Away (%):					
Inupiat HHs	29.5%	30.8%	34.4%	41.0%	
Non-Inupiat HHs		12.5%	2.5%	6.2%	
All HHs	29.5%	30.0%	28.0%	19.6%	28.2%
Cases:	30	46	20	13	109
Average Proportion HH Income Spent in Village (%):					
Inupiat HHs	70.7%	72.4%	69.3%	55.0%	
Non-Inupiat HHs		17.5%	28.3%	26.5%	
All HHs	70.7%	70.1%	62.5%	36.0%	65.5%
Cases:	30	47	18	12	107

Note: Total cases (households). 144.

Source: NBS Department of Planning and Community Services
Census of Population and Economy

Most of these relations are consistent with several observations and reported “rules for behavior” stated by informants. Equipment for the harvest of subsistence resources **is** expensive, and those who can afford it have a real advantage. This is true even if the actual time they can spend hunting is reduced by the need to earn money to buy and maintain the equipment. Also, there is an implicit ideology of need associated with subsistence hunting. If a household is known to need meat, little comment is made if the males of that household hunt, especially if they make efforts to share their successful harvests in at least a minimal way. Even **non-Inupiat**, if they fit into the “needy” category and recognize the sharing aspects of the hunt, can **hunt** without experiencing too much negative **social** pressure. High income **non-Inupiat** households, however, are not perceived as “needy” and any hunting by their household members is **almost** certain to draw community censure. As for sharing, those who have are encouraged to give it away, and those who need tend to receive. Those are indeed the trends supported by the data presented in Table 28-PHO.

SECTION III: FORMAL INSTITUTIONS

Point Hope has experienced a growth in **formal** institutions in the village similar to those seen in other North Slope villages, following the growth of analogous institutions at the regional level. One aspect that differentiates Point Hope from other villages, however, is patterns of land use within the village itself.

In the land ownership and use patterns, difficulties have been created through changing ownership regulations at **different** periods in the recent history of Point Hope. When the village was located near the end of the spit (until the mid-1970s), it was on land that was designated as a federal townsite, which entailed legal parameters on land use and ownership. When the village moved, the legal townsite did not. Within the present village footprint, there are at least two Native Allotment claims that are considered valid by local **officials**, although the implications of this are not clear. There have been difficulties between the corporation and the city, and between the city and the borough, over land ownership. Individual residents, as of field research in the spring of 1989, did not have deeds for their individual lots, more than a decade after the move of the village, due to the **uncertainty** of land status and questions regarding the tax liability implied in such transfers. Land ownership is one area where there is a confusing interaction of several federal agencies and classes of regulations, state and city government involvement, borough government action, and **local** ANCSA corporation ownership, along with private individuals. There are additional layers of bureaucracy added due to designation of particular areas as being of national interest. With the present welter of institutions and agendas, it is difficult to remember that it was only a few decades ago that the community was governed by a single council that decided virtually all of the issues of importance to the village.

A. Government

1. Organization and Scope of Operations

No community on the North Slope can ever be separated, either in actuality or for the purposes of analysis, from the influence of Barrow and the NSB government, as Barrow is the source of nearly all public services and local government deals mainly with non-monetary community issues. One may argue whether this centralization is due more to the NSB'S role as a money source **paying** for **all** of these services or more as the only real source of trained leadership (whether Native or imported) to administer them. When dealing with state and federal agencies, a centralized power structure on the North Slope has proven to be in a better bargaining position than decentralized ones. Thus, the political form and structure of the NSB can only be understood within the context of **ANCSA** and the absolute necessity for structural forms to deal with, and often attempt to fend off organized and sometimes single-purposed outside agencies while simultaneously attempting to implement the goals and desires of the **Inupiat** (as a group, but perhaps more importantly as communities). This political context is fairly well documented from an institutional point of view (Chance 1964, Harrison 1972, Gallagher 1974, Arnold 1976, Morehouse and **Leask** 1978, **McBeath** 1981, Cornwall and McBeath 1982, McBeath 1982, Olson 1982, among others).

With the decline in NSB revenues, this context is of course in the process of revision (Knapp et al. 1986 provides a wealth of regional economic information in this regard). Capital Improvement Program employment has decreased greatly and it could be argued that employment is as important

a **CIP** product as are the facilities that are built. Even more ominous are the potential problems of the high cost of maintaining the facilities that have been **built**. There are few or no local community monetary sources, and the end or serious curtailment of **CIP** employment will make direct subsidies from the NSB necessary.

Beyond the maintenance of the facilities, there are divergent opinions as to the appropriate use of **NSB-subsidized** resources, such as the hours of operation, use of the facilities for “personal” business, **and** the like. One example in Point Hope is the different visions of what the function of the **school** physical plant is in terms of how much of a community service facility it should **be**. It costs a lot of money to keep the school open after hours for the public to use. This is not seen, by the administration at least, as a cost that the school budget can accept. Where is the money to come from? There are people to pay to supervise the recreation, for example, as **well as** increased maintenance and energy costs involved. A more specific example is the **pool** in the Point Hope school. While viewed as a valued resource in the community, it cannot stay open during the whole year as it simply costs too much for the **school** to operate. Members of the community do not always appreciate the distinctions between the various segments of the borough. Often these are seen as facilities in the community that are not being put to the uses that those in the community would desire and they are not considered the “property” of the central school district. To a large extent, the borough is seen as a source of dollars for **local** use, not as an extension of the local population or as representing the legitimate desires of a **larger** constituency, of which Point Hope is a part. Often the attitude in Point Hope seems to **be** that the NSB exists as a benefit for the community, and the performance of the NSB is judged by how well Point Hope fares relative to the other North Slope villages. The attitudes expressed in one public meeting indicated that if the other villages don’t do well in absolute terms, it is acceptable for Point Hope not to do well either. On the other hand, if Barrow appears to get a disproportionate share of budgetary resources, there is a good **deal** of dissension. It is not **clear** that the people of Point Hope think that the idea of having a structure like the NSB would be a good idea if there were not the direct revenues that result from **it**.

In April 1989, according to the mayor, the priorities of the Point Hope City Council included the following items:

- School** expansion
- Snow fencing for the south side of the village
- Street signs
- More street lights
- Additional houses (**approx.** 15 units to start with)
- Water system improvements
- Sewage system
- Plumbing upgrades
- Airport apron expansion
- School bus
- Driveways for buildings and homes
- Renovation of the **Kalgi** Center
- Road to the cemetery
- Roads to the freshwater lakes, eventually reaching the **Kukpuk** River
- Landfill relocation
- Seawall** construction

School playground
Clinic expansion

All of the items listed as priorities, it should be noted, are **infrastructural** in nature. The city council, to a large degree, acts as a body through which **local** needs are communicated to the borough. It is **not**, however, the exclusive channel of communication, as the NSB mayor does visit the village to get direct input on occasion. At these times, special town meetings are called. At a city council meeting, reports are given to the council by the animal control officer, the bingo committee, the **NSB** local fish and game representative, Search and Rescue, the day care center, the village coordinator, Public Safety, the **cable** TV technician, and any other concerned individuals who have business before the council. At any given meeting it is not likely that all of the various committees and offices will be represented. It is not uncommon for the borough to send a representative to the city council meeting to disseminate information and gather input. For example, at the city council meeting of April 1989, a representative of the NSB planning department attended the meeting to update the council on various ongoing projects in and around the community and to get community concerns on projects planned for the upcoming construction season.

There is currently a redistribution of political power taking place within Point Hope with the reactivation of the Point Hope IRA. The city government of Point Hope is closely associated with the NSB; it is easier for Point Hope to retain a measure of independence from the Borough through the entity of the IRA. For example, it is much easier for the IRA to just say no to research or other programs that are loosely **affiliated** with the Borough than it is with the city government, as there is much less of a political price to pay directly or indirectly. Additionally, the **IRA** represents both a move in the sovereignty direction and a different level of interaction with both the state and the federal government. The IRA is able to assert broader control over a larger land base and able to politically encompass more of the local corporation lands. The **IRA** is also explicitly founded on the notion of commonly held resources -- the land -- and provides a more appropriate forum for the manifestation of the expressed ideals of egalitarian distribution of, and access to, resources. As of the spring of 1989, one IRA council official noted that while the council is still in the process of getting underway, there are monthly meetings being held, and this represents a continuity of activity **necessary** for further action by the council.

Within the present atmosphere of change, the NSB **itself** has changed its emphasis from protection of subsistence resources combined with the development of job opportunities to one where the jobs are apparently given primary importance (**Worl and Smythe 1986:386**). The evidence cited in support of this statement is that the NSB no longer litigates to protect near-shore subsistence resources (which had not been successful in any case) and recently dismantled the NSB Environmental Protection Office. Certainly, the felt need for a subsistence-jobs trade-off is not an unexpected development (Hoffman 1983, **Galginaitis et al. 1984:164-74, 385-88; Galginaitis and Petterson 1985:84-87**).

Jobs, **obviously**, are **not** seen as being a trade-off with most kinds of subsistence in Point Hope. For some, subsistence is what one does if one does not have a job (money for subsistence pursuits then must come from others, typically from others in the family who share in the subsistence goods); for others it seems as though jobs are a necessary prerequisite to success in subsistence. In Point Hope, a whaling captain requires a considerable source of accessible family income in

order to support a crew. It is beneficial, in a whaling crew at least., to have a balance of **employed** and not employed people **in** the task group, to have one **or** more members of the crew who are not employed during the time of the preparation for the **whaling**. Once the crews move onto the ice, there is the problem **of** some individuals having to return to the village during the whaling for jobs.

2. Overlaps in Authority and Conflicts Among Institutions

Analysis of behavioral settings (Barker and **Schoggen** 1973) suggests that the smaller a community, the more pressure there is on each individual in terms of the daily things that need to be done. There are “manning” problems with villages even the relatively large size of Point Hope. There are simply too many institutions that are potentially important, and, at a minimum, there are problems getting **people** to serve for a number of reasons, including the following demands on the energy of individuals; getting individuals to commit to a particular institution; demands on an individual’s time; the finite number of individuals **who** are willing and able to be “leaders” in the villages (that is, those who will accept leadership positions and who others will accept as leaders); the finite number of individuals who will accept the responsibility of the position and the conflicts that are inevitable to result from falling any of the leadership positions; and the **phenomena** of “burnout,” where individuals who accept responsibility in one arena are likely to be asked to shoulder responsibilities in others until the load becomes too great for them to bear.

Kinship is articulated as the cause of some political disputes or contentiousness observed and to deflect discussion in some cases. After one particularly heated exchange in a public forum in Point Hope, a leader of one of the factions involved explained that it ` was just the “Smiths” who were making trouble, and by assigning a kin-based cause, effectively avoided consideration of the merits of their arguments. In several other instances observed, labeling the opposition as being only kinship-based (and arguments as kinship-biased) was a convenient, if specious, argument. Large families are also seen as extremely **helpful** in building a political base in the community. One individual attributed his lack of success in the political arena to being “just a guy with a small family.”

The issue of **local** control is probably **the** central ideological question with political significance on the North Slope. Its significance is enhanced by the complexity inherent **in** the structure of the situation. The small communities are dependent on the NSB, yet wish to retain **local** control. The NSB espouses **Inupiat local** control, yet must exert regional authority and in some instances seem to “favor” industry or other interests over those of local communities and perhaps **Inupiat** at large (**Worl** and Smythe 1986:386). The **ASRC** and **ICAS** present other views of **Inupiat** self-control, the former established by **ANCSA** whereas the latter is a more indigenous organization, although it, too, derives **legitimacy** from federal legislation. The oil companies, the state, and the federal government have direct stakes in the control (and taxation) of oil development as well, and influence, in both direct and indirect ways, the differential degree of control exerted by regional and local entities.

VanStone (1989 personal communication) has noted frequently expressed opinions from Point Hope residents that the many decisions made in Barrow concerning their village contribute to a feeling that they have less control over their lives than in the past. It may not be too much to say that in many respects Point Hope and Barrow exist in an ambivalent and sometimes adversarial

relationship and that the NSB is able to take political advantage of the uncertainty and confusion that exists in Point Hope concerning many services. It is apparent that many people do not have a clear understanding of the services that are available in the village but administratively based in Barrow. This probably adds to the confusion. Relations between the city of Point Hope and the NSB seem to be especially adversarial on the subject of land, but there is no systematic information available on this topic. In any event, outside control of village programs is definitely a source of confusion and resentment.

3. Government Institutions and ANCSA Corporations

The **Tigara** Corporation is an important political force in the community, and its influence is felt elsewhere in the borough as well. In recent years an individual was simultaneously chairman of the **Tigara** Corporation board and president of the North Slope Borough Assembly. A former **Tigara** president was also president of the Pingo Corporation, a regional corporation consisting of the villages of the slope, **excluding** Barrow. This corporation is primarily active in the Prudhoe Bay region.

On the North Slope, Native Corporations are intertwined with local governments in complex ways. Originally the NSB was formed as a political or governmental entity principally to serve as a means to transfer economic resources from the oil companies (corporate structure) to Native **Inupiat** (the constituency) of the NSB. To accomplish this economic function required a political organization, and the precedent had already been set by **ANCSA** itself, a political act allocating economic resources (at least as seen **from a non-Inupiat** perspective). In this context, it is small wonder that the Native Corporations have come to acquire quasi-governmental status, as mentioned elsewhere. They are also in the business of allocating economic resources. The residential fuel **oil** subsidy, for example, is funneled from the NSB through the village corporations to the residents. The amount of the subsidy to pass on is left to each village corporation to decide, and different village corporations pass on (or retain) different amounts. In most villages, even though the village corporation is legally defined as a profit-making corporation responsible to its shareholders (both resident and non-resident), in actuality the village corporation acts for the benefit of village residents, shareholder and non-shareholder **alike**.

B. Native Corporations

The **Tigara** Corporation is the major landowner in the Point Hope area, and as such, it controls a great deal of what goes on in terms of development in Point Hope. It is also a strong economic and political force in the community due to the number of adults in the community who are shareholders, and the fact that it owns the Whaler's Inn, the Native Store (the main store in the village), and the local fuel distributorship. Over the past several years, however, the **Tigara** Corporation has experienced financial **difficulties**. Nonetheless, it is still the major provider of employment in the community after the borough and borough-related programs. The **Tigara** Corporation no longer has any ventures active outside of Point Hope. At one time the construction arm of the corporation, Tikigaq Construction, worked in other villages as well as in Point Hope, but this subsidiary is no longer in business.

At both the 1988 and the 1989 **annual** shareholders meetings, **it** was obvious that there was serious dissention among shareholders over the direction of the Tigara Corporation. At the 1989 meeting, one shareholder brought up a series **technical** questions regarding rules of quorum and procedure that effectively sidetracked the meeting for a significant length of time. Another shareholder followed this with the question of what the board was going to do about children born after 1971 who are not shareholders. This discussion was clearly not what the board wanted to address, particularly in the opening portion of the meeting. The open questions were set aside after being **only** partially resolved. An additional problem was that shareholder information packets were not available for distribution to shareholders prior to the meeting. The corporation manager, who had the packets and was flying up from Anchorage, was weathered-in in **Kotzebue**. Unfortunately, the meeting also **fell** on a date that was just prior to the start of whaling season. A debate ensued as to whether or not the meeting should be postponed until the shareholders had a chance to get their packets. There was a single “faxed” copy of the report in the village, and it was debated whether or not this should be photocopied locally and distributed. It was eventually decided that the meeting should be recessed for the purpose of the distribution of packets. There followed considerable debate on the appropriate length of a recess. Finally, a vote was taken between two options, recessing for one day or recessing for one month. The vote was 44-33 in favor of the one day recess, with all of the board of directors voting for the losing one-month postponement option. The meeting then recessed after four and one-half hours. The one-day recess was, however, **not** to be. The following day, one of the board members, who was also a prominent whaling captain, announced over the CB that the meeting had been delayed one month, due to the fact that whaling crews were going out that day. Clearly, consensus formation as a means of group decision-making seen in smaller groups is not the way decisions are made by the shareholders as a whole at the **annual** meetings.

C. Social Services

Social services available in Point Hope, like the other villages of the North **Slope**, are for the most part those services available on a regional basis. Those services, as **well client** populations and service demands, are described in detail in the regional chapter of this document, and will not be recapitulated here. Virtually **all** of the **social** services provided in Point Hope are federal-, **state-**, and borough-level in origin. Point Hope is, however, different in its provision of social services from all of the other North **Slope** villages in that it is covered by service providers from two different regions. Services are provided by both the **Maniilaq** Association Health Division and the North Slope Borough Health and Social Services Agency through the Community Health Aide program (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:219). The relationship between **Maniilaq** and the North Slope Borough is often changing. Similar to the other communities of the North Slope, distances between villages and transportation and logistical difficulties means that provision of services to the outlying villages such as Point Hope are **problematic**. **Consequently**, people either have to **travel** to Barrow to receive services or receive services in Point Hope on a hit-and-miss basis, due to the fact that there are insufficient resources for a high level of **service** to all the communities and the fact that there is not a continuous level of demand for services in Point Hope as there is in Barrow.

One recent social service change in the community is the involvement of the Public Safety **Officers** in social service-type programs. According to one PSO, there is a “new attempt in [the Department of] Public Safety to really downplay the ‘**Rambo**’ image.” In April 1989, the PSO with the most seniority in the village reported that he was working with a “DARE (Drug Awareness and

Resistance Education) program at the school, which is a program focused on the education of children in school to the dangers of alcohol and drugs. **According** to this **officer**, this is the first time that Public Safety, in Point Hope at least, has tried to be a part of the education process. This is attributable to the local recognition that what ends up as public safety problems typically begin as social and drug and/or alcohol abuse problems. During the year prior to field research, there was one suicide in the community. While public safety and health officials do not underplay the tragedy of this incident, it is not felt that suicide is a community-wide problem, as there have not been a series of attempts as seen in some of the other villages. There are people involved in social service delivery in the village who feel that the young people in the village are at risk of **self-destructive** behavior beyond that which has been manifested, and this is attributed to the young **people** having goals that are different than their parent's and cannot be met in the village. According to one such individual, there is a serious gap between some young people's desires and their expectations of realizing those desires. According to this individual, "the young **people** here, the ones that think about it, start off with goals and have plans for things and then see that there is no **gold** at the end of the rainbow. They have nothing to look forward to."

Funding for social **service** demands is difficult to obtain in Point Hope as in all other villages. The situation in Point Hope is more complex than most, given the need to work through two separate regional deliverers. For some programs, funding is available from both the borough and **Maniilaq**; other programs, such as alcohol education, diversion, and treatment seem to fall through the cracks. Regional funding information is presented in the regional discussion. Some local funding is provided by the Point Hope Health Committee by means of sponsorship of local bingo games. Additionally, there are two other organizations that provide some funding for health and social services in Point Hope: the Lions Club and the Women Dog Musers.

During the course of the Point Hope component of the Point Lav Case Study (Impact Assessment, in draft) field research, one of the meetings of the **Ipiutak** Lions Club was attended in Point Hope in early 1988. Held in the conference room at the Point Hope Fire Station, a **total** of eleven individuals attended the meeting, of whom two were individuals desiring to join the group. A total of thirty-one individuals are on the membership **roll** of the club, but at least two of those have recently moved out of the community. The club pays dues for its members and does not accept dues from individuals.

The Lions raise funds through sponsoring bingo in the community on Monday nights. Rent for the bingo room of seventy-five dollars a night is paid to the **Tigara** Corporation. At least one of the officers of the Lions must be present at each bingo session. The Lions own all but one piece of the bingo equipment that is used on **all of** the bingo nights (the Women Dog Musers own the remaining one). The Lions do not charge any of the other bingo groups anything to use the bingo supplies, although the individual groups must buy their own non-reusable supplies. Organized as a volunteer community **service club**, the Lions aid various **causes** in the community, but perhaps their most notable effort is providing eye-glasses to the children of the community.

The Women Dog Musers are another community service organization of Point Hope. While ostensibly organized around dogsled raking, the group performs such community services as matching the city funds for putting on the community Christmas celebration, helping out with Thanksgiving and other community events, and donating funds to other **service** organizations such as Search and Rescue. The group raises funds by sponsoring bingo games and an annual dogsled race.

D. Health

Like **social services**, health care in Point Hope is mostly limited to those institutions and programs found at the regional level. These are discussed in detail in the regional chapter of this document and will not be recapitulated here. As in the case of social services, however, Point Hope is structurally unique on the North Slope with respect to health care. While health care services in other villages are provided by the North Slope Borough Department of Health and **Social Services**, services in Point Hope are provided by this agency **only** in part. Point Hope also receives primary health care services from the **Maniilaq** Association Health Division, which operates out of **Kotzebue**. The clinic in Point Hope is operated subject to an agreement between the two primary **health** care provision entities. "The clinic building is owned by the Point Hope IRA council; the Public Health **Service's** health delivery system for Point Hope is the **Kotzebue** Service Unit; and the **Maniilaq** Association Health Division is the tribal organization which contracts to provide health care services in the Kotzebue Service Unit" (Alaska **Consultants** et al. 1984:220).

Point Hope is regularly visited by specialized health care providers, including doctors, dentists, **ophthamologists**, and nurses. In-hospital care is available through the Public Health Service hospital in Kotzebue or the Alaska Native Health Center facility in Anchorage. Out-patient care is available for Point Hope residents at both of these facilities as well (Alaska **Consultants** 1984:219).

According to clinic staff, being between two service regions has complicated things somewhat. "One of the biggest things is in the patient records. The dentist from Kotzebue does not know what the dentist from Barrow has done, and so on . . . Also, it seems like the same people are seen all of the time." Just prior to field research (April 1989), there was a restructuring of the relationship between NSB **Health** and **Social Services** and **Maniilaq**. All health care personnel salaries are now being paid through the borough instead of being split between the two as was previously the case. According to clinic staff, however, most of the programs are still administered by **Maniilaq**, such as the social services, women's shelter, and public assistance.

A recent programmatic change, occurring between 1988 and 1989, is that tribal doctors (also known as "traditional healers") are no longer part of the **clinic** system. In 1988, **Maniilaq** provided for the funding of one of the two active tribal doctors in Point Hope, and patients were referred to both of these individuals from the clinic. According to clinic staff in 1989, "the most successful one from here has gone to Barrow and visits the villages from there. There are still four or so here in town, but we have the patients approach them on their own, we don't act as a go-between." One man spoken to during **field** research in 1989 had hurt his back, and "because there are not enough tribal doctors in the village" arranged to have a healer come up from **Kivalina**. This healer stayed with the family while in Point Hope.

There has been an increase in health care personnel in the last few years. In 1986 there were only two health aides in Point Hope; as of field research in the spring of 1989 there were four aides. According to **clinic** staff, the work load has doubled in even that time. The clinic also employs a community health representative, a janitor, and an alternate aide. Between 1988 and 1989, Point Hope received a new clinic. This facility has two exam rooms, one trauma room, restrooms, showers, living quarters for transient staff, reception and records area, and ambulance area.

The clinic is the locus of **health** and social **service** programs in the community. The community health representative helps people with their Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid, energy assistance, provides (finds) shelter for abused women, runs the Women and Infants program, and so on. According to **clinic** staff, the average patient load is around 400 per month, but sometimes climbs as high as 600 per month. **There** have been peak periods during the winter cold and flu season when as many as 30 patients a day have been seen. The health aides are not completely alone in assessing patients as there is a radio call made to the doctor in Kotzebue each day after all of the patients have been seen, and cases are discussed at that time. Sometimes there are so many patients that not all are seen before the call is made. The doctor is also called during emergencies when an immediate consultation is in order. According to clinic staff, the biggest problem with the health care delivery system in Point Hope is Community **Health** Aide burnout. "There is just so much responsibility. There is a different person on-call each week [24-hours a day for seven days], and they also work eight and a half hours a day."

A dentist **from** Barrow visits Point Hope four times per year, and a dentist from Kotzebue visits the community **twice** per year. An **ophthamologist** from Barrow visits the community twice per year. In March 1989, the first visit by a medical doctor in eight months took place, which marked the first visit since the changeover to NSB personnel funding. According to clinic staff, visits by all of the itinerant health care workers are overbooked. Occasionally, the public health nurse who comes to Point Hope also does suicide prevention and pregnancy counseling. According to one clinic staff member, "suicides seem to run in spurts. When one occurs, that is when you really **worry** about the others. It is funny, but that is the way that teen pregnancies seem to go, too. It is like, if one girl gets pregnant, then it seems like it's OK" The itinerant nurse with the school district also handles a significant portion of the public health education in the community. According to clinic staff, "she is teaching about child abuse and **neglect**, teen pregnancy and so on in the school . . . [she] also does some career counseling. There has been quite a few more cases of neglect and abuse reported since the educational program has been in place in the school."

The Fire Department is integrated with the clinic in the Emergency Medical System for Point Hope. It is the Fire Department that runs the ambulance in the community. **The** firefighters are all trained or are being trained in **first** aid and **cardio-pulmonary** resuscitation. At least one individual is working toward obtaining his Emergency Medical Technician certification. One of the clinic staff related that sometimes the community gets caught short of available EMS workers, and that in the recent past (prior to April 1989) there was one emergency medical case that needed transportation and no one from the Fire Department responded.

Patients **medevaced** from Point Hope go to Kotzebue. According to clinic staff, "there have only been two or so [medevaced patients] in the last few years to go to Barrow, and that was only when the weather prevented transport to Kotzebue but permitted it going north." Recently, Point Hope has started using the jet based in Barrow for the **medevacs**. "It used to be about two hours to **get** the plane out of Kotzebue [to Point Hope] and [then] back there. Now it is about an hour and a half to get the jet from Barrow to here [Point Hope] and [then] to Kotzebue." The expense of getting patients to facilities in other communities, even on regular flights, is considerable. Barrow is around \$500 per round trip, and **Kotzebue** is in-the neighborhood of \$180.

One type of care that has routinely involved travel outside **of** the village is childbirth and early infant care. There are problems, however, with travel outside of the village to deliver, particularly if the woman either has a large family or a job, which is common. The **prematernal** home in

Kotzebue does not have room for other children or the husband, so they are left behind. According to clinic staff, three or four children have been born in Point Hope in the past year (1988-1989) and women are choosing to do that because of the difficulties involved in travel and the fact that there is a midwife in Point Hope.

There is a health committee in Point Hope. Their function in the past has been to pay for patient travel, and this money was raised through the running of bingo games. As of fieldwork in April 1989, this had not been done recently because of difficulties with the bingo license, but it was anticipated to start up again within the next few weeks. According to clinic staff, "on a good bingo night they can bring in \$1,500 but some of that goes to pay the bingo workers."

E. Religion

1. History of Churches

The Episcopal church established the first mission in Point Hope, and its beginning was marked by the arrival of Dr. John B. Driggs in the village in 1890. It is perhaps more accurate to say that the foundation for the mission began in 1890, as Driggs worked his way slowly into the fabric of the community, and it was 1900 before he performed the first Christian baptism and marriage in the community. Point Hope mission was the second Episcopal church in the Alaska, the first being founded Anvik in 1886.

The conditions which brought Driggs to Point Hope are covered in the Point Lay Case Study (Impact Assessment, in draft). It was indeed a period of turmoil when Driggs arrived in the community, as the tyrannical Attungoruk had been killed only the year before. The church is a central institution in the community today, but often employed marginal men, men exceptional in their willingness to accept the challenge of the church in the north. Combined with teaching at the first school in the community, the early churchmen developed great influence, the legacy of which is remembered today.

Originally, the Episcopal mission was built approximately one mile away from the village of Point Hope itself.

The village of Point Hope clustering as it does about the end of the forefinger of the spit, with easy access to both shores, one is surprised to find the church and the mission school and the missionary's dwelling upwards of a mile away. With the abandoned government school five miles away at Jabbertown (where no one any longer jabbers) and this mission plant withdrawn so far up the sandspit, one has the impression of an infected spot, from close contiguity with which even the agents of amelioration discreetly shrink. The impression is, of course, false. When the government school was built there was a school population, the offspring of Negroes, Portuguese, Hawaiians, Germans, Irish, English and I know not what other nationalities and Eskimo wives, whose fathers made a living by whaling. . . While the abortive school at Jabbertown is thus easily explained, I was never able to reach any explanation of the isolation of the mission, unless it were this: that when Dr. Driggs first settled at this place there was a freshwater lake hard by the spot where he

built, which lake was **afterwards** turned into a salt lagoon by an invasion of the sea during a storm. This circumstance, and possibly a prudential consideration also, in view of the riot and license and even sometimes drunken homicides that followed the visits of vessels, in view of the murder of Mr. **Thorton** of Cape Prince of Wales, who was called to the door and shot with a whale-gun by a drunken Eskimo, may have sufficiently accounted for an original withdrawal which now finds no excuse whatever and is distinctly detrimental to the efficiency of the work. Unfortunately sites once adopted are with great difficulty abandoned, and every additional building or outhouse of any kind, every improvement to the 'plant' increases the difficulty." (Stuck 1920b:108-109)

The explanation given in Point Hope today for building the mission a distance from the community is that **Driggs** was intimidated by the villagers and preferred some distance between the mission and the village, at least initially. Clearly, the reverberations of the time of Attungoruk were still being felt, shamanism was a powerful force in the village, and drinking and violence were not unknown. In fact, the inconvenience of having the buildings distant from the village was overcome when they were moved into the community near the end of the spit in 1955. The ice cellar at the original location of the mission complex is **still** in use. Browning Hall burned at the old site; the mission house and the church itself were moved to the present community when the townsite was moved in the 1970s. A new church was built in large part from the insurance benefits from Browning **Hall**, however, so the old church now sits unused, as does the **old** mission house. Both stand abandoned, adjacent to the contemporary church building.

The fact that Point Hope received an Episcopal mission rather than another denomination was an artifact of the time the mission was built and a working agreement between the powerful churches at the time. From the point of view of the community, it was clearly the luck **of** the draw, as it was a decision villagers had no part in. That it was an Episcopal mission, however, has had significant implications for the village today. First and foremost, the Episcopal church in Point Hope has been characterized by a degree of tolerance for local custom that is greater than in many other villages that have been missionized by different denominations. For example, Christmas religious services were combined with community secular festivals in much the same way that they are today.

Whereas "Eskimo dancing" was discouraged in some other parts of the state as either **un-Christian** in general, or shamanistic in particular, the Episcopal church had a tolerant attitude toward it. Surely the fact that Point Hope is recognized as having outstanding dancers to this day is attributable to a large degree to the attitude of the Episcopal church toward dancing. The church has also integrated itself with the whaling complex of the village and provides a Christian spiritual component to the undertaking.

Contemporary Point Hope has a second church in the community in addition to the Episcopal church, the Assembly of God church. The Assembly of God church does not represent the first secondary **missionization** effort in Point Hope, however. (By "secondary missionization" we mean the founding, or the attempt to found, a second mission in a village that already has an established mission; a second wave and a variant form of Christianity after the establishment of what was originally a non-Native church in the community.) VanStone (1962:154-55) was able to directly **observe** a case of secondary missionization by a female missionary of the Pentecostal church.

VanStone (1962:155) reports that “no more than four or five services” were held because of financial difficulties -- when the cold weather came there was no money for heating the National Guard building, and although the services were “fairly well attended . . . most of those present seemed to be there out of curiosity or for entertainment. Many people were impressed by her flamboyant manner of preaching but were embarrassed and made **highly** uncomfortable by requests for personal testimonials.”

VanStone reports that after approximately five months in the village the missionary was forced to leave due to “lack of **funds** plus an inability to get **along** by herself in a rigorous environment.” He reports that since the Episcopal church had been the only church in the village for over 60 years, Point Hope villagers were not used to looking at religion from a comparative perspective. This is not to say that they were unaware of other Western religious traditions, as they did have at least passing exposure to other Christian denominations through friends and relatives in other villages.

VanStone, speaking of the Pentecostal missionary, speculates that “the type of religion that she represented, one that appeals strongly to the emotions, might originally have had more attraction for the Eskimos than the more **formal** procedures of the Episcopal Church. However, it is now, for the most part, repellent to them.” (1962:155) Also, the labeling of such things as dancing and motion pictures as **sinful** did little to win converts in the village.

According to VanStone (1988: personal communication), in 1955 homogeneity of religious faith was an important factor in creating solidarity and served as a **unifying** force in the village. At that time Point Hope lacked the religious factionalism that characterized many Alaskan villages. The priest, frequently referred to as a “missionary,” was aided by the church council, an influential group of older men, each qualified as a lay reader and thus could conduct services (with the exception of the Eucharist) in the absence of the priest. At the Sunday services the priest spoke in English which was translated by a member of the church council. The council’s authority was moral and it was not involved in secular affairs. Nearly everyone attended church at least half the time and even those who didn’t were likely to be lukewarm about going to church and not about religion itself (VanStone, 1962; 151-57). The existence of Browning Hall, a **large** community center where community activities took place, also served to strengthen the church’s importance in the village.

At some time in the late 1960s the last non-Native priest served at Point Hope and a **local (Inupiat)** man was ordained. Since then indigenous clergy have served the church and this doubtless has helped the institution to be viewed more as a part of the community than as one (like the **BIA**) imposed from without. Browning Hall, **owned** by the church and the setting of community events, was destroyed by a fire prior to the move to the new site. Although a relatively large new church was built after the move, so were a number of secular community buildings which are now used for most community events. This seems to have led to a reduction in the church’s influence on community activities, which no longer receive implicit church sanction by being held in church buildings.

2. Contemporary Churches

There are two churches in Point Hope today, and both are active. They are the Episcopal church and the Assembly of God church. They provide a contrast with each other, and with the religious organization of the community thirty years ago as described by VanStone (1962).

Nevertheless, the Episcopal church continues to occupy an important place in the life of contemporary Point Hope. The presence of the Episcopal church continues to be felt at various community activities which are primarily secular in nature. For example, at the beginning of the community Thanksgiving feast the clerical and lay leaders of the church offered prayers, and prayers were spoken at the spring whaling festival as well. Older men of the village who are leaders both in whaling and in formal politics tend to be active members of the Episcopal church as well.

During Point Lav Case Study (Impact Assessment, in draft) field research in 1987-1988, attendance at Episcopal church services varied widely. Regular Sunday services as well as services on special occasions conducted by the local deacon, local lay leaders, and the assistant to the bishop of the region were attended. At typical Sunday services, the number of lay leaders participating in the service varied. Two to three men and two to three women in the choir were common, as were one or two altar boys on any given Sunday. Some Sundays had either no adult male or female choir participants, or no altar boys. Some Sundays had as many as six female and five male members of the choir. All of the individuals who participated in the service as readers or members of the choir were Inupiat. Total attendance of the congregation not helping with the service was typically in the twenties. On one typical Sunday the congregation of twenty-six consisted of seven adult men, eleven adult women, two teenage girls, five younger girls, and one young boy, all of whom were Inupiat. Most of the adults appeared to be elders, and a few were younger, but apparently no one in their twenties or early thirties was in attendance.

Language usage between Inupiaq and English varied from week to week. At one service hymns were divided approximately two-to-one Inupiaq to English and the lay reading was in Inupiaq. At another service, the vast majority of the proceedings were conducted in English, although the first language of the deacon is Inupiaq. English was used exclusively up through the prayer for the sick, and all of the hymns were in English. One of the responsive readings was in Inupiaq, however, and the sermon was first given in Inupiaq and then in English. On some Sundays hymns were accompanied by an organist who was the only non-Inupiat who helped with the services. On other Sundays there was no accompaniment.

Visitors to the church are usually recognized and welcomed, and sometimes a welcome hymn is sung for them. Sometimes, when there is even as few as one visitor present who is a non-Inupiaq speaker, it is explained that the reading or a sermon is going to be done "in Eskimo," and this is done in a way that seems a bit apologetic that the person is not going to understand and to indicate that the person is more than welcome. There is a paradox with the language usage in the church in that obviously the elders prefer the longer passages such as the sermon and long readings to be done in Inupiaq, while at the same time the elders of the church wish to expand their membership to younger people in the community, a considerable number of whom do not understand Inupiaq.

Two services were attended where the assistant to the bishop of the region was in the community to confer with church leaders and conduct services. This individual, based out of Fairbanks, also

looks after the interests of the Episcopal church in **Kivalina** and Point Lay. On both occasions that this individual was in town, the Eucharist was celebrated and communion was **given**. On both occasions, virtually all of the **service** was in English. The second of the two services was **held** during the time of preparation for the whaling season. The assistant to the bishop gave a sermon that featured "preparing for a new life" as a theme, and analogies were made with preparations for whaling. He discussed repairing the boat frames, preparing the skins, sewing and stretching and putting on of the skins. Also mentioned were getting the grub boxes ready, getting the whaling **tools** in order, and cleaning out the ice cellars. The virtual moving of the village of Point Hope out onto the ice was seen as the building of a new life, a life out there that is removed from the regular world.

One **service** was attended when the local cleric was out of the community and one of the local lay leaders conducted the service. This was the service that was least well attended of all those **observed**. For this service there were two altar boys, two women in the choir, and no men. There were a total of eight in the congregation in addition to those directly involved in the service.

In the sermon, the lay leader touched on some of the current problems **of** the community. He noted that surely the Lord must be coming soon because so many bad things are happening -- seven or ten years ago you didn't hear about rapes and murders, now it seems you hear about them every day. He noted all **of the** bad things that happen with drugs and alcohol and how this was affecting Point Hope. His message was that the body is like the church -- if we like it clean, we should keep it clean. All **of** the service was given in English with the exception of the sermon. Some of the sermon was given in English, followed by a **long** stretch of **Inupiaq**, ending with a recap in English. **All** of the prayers, hymns, and readings were in English. The leader thanked the eight for coming, and noted that this was out of a population of six hundred.

Of the eight in attendance, two were elders who were former church leaders, another was the wife of one of these men, one was one of these men's grandson, and two were anthropologists. One of the women in the congregation is of the same family (by birth) as the man leading the service and one **of** the former leaders. Of **all** in attendance, only one male elder and one altar boy were not known by the researcher to be directly and closely related to a single family group.

During one portion of fieldwork, the **field** researcher was **able** to **observe** some of the major spring holidays -- Palm Sunday, Good Friday, and Easter -- celebrated by the Episcopal church. These services featured generally larger attendance than typical Sunday services, and the composition **of** the congregation was noticeably different as well.

Palm Sunday service, conducted by the local deacon, featured approximately fifty **people** in attendance, with a complete range of ages represented, but with elders and young children **over-**represented. In addition to the formal church service itself, there was a **sermon** in **Inupiaq** delivered over the CB radio later in the day, and apparently there is a similar one given every Sunday.

Good Friday service saw twenty-eight to thirty people in the congregation. Fewer children than **usual** were in the congregation, probably as a result of it being a school day. There was, however, a contingent of high **school** students (four males, three females) who sat together, who had been excused from school so that they could attend church. They are not usually in church.

Easter service was by far the best attended event observed at the Episcopal church. Unlike regular services, people arrived quite early for the service, and the entire church was filled to capacity. **Service** did not get underway until **fifteen** minutes after the **usual** starting time of 11 a.m. because there was a continuous stream of people entering the church until that time. All of the pews and extra benches were filled, and some children were seated on the floor. It appeared that there were approximately **160** people in attendance. Everyone was in a festive mood and extremely friendly. There were numerous “Happy **Easters**” and handshakes exchanged before the service as well as afterwards. The **service** was longer than usual, lasting two hours, but with much of the extended length being **accounted** for by baptisms. Approximately ten children were baptized at the **service**, three of them from the same family. The father of this family explained that he was “getting caught up” today. Another ritual that extended the **service** was communion, and it appeared that all present received it.

"Refreshments" were scheduled for immediately after the Easter **service** and were to be **served** in the **Kalgi** Center, but the heating system in that building was not working. Therefore, the site was moved to the church itself. After approximately an hour of preparation following the **service**, the refreshments were served. Paper plates, bowls, and plastic forks were distributed before the food, served by women who made their way around the room, serving people who were seated primarily on the floor and pews around the outside of the room, with others seated in the pews.

Rather than being “refreshments” such as coffee and donuts, it was a veritable feast. There was **beluga maktak**, whale meat, sweet rolls, two kinds of cake, warm mixed fruit, cold mixed fruit with cool whip, potato salad, apples, and soda pop. Soda pop and the apples were distributed to the children first, and then whatever was left over was given away to the adults. A number of people who attended the church service did not stay for the feast; others who did not attend the service seemed to show up for the refreshments. Some individuals came over after attending services at the Assembly of God church. Overall, there were perhaps the same number of individuals at the feast as at the church **service** or slightly fewer. Virtually everyone who attended the feast took food home with them.

The deacon of the Episcopal church, and by extension, the Episcopal church itself, had a prominent role to play at a number of seemingly otherwise secular public events. For example, at the Thanksgiving feast, the deacon opened the feast with a prayer, and similarly blessed the **Nalukatak** festivities at their opening.

There has been an **Assembly** of God mission in Point Hope since 1962. Reportedly, there was some friction between the established Episcopal church and the new Assembly of God mission in the first few years of their coexistence, but this apparently is no longer the case. This “peaceful coexistence” is no doubt aided by the fact that Assembly of God minister does not see himself in competition with the Episcopal church. Rather, he sees both churches as serving the needs of the community, and each addressing different aspects of those needs. In fact, during formal church services and other church activities the minister doesn’t mention “Assembly of God” or “preach denominations”; during a service attended the minister announced the time services were being held at the Episcopal church.

The present **Assembly** of God minister and his family have been in Point Hope for three years. His perception is that the Episcopal church appeals to older **people** and Inupiaq speakers, while the Assembly of God church appeals to younger people and English speakers. This perception **is**

not inconsistent with field observations. The minister speculates that perhaps this relation between the churches in Point Hope may change as language use patterns change. While there may be a transition as **Inupiat** monolingual English speakers get **older** and they use **Inupiaq** less in the Episcopal services, so far the Assembly of God has been consistently more successful in appealing to young people. It is difficult to predict such changes, however, as there are a number of complicating factors, such as the fact that some of the leaders and most active individual in the **Episcopal** church in Point Hope are also individuals who are important figures in the community in other arenas, such as whaling, **formal politics**, and the local corporation. Whether active **membership** in the Episcopalian church will continue to be correlated with powerful **elders** in the coming years remains to be seen and cannot be judged at this **point**.

The present Assembly of God church building is new since the move of the village to the new town site. It is a prefabricated wooden box-like structure, two stories tall and painted white. The main room where services are held is on the first floor, and a small unoccupied apartment and the rooms used for Sunday **school** are found on the second floor. The apartment used to house the minister before a church-owned house was built adjacent to the church.

The Assembly of God is an active church. Adult attendance for Sunday morning services averages between eighteen and twenty individuals. Sunday evenings draw approximately thirty-five attenders of **all** ages. In addition to the Sunday gatherings, there are also often prayer meetings held on Wednesday evenings. Perhaps the largest difference between the two churches is the level of involvement of children in the churches. Children are actively brought into the activities of the Assembly of God church. The Sunday school program, for example, had an average attendance of forty-four children per Sunday during 1987 and fifty children during 1988 before dropping off somewhat in 1989. The **Episcopal** church in Point Hope, on the other hand, does not have Sunday school as regularly and has not been as successful in attracting large numbers of children. The **Assembly** of God minister attributes the difference in the appeal of the two churches to the young to being "just one of those things," but clearly he is interested in holding the attention of the children and making church attendance an enjoyable experience for them. (The difference in the styles of the churches in their activities towards young people may **well** be related to other childrearing practices and values. **Inupiat** tend to be more non-directive and have very few adult-structured activities **for children**, whereas Westerners have a great many.) **One** of the youth programs in progress **in** April 1988 was a reading incentive program that featured rewards children could earn by reading stories, telling the story to an adult, and having the adult sign off that the child had indeed completed the task during a specified time frame. On the Sunday that marked the end of the program three children earned **Walkman-like** radios. Other children who did not earn the big rewards still earned "funny money" dollars which could be applied toward other rewards, which helped to partially offset the disappointment expressed at having missed the most desired rewards.

Outside of the usual services, religious movies are occasionally shown at the Assembly of God church in the evenings. There is some overlap **between** attendance at events at the two churches in the community. For example, one of the older **Inupiat** men in attendance at one movie took an active role in the Episcopal Easter **service** held earlier in the day, as did his wife who was **also in** attendance. The Assembly of God minister reports that he doesn't mind that people go to one church one time and the other church another time. Further, he does not see it as his mission to go out and recruit members from the other church.

If there is one way to characterize the difference in foci of the two churches in the community, it is that the Assembly of God church seems to focus more on the present, **immediate life** situation of its members. There is an emphasis in the Assembly of God church on interactive participation of the congregation and the minister during services, and individuals are encouraged to testify and discuss their problems in front of the group so that **others** may pray for them. On the other hand, the Episcopal church seems more timeless and independent of the present congregation. The Episcopal church has been in the community since before the present members of the **congregation** were born, and it will presumably be in the community long after the present **members** of the congregation pass on. People come and go over their lifetimes; the church seems relatively independent of whoever composes the congregation at any one time. For the Assembly of God, however, it would appear that the present constituency of the congregation and leadership is the church, and the church would appear to be heavily dependent for its success on the personality and individual effort of the minister, and his personality is quite unlike that of many of those in his congregation. Were the present minister to leave and not be replaced from the outside, it is easy to imagine that the Assembly of God would cease to have a presence in the community in a relatively short period of time. The Episcopal church, so it would appear, is viewed as a more enduring institution in the community, a place of the elders and of continuity with the past, and it draws its day-to-day leaders from within the community. There is, of course, support for the Episcopal church from Fairbanks, but both the ordained and lay leaders are local Inupiat.

During field research in April 1989, it was obvious that this continuity would continue into the foreseeable future. One man who has been active in the Episcopal church as a lay leader was preparing to be ordained as a new deacon in July 1989. This individual did not have to leave the community for extended training for this position, but rather “studied here [Point Hope] and sometimes went into Fairbanks, too.” This man noted that there were not as many people attending church as in the old days, and attributed it to the fact that “people are too busy, they are doing too many things.” While there are no longer Wednesday **services** at the church, there is now an active attempt at bringing young people into the church. A youth minister, a 21-year-old non-Native, travels to Point Hope to run the youth program. This individual used to split his time between **Kotzebue, Kivalina**, and Point Hope, but now concentrates primarily on Point Hope and to a lesser extent on **Kivalina**, due to having “no luck whatsoever with **Kotzebue**.” This individual meets with junior high and high school-aged individual. Sunday school is held intermittently for younger children by local church leaders.

3. Role of Religious Institutions in Sociocultural Systems on the North Slope

The unique nature of the church, or in the case of Point Hope two churches, as a formal institution on the North Slope should be emphasized. All of the other formal institutions present in the community, other than the voluntary service organizations (the Women Dog Musers and the Lions Club), are local manifestations of North Slope Borough institutions. The borough institutions have transformed local organizations into new entities, and channeled individual activities and efforts in new directions. While this new context has unquestionably altered the relation of the **church(es)** to the community, aspects of the **church(es)** remain unchanged.

Today the Episcopal church appears to be far less central to community social life than it was at the time of VanStone’s **ethnography**. Attendance at the new church is less than attendance at the **old** one in 1955, although precise figures are unavailable. The **Qalgi** Center has replaced church

buildings as the site of major village festivals and meetings, thus effectively secularizing these activities. Bingo and basketball, as well as increased availability of entertainment in the home, has diverted people's attention from formal religion. The Episcopal **services** are attended largely by older people who, as young men and women, attended church in the 1950s. The existence of a second church (Assembly of God) in the village also dilutes the influence of the "established" church. It appears, however, that religion of any kind plays a greatly reduced role in village life.

The Assembly of God church later succeeded where the Pentecostal effort described by VanStone failed (in addition to the funding difficulties) apparently due to (a) the fact that the **Assembly of God** missionary does not compete with the Episcopal church for members -- there is no attempt at conversions, rather, the minister sees the church as serving a different set of **needs** and a different if overlapping set of individuals and (b) it does not see **itself** as theologically incompatible with the Episcopal church and does not stress denomination in church **services**. This is a **very** similar situation to one described in **Unalaska** (Impact Assessment 1987 and 1983, Downs 1985) where the very successful secondary mission did not go after converts among the members of the established Christian church which, like the Point Hope Episcopal church, featured Native leadership, was integrated into a multiplicity of aspects of Native life, and featured a predominately Native congregation.

The Assembly of God minister's family has an **Inupiat** analog in the form of the deacon of the Episcopal church, but it is not an exact correspondence. First, the Episcopal deacon has many other ties to the community, through kinship and associations not directly related to his status with the church. He is, for example, a whaling captain, and has strong, established multidimensional interpersonal and **social** networks in the community. The Assembly of God minister, on the other hand, moved to and remains in the community entirely due his religious/occupational status. Second, the deacon of the Episcopal church is a leader of a church that has a long **history** in the community, he has an established network of lay leaders to assist him, and the Episcopal church articulates with many core community events, such as the feasts at Thanksgiving, Christmas, and Easter, and community activities such as whaling. That is to say, the Episcopal church itself has multiplex functions in the community and is closely tied to many different aspects of community life, whereas the Assembly of God church is not. Third, the congregation of the Episcopal church on any given Sunday is virtually **all Inupiat**; the congregation of the Assembly of God church typically has **non-Inupiat** individuals among its numbers.

F. Infrastructure

Transportation, a primary component of infrastructure, has several aspects which influence **sociocultural** and socioeconomic change. As is documented many places, increased availability to cash has meant increased access to mechanized transportation devices which facilitate the **harvest** of subsistence resources. The increase in frequency and ease of **travel** to the North Slope from anywhere off the Slope has had other results. The North Slope is no longer as isolated and has access to items that were until only recently, unobtainable. Point Hope is relatively well served by air **carriers** when compared to most other NSB villages, excluding Barrow.

Barrow is the hub of the North Slope transportation system. Barrow, however, does not act in the capacity of an air transportation hub for Point Hope, a role filled by Kotzebue. Barrow is in the wrong direction when people from Point Hope want to travel to Anchorage, Fairbanks, or outside

of the state, and it is expensive to get to Barrow. Flights to Barrow are less frequent and less dependable than flights to the south, and in any event Barrow does not have as much to offer in the way of services and shopping opportunities as the communities of **Kotzebue** and Nome.

The Point Hope air strip is the responsibility of the state, but is maintained by the **NSB** with local resources. There has been a terminal at the air strip for several years, but it has been seldom used as it is remote from the village (making long waits there for flights that may eventually be **cancelled** inconvenient), subject to vandalism, and expensive to heat. For these reasons the terminal remains closed for the most part. The city bus meets all planes and so is one **fairly** dependable ride to the air strip. Several other trucks, mostly from the **NSB** or the store, will also usually meet the planes and take passengers to flights. There are no taxis in Point Hope.

There is a lot of **travel** on the part of **NSB** officials between the villages on the slope. This creates a type of interaction between representatives and their constituents that is of a different nature than if villagers had continuous access. The officials can interact with the villagers in the villages at a time of their choosing, but it is not easy for individual villagers to interact with officials in the officials' offices whenever they want to. It is an expensive undertaking to get to Barrow, and it is not a place passed through on the way to another destination, particularly for Point Hope residents.

Little in the way of overland travel between villages occurs in Point Hope. There has been no known overland travel between the villages of Point Hope and Point Lay during 1988, nor between Point Hope and the villages to the south during the winter of 1987-1988, although it is reported that this **type** of travel is not all that unusual.

Recreational facilities are limited in Point Hope. Organized recreational activities focus around the school gymnasium, which is open for community use four nights each week and on Saturdays during the school year. In addition, the **school** has a small pool that is open to the public on a limited basis. Information on **pool** access will require updating. Games associated with several of the major annual community festivals, such as Christmas, are held in the school gym. Scheduled **intervillage** competitive school athletics, particularly basketball, is a focus of spectator recreation. There is a perception in the community that there are not enough recreational activities, particularly for young adults. Basketball is the participation sport of passion for the young adults in the community, and this follows on the heels of basketball being the most popular of the high school sports. Recreation teams from Point Hope travel to other communities to participate in tournaments, and victories at such events, particularly over teams from larger communities, are recounted with relish in the community.

Bingo, a major recreational, if not sporting, event in the community is held in the Tigara Corporation building, and this is deemed adequate for the number of players most nights. Held six nights a **week**, bingo is the most popular **public** evening event in the **village**. Bingo nights are sponsored by the Lions Club, the Lioness' Club, the community dance groups, the Women Dog Musers, the health committee, and the recreation committee. **The** last two groups report to the city council, the others are independent entities.

As noted in the discussion of the city government, the priorities of the city council are nearly exclusively concerned with **infrastructural** development. Major planned **Capital** Improvement Projects in the village have, for the most part, been completed. Needs of the village are largely improvement of existing facilities and upgrades of existing services. It is noteworthy, however, that

the priorities of the city council are concentrated on infrastructure as opposed to development of service programs. It is likely that this bias is an artifact of funding processes at the borough level.

G. Fire Protection

While the Point Hope Fire Department is formally an organization administered by the North Slope Borough Fire Department, in actuality it functions on a day-to-day basis as an autonomous entity. Equipment comes from the borough, but Point Hope residents are the ones who fight the fires, maintain the equipment on a routine basis, and so on. People from the borough periodically inspect the fire station and the equipment to ensure department readiness.

The Point Hope Fire Department normally meets monthly in the Point Hope Fire Station, although it is possible for more time to pass between meetings if a significant number of personnel are out of the village (hunting, out on the ice whaling, or similarly engaged). Fire Department meetings are held in conjunction with Tikigaaq Search and Rescue meetings, except during actual emergency operations.

During the course of research, two of the meetings of the Fire Department were attended. All meetings are held in the Point Hope Fire Station. For the first of the two meetings, there were a total of **eleven** attenders out of a roster total of thirty-three members of the Fire Department. No new members, or persons interested in becoming members, were present. All of those present were male **Inupiat**. Only one was in his early 20s. The rest of the group were between 30 and 50 years old. At a meeting attended two months later (late 1987) there were thirty-six qualified members on the roster. According to the chief, attendance of around ten at any one meeting is typical.

There was some discussion in one of the fire meetings of how it was tough to get funding and equipment from the Borough Fire Department to be used in Point Hope. In the minds of the firefighters in Point Hope they are the most distant from Barrow, and when things get cut in the borough, Point Hope is the first to get cut, to which one man responded in the meeting, "hey, we are part of the borough too."

At the borough level, the Fire Department and Search and Rescue are separate operations. In Point Hope, while they are formally separate entities, and at the meetings the fire meeting is formally opened and closed before the Search and Rescue meeting is opened and closed (or vice versa), they are, essentially, a single organization that fulfills a range of functions with different individuals assuming responsibility for different organizational functions. According to the Point Hope fire chief, personnel necessarily overlap because the only way to efficiently get insurance for Search and Rescue volunteers was to first train them as firefighters and get them on the Fire Department.

After one of the meetings attended there was a distribution of individual equipment that had recently arrived from Barrow: ten pairs of bunker pants and ten pairs of boots. There not being enough to go around to all the members of the department, the pants and boots were allocated to "the guys who have responded first to the last four or five fires." On normal fireground operations, the fire squad is organized into one or two individuals assigned to the tanker, one or two individuals assigned to the ambulance, one or two individuals assigned to the pumper, a **nozzlem**

two hosemen, and two men with Self-Contained Breathing Apparatus (SCBA) gear (also known as “air-pats” or “survive-airs”), with the remainder of responding firefighters being assigned general support tasks.

After the main portion of the fire and Search and Rescue meetings, the main fire equipment was taken out for a run to the airport. This opportunity to drive and check out the large fire equipment and meet out at the airstrip appears to be a standard component of all Fire Department meetings. Apparatus consists of a 2,000-gallon capacity tanker (on an International Harvester chassis), a 1,200-gallon capacity pumper (also on an International Harvester chassis), and an ambulance, which is based on the Chevrolet Suburban/Silverado model. The apparatus still look new, as does the fire hall itself. Radio, light, and siren checks were run on all vehicles. (Fire hall and other gear specific dimensions are contained in Alaska Consultants et al. 1984.)

During one of the meetings, leadership recruitment was observed. A new fire captain needed to be named, as one of the two captains had moved out the area, necessitating a replacement. The fire chief asked if people wanted to elect one or have him appoint one. There was no indication that people felt strongly one way or another, so the chief responded, “OK, I’ll appoint one,” and named an individual. This process was indicative of the informality typical of the Fire Department in Point Hope. This may change if early indications from the borough are a valid indicator. Apparently there is going to be differentiation of formal status on the fire department by seniority, as well as rank, in the near future as per instructions from the borough. Those who have seined on the department for five or more years will get leather jackets, while those on less than five years will continue to wear the satin-type baseball warm-up jackets that are now issued to members.

The irregular meetings aside, formal interaction among firefighters within the context of this particular organization is quite limited. In the time since they have received their equipment from the borough, the Point Hope Fire Department has responded to a total of four or five fires. From 1986 to 1988, according to the fire chief, there have been three incidents in the village that required Fire Department response. One was a plane crash at the airport in 1986. Another was a structural fire in the two-story house just east of the fire station that now stands as a burned-out shell. The third was at the Whaler’s Inn. There have also been, of course, a number of small fires in the village that individuals brought under control without needing Fire Department assistance. According to department members, there are few fires in Point Hope to begin with, but a disproportional number are attributable to an even smaller group of individuals who are careless. According to the resident PSO, there had been one fire in the early part of 1989 (prior to field research in April), and this involved primarily smoke damage rather than structural damage.

Continuing training is available from the borough for firefighters, but reportedly it is at times difficult to get people to attend. Sometimes it is difficult to arrange for people to attend advanced training because it most often involves traveling to other villages to receive the training, although travel sometimes acts as an incentive for people to attend the training. For example, at the time of fieldwork, three firefighters were scheduled to attend training in the use of Self-Contained Breathing Apparatus in Wainwright. Wainwright is a popular place for Point Hoppers to go, so there was no difficulty in getting the slots in the training filled and, in fact, according to the chief, response was probably greater than if the training were to be held in Point Hope itself. In November 1987 the fire chief of Point Elope was invited to go down to Kotzebue to attend a fire chief meeting and training session, which marked the first time under the present organizational structure that Point Hope firefighters have been invited to Kotzebue.

The Fire Department/Search and Rescue group also may be called upon for political support. At one of the meetings one of the men of the group formally amounted that he was running for the North Slope Borough Assembly, and asked for the endorsement of the Search and Rescue/Fire Department. The members present agreed to the endorsement, and one of the leaders of the group joked that the endorsement would get him at least 33 votes and, if they could coerce their wives, '66 votes. Some discussion followed to the effect that the group should organize a fund-raising dinner for the candidate to benefit an election fund.

H. Search and Rescue

Tikigaq Search and Rescue (also known as Point Hope Search and Rescue) was formally organized in September 1981. It was preceded in the late 1960s by the Ski-Do Club, which subsequently faded away because, according to one of the leaders of SAR, "Land Claims took care of that." There were so many issues that the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act brought up and institutions that needed to be organized and staffed that the Ski-Do Club just of fell through the cracks.

There is almost a complete overlap of active personnel on a day-to-day basis between the Point Hope Fire Department and Tikigaq Search and Rescue. There is not, however, complete overlap in membership rosters of the two organizations. As of April 1988 there was a total of seventy-five individuals on the Search and Rescue roster, which would make it appear to be a much larger organization than the Fire Department. The Search and Rescue roster includes fourteen women, which further distinguishes it from the Fire Department. Search and Rescue has at least one non-Native as a member as well. Again, however, it is important to note that under conditions other than during an active search, the Search and Rescue organization is composed of a relatively small number of active individuals, those who are most interested and are willing to participate in most of the decision-making processes in the organization. However, the leadership of the two groups is different.

Informal meetings are the norm. They rarely start on time and members are frequently called over the fire radio, on the CB, and at one of the meetings attended, some telephone calls were made to round up late-comers. At one meeting observed, eventually fourteen individuals were present. Thirteen were adult male Inupiat, and one was an adult female Inupiat who acted in the capacity of recording secretary to the meeting. A substantial portion of the men present were active in the community as leaders in other capacities such as the IRA council, the city council, and the Tigara Corporation board. Meetings of the Fire Department and Search and Rescue are held consecutively. At one of the meetings attended fire business was conducted first; at the other meeting the opposite was the case.

During 1987 there were no extensive searches conducted, while during 1988 there was a major effort mounted. This effort was reviewed in some detail at one of the meetings. During the first part of the SAR gathering, before the formal meeting started, there was a recently made videotape playing in the background of an elder from Point Hope identifying places on a map by name and discussing some of the features of the place, with his son assisting him and asking questions about the places. This tape is seen as a valuable resource to SAR as during the extensive search there were apparently some problems with place names and descriptions. The tape and the information

on it is also seen as a valuable resource through the preservation of an elder's knowledge of important features in the environment. Individuals present were clearly interested in the maps and the features described, and there are plans to make similar tapes on local ice and weather conditions.

With the start of the formal meeting, all of the minutes of the year's meetings to date were read. Apparently the minutes from years prior to 1988 were not as formally kept, but now that there is a recording secretary they are typed and kept in order. This was the first meeting in which Roberts Rules of Order were followed for the meeting. The meeting was formally run in its structure, and informal in its flow and interaction between individuals. Official forms are also coming into use, and the group present approved the use of a form for reporting expenses incurred in an SAR operation so that individuals could then be reimbursed.

There was considerable discussion on the amount of funding **from** Barrow. The borough receives money **from** the state, and Point Hope does not feel that they are getting anywhere near their fair share of it. It was the consensus that they should divide the pot by the number of villages, so that each village would get a "fair proportion." A resolution was drafted that called for Point Hope to receive their fair share of the state money routed through Barrow. It was unanimously **approved**. The point was also **discussed** that it now seems a mistake **to have ceded power over Search and Rescue** to the borough. Some individuals voiced the opinion that they should have organized as a **City of Point Hope institution** and gone directly to the state for funding.

Under a new procedure, **Tikigaq** Search and Rescue is to start getting search reimbursement directly from the state rather than going through the borough. The procedure requires that a police officer make a **visual** inspection of the personal machines that are to be used before they go out, and the officer needs to fill out the **paperwork** and send out the receipts when the bills come in. The state will pay for gas, food, broken parts, and the like.

SAR received donations in the recent past from both the Women Dog Musers and the Lions Club, but those funds had subsequently been expended. As of April 1989, efforts were underway to secure a bingo license to **enable** efficient fundraising. Most other public service organizations use bingo as their main financial support. The Fire Department is rather different in this regard as they can rely on a regular budget allocation from the NSB. It was also noted at the meeting that the Fire Department identifies its members through emblems and jackets, but that Search and Rescue did not. This is apparently an important membership concern, as members are engaged in an effort to purchase jackets and design an emblem of their own. This is an effort to maintain a group identity separate from that of the Fire Department, and probably also a way to emphasize the identity of the group as Point Hope rather than NSB or Barrow. The **Fire** Department is commonly viewed as more of a NSB organization, especially since it formally runs the building that both organizations meet in and where they store their equipment. The Fire Department also has quite a bit more equipment, and as stated before, has an assured annual budget.

There are other contrasts between the two organizations which relate to their social organization. The Fire Department is equipment-intensive in its operations, requiring expensive and specialized gear while, on the other hand, Search and Rescue is labor-intensive, requiring a substantial number of individuals to conduct a ground search and little in the way of specialized gear. Where capital equipment is required for search support, such as freed-wing aircraft or helicopters, this equipment is provided directly by the borough and manned by borough employees. The skills utilized by

firefighters are acquired through specialized **training**; the skills used by searchers **in** SAR operations are pretty much the same skills that the individuals have been honing over a period of years in the normal course of subsistence hunting pursuits. **Firefighting** requires a knowledge of **fire** behavior and structural designs; SAR requires a knowledge of human behavior and the natural environment. Firefighting operations are typically intense, but short-lived phenomena that require little in the way of broad-based supportive action by the community searches often extend for considerable periods of time and require the involvement of a large number of individuals to support the operation. Women are highly involved in search **operations**, primarily **in** support capacities, but are apparently virtually uninvolved in **firefighting** operations.

According to those present, most SAR efforts involve people who become lost in the area between the hills to the east and the lagoon adjacent to the community of Point Hope, in the broad, relatively flat, open areas of tundra. In that area, if the weather obscures the hills as reference points, which it often does, the tundra looks the same in all directions, making disorientation easy. Those people who need to be rescued in the hills most often have run out of gas or their machines have broken down, whereas when they are in need of rescue on the coastal plain typically they are disoriented, but still have gas and food.

In response to the problem of disorientation, Search and Rescue has put up trail markers to the two most popular river spots used for fish camps. The markers are **placed** approximately seventy-five steps apart, so they may be followed in relatively bad weather conditions. There are also two emergency shelter domes along the way and there is scheduled to be a third one erected in the near future. One man present at the meeting who has built a private cabin offered to let **people** use it as a shelter as long as they do not abuse it.

A discussion was held about getting young people involved in the ongoing **trail** marking project so that “they have something to do,” can get involved with SAR, and can perhaps learn the land better. The videotape mentioned above is seen as another way to approach this. The movement of a new emergency shelter to the trail was also discussed. Apparently one has been donated, but the **logistics** of moving **it** up the trail to where **it** would be most useful have not been finalized. SAR **is** also **in** favor of starting a local troop of Boy **Scouts in Point Hope**, **but** has not as yet formalized a plan or agenda for doing so.

Tikigaq Search and Rescue may be **called** upon to work anywhere in the North Slope Borough when there is an emergency. In the winter of 1986-1987, for example, they were called upon to help in a search for a lost Barrow resident. His body was found after a search that lasted approximately four weeks. It is also not uncommon for Point Hope to work with the NANA SAR. In the winter of 1986-1987 there was a search where **Kivalina** SAR searched the south side of the mountains between the two villages, while Point Hope searched the north. Weather prevented crossing the mountains from either side, so the teams were dependent **on each** other to perform a portion of the search. During the winter of 1988-1989, there were two formal searches conducted by SAR, and both of these were relatively short ones. There were, however, numerous times that “SAR was getting geared up for an overdue hunter, but the guy returned before much had been done,” according to a PSO.

L Public Safety

1. History

The history of public safety in Point Hope follows that of the rest of the North Slope through the development of the NSB Department of Public Safety. Prior to that time, law enforcement was provided by non-resident State Troopers stationed in either Nome or Kotzebue to the south. Primarily, however, “law enforcement” was a matter of informal **social** control, or **formal** control as administered by the village council.

There have been many changes in **law** enforcement in the community since the first NSB PSO was assigned to Point Hope. The original PSO, who subsequently left law enforcement, made Point Hope his home and still resides in the **community**. He related that when he first came to the community as an **officer** he did not feel the need to carry a gun in the performance of his duties, and that to do so would have been inappropriate for the village context. When the borough assigned a second officer to the village, this individual attempted to carry out his duties as **if** Point Hope were a large city, complete with a firearm and **full** police paraphernalia. The original PSO and the new officer had a serious difference of opinion on this and “each of us thought the other was going to get him killed.” Apparently the event that caused the most difficulty was when the second officer, in the course of a more-or-less routine detainment, handcuffed the 13-year-old daughter of a prominent man in the village. This was too much for the **first** officer who, in the course of his duties never wore a uniform and never received formal training, but was more attuned to the realities of village life. This individual feels that even in the present village context, as much as it has changed, the wearing of uniforms and firearms by peace officers within the village is still inappropriate.

2. Organization and Operations

Public Safety Officers are employees of the North Slope Borough who rotate through the villages of the borough. While department policy has varied in the past, it is now standard procedure that when a Public Safety Officer (**PSO**) is hired, he works in Barrow for one year, is rotated to a **village** where he works for two years, and then is rotated back to Barrow for a year to begin a new cycle. The job of a PSO in Point Hope is often a difficult one, as it is in other North Slope villages. It is a socially isolating job, as **is** police work in most communities, because officers are **called** upon in law enforcement situations to interact with individuals who are not pleased with the course of the interaction. In **larger** communities, peace officers can interact with each other on a social basis to deal with the social isolation created by the nature of their jobs; in Point Hope there are **only** two PSOS, so the opportunities for social interaction with fellow officers is very limited. To this social difficulty is added the fact that PSOS have to deal on-a daily basis with issues of formal and informal social control in a cross-cultural context. Decisions that weigh the letter of the law, the spirit of the law, the policies and procedures of the NSB Department of Public Safety, the pragmatic of social processes in the community, and the needs of the **local** population must be made on a constant basis. While the ideal is to have two officers at any given time in the village, in actual practice it seldom works out that way. According to one PSO, “it [having one **only** one officer in the village] is hardest perhaps on the wives, who fear the lack of back-up. When things hit the fan, it is very easy for them to get out of control quick here.” One PSO related that

it is the same in most of the villages on the North Slope, and that he had worked basically alone in **Wainwright** and Point Lay before doing the same in Point Hope.

Having PSOS who are non-Natives is a double-edged sword for Point Hope. On the one hand, it is a job that many consider virtually impossible for a **local** resident to perform, primarily because of the multiplicity of ties that residents have to other residents of the village. Given the kin-based and other rivalries that exist in Point Hope, it seems difficult to imagine how a permanent local resident could perform the job without other residents continually thinking he was either showing favoritism or being unduly harsh with residents he was **close** or distant to. On the other hand, the differences in cultural understandings between officers and the public they serve has sometimes created difficulties. This is made all the more difficult due to the fact that PSOS are not separable in the village from their job status. Residents tend to relate to PSOS, not as individuals but as PSOS no matter what the context. It is not the type of job that is shed at the end of a shift; rather, the fact that an individual is a PSO colors virtually **all** other interactions he has with community members. Functional social integration of PSOS with the community in 1988 was also hindered by the fact that neither of the PSOS had children or **non-spousal** relatives in the community. One of the officers lived alone while his wife and children were in the **lower-48**; the other was living with his wife, but no children, in Point Hope.

This is not to say that there is not community recognition of the individuality of particular officers. Some have been well-liked, others not. Job performance is also clearly differentiated from personal likes and dislikes as well. In the recent past there was an officer who was not particularly **well-liked** in the community, and this was initially interpreted by the researcher to mean that he probably wasn't doing a very good job of law enforcement in the eyes of the community. Upon further research, however, this turned out to be clearly not the case for the majority of individuals spoken to. The officer was seen as doing a good **job**, and spontaneous comments were made as to how the town was different and had more out-of-control behavior when this particular officer was out of the community. There are many in the village who are, in general, not overtly friendly toward officers, but who recognize the need for consistent, predictable law enforcement.

Public Safety utilization in Point Hope can be seen to follow certain identifiable trends. These trends are displayed in the following figures. Information on the types of calls are presented along with a break-out of the involvement of alcohol in service calls.

Service Calls in Point Hope, by Call Type

In looking at the figure entitled "Service **Calls** in Point Hope, by Call Type" (Figure 12-PHO), one notices that mischief crimes decline well over 50% over the period 1981 through 1987. Crimes against persons declined from 1981 through 1985, before rising and surpassing their 1981 levels in both 1986 and 1987. Crimes against property fluctuated during the period, and ended near their beginning levels.

Service Calls in Point Hope, Reported Involvement of Alcohol

Turning to the figure entitled “Service Calls in Point Hope, Reported Involvement of Alcohol” (Figure 13-PHO), incidents that did not involve alcohol **outpaced** those that did, and in the years 1985 through 1987 incidents that did not involve alcohol approached the level of total incidents reported. Crimes that did involve alcohol declined more-or-less steadily over the years, and in 1987 were at approximately one-third of their 1981 levels. Incidents for which alcohol information was not recorded declined substantially over this period. Overall, Public Safety incidents declined steadily from 1981 to 1985. Reported incidents fell by approximately one-half during this period, before rising to end the period (1987) very near their 1981 level.

Service Calls in Point Hope, Involving Alcohol/Service Calls in Point Hope, Not Involving Alcohol

Turning to the figures entitled “Service Calls in Point Hope, Involving Alcohol” (Figure 14-PHO) and “Service Calls in Point Hope, Not Involving Alcohol” (Figure 15-PHO), one can see that mischief crimes nearly always involve alcohol. Crimes against persons were nearly evenly split between alcohol involved and alcohol not involved incidents, at least from the years 1981 through 1985. From 1985 to 1987 crimes against persons not involving alcohol approximately tripled, while the rate of this same type of crime, when alcohol was involved, remained steady. Relatively few crimes against property were reported over the period for which we have data, and those that were reported tended to not be alcohol-related.

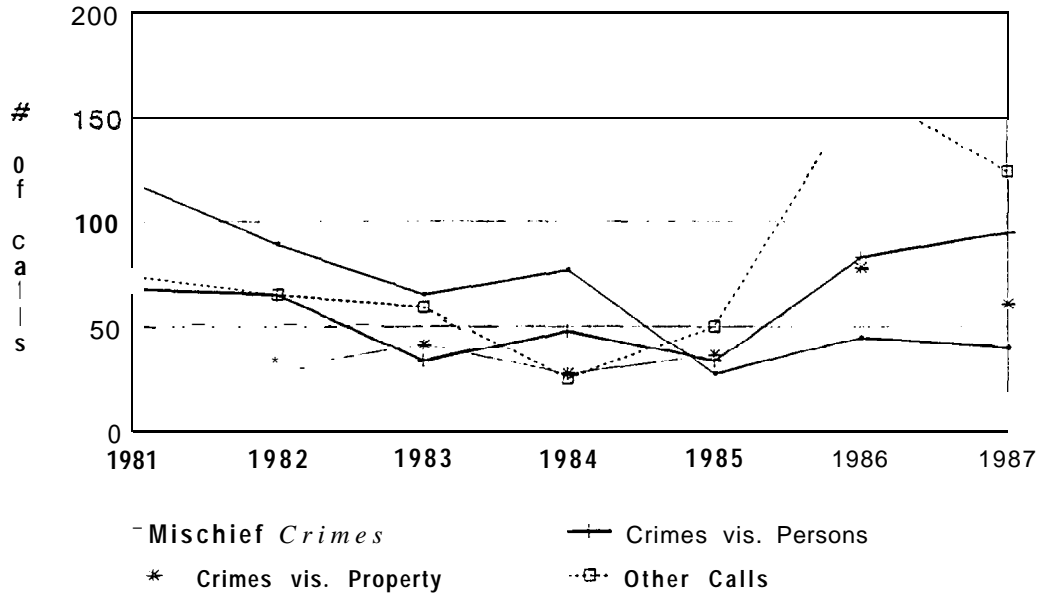
The total number of crimes involving and not involving alcohol were nearly equal in 1983 and varied only slightly in 1984. The difference in their levels from 1981 to 1984 **could** be accounted for by the relatively large number of incidents for which alcohol involvement was not recorded (see Figure 16-PHO). Beginning in 1985, and continuing through 1987, incidents not involving alcohol far **outpace** those involving alcohol. In 1987, the period end, **well** over four times as many incidents not involving alcohol were reported as incidents that did involve alcohol.

Service Calls in Point Hope, Involvement of Alcohol Not Specified

The figure entitled “Service Calls in Point Hope, Involvement of Alcohol Not Specified” (Figure 16-PHO) shows that during the early years of the period, a very substantial number of incidents addressed by Public Safety Officers in Point Hope were not recorded as involving alcohol or not involving alcohol. From the period 1983 through 1987, relatively few incidents were not coded for alcohol involvement, increasing the interpretability of the incidents that were coded.

Figure 12-PHO

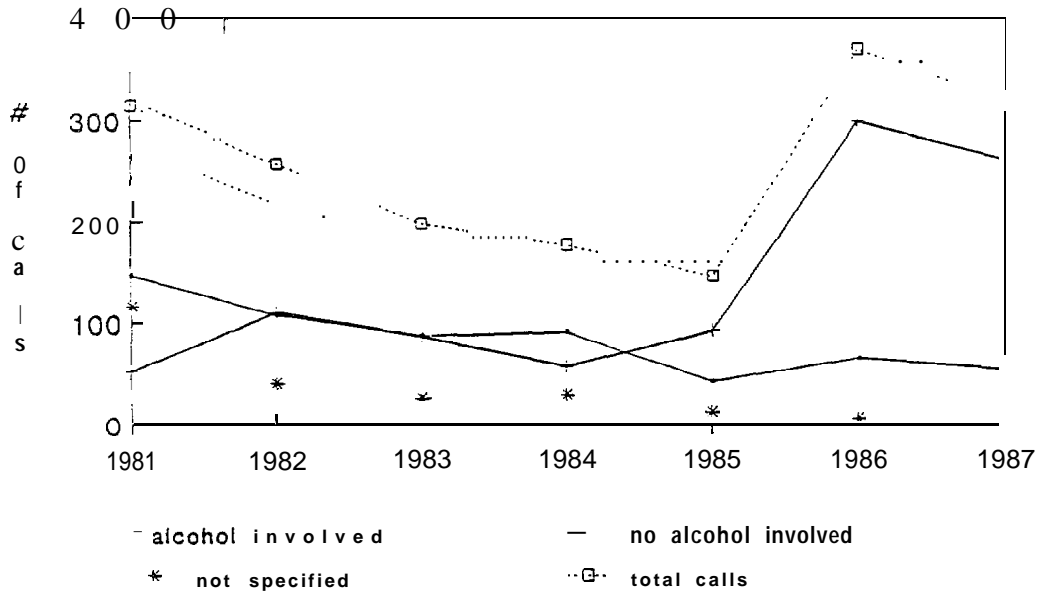
Service **Calls** in Point Hope
By **Call** Type



(IAI, NSB, Dept. of Public Safety 1989)

Figure 13-PHO

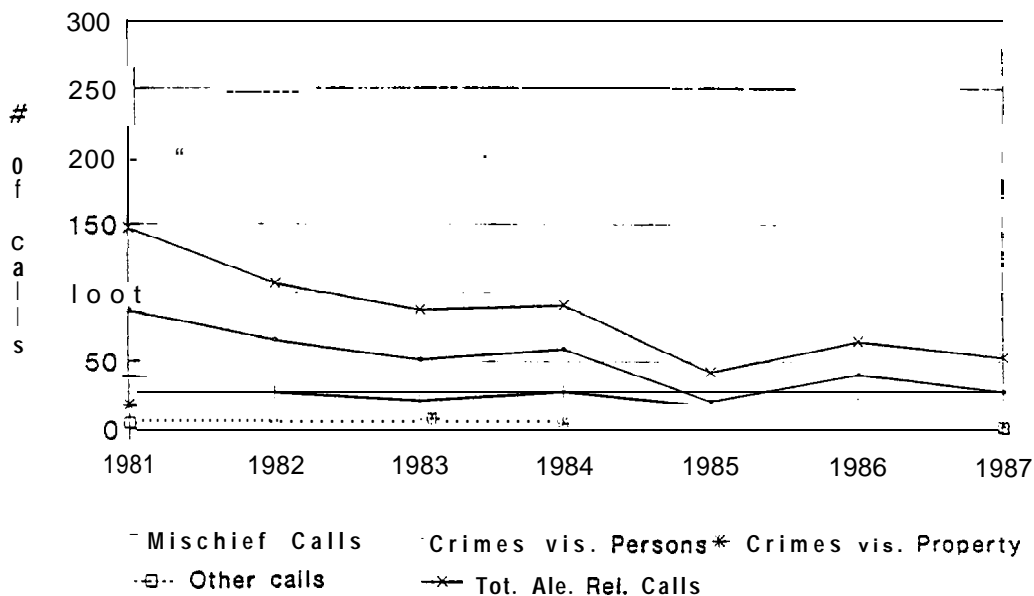
Service Calls in Point Hope
Reported Involvement of **Alcohol**



(IAI, NSB, Dept. of Public Safety)

Figure 14-PHO

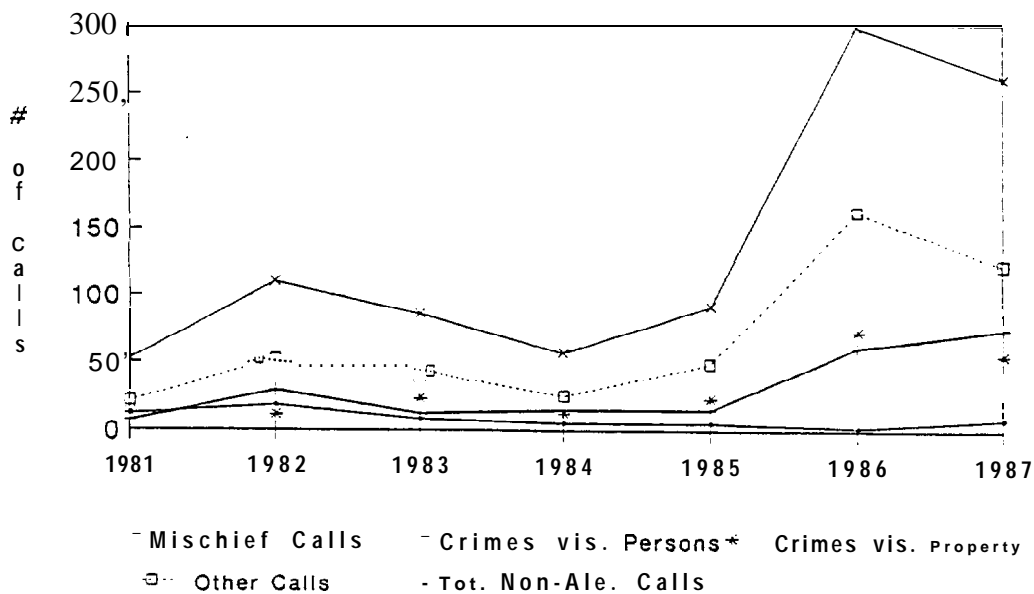
Service Calls in Point Hope
Involving Alcohol



(IAI, NSB, Dept. of Public Safety 1989)

Figure 15-PHO

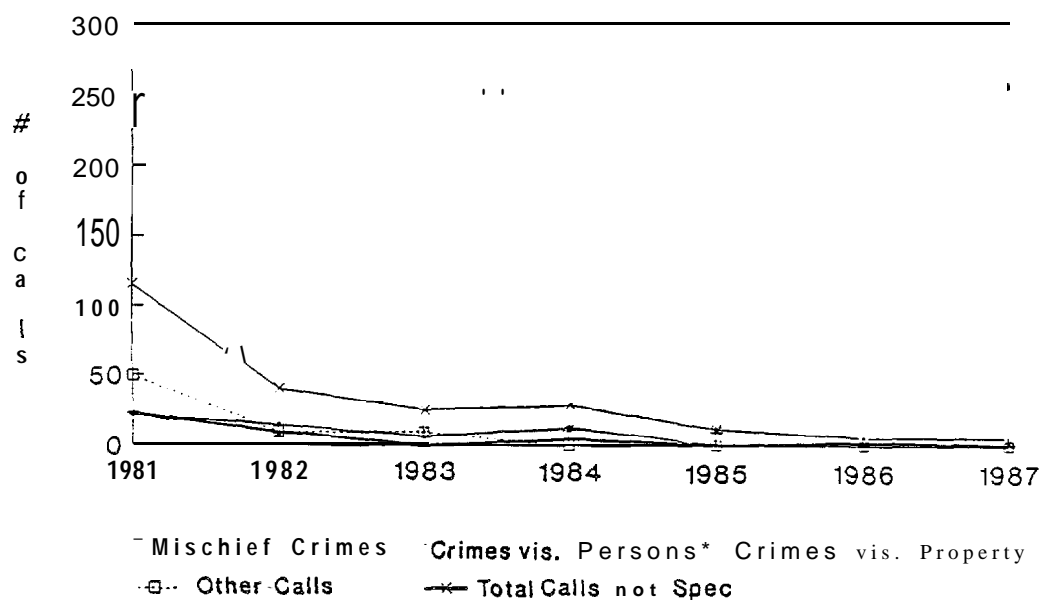
Service Calls in Point Hope
Not Involving Alcohol



(IAI, NSB, Dept. of Public Safety 1989)

Figure 16-PHO

Service **Calls** in Point Hope
Involvement of Alcohol Not Specified



(IAI, NSB, Dept. of Public Safety 1989)

The data presented in these figures are somewhat at odds with individual PSO reports of the level of alcohol and drug involvement with public safety problems. According to one PSO, “over 99% of the calls are alcohol- and/or drug-related.” This **is** not an uncommon statement for any of the villages on the slope, and one way of reconciling the difference between the formal statistics and PSO statements is that PSOS apparently mean serious, interpersonal difficulties are nearly always alcohol- or drug-related. One Point Hope PSO related that “it would appear that alcohol is less of a problem than drugs are . . . drugs are so much easier to smuggle. You hear kids talking in street hard-drug lingo, and it is pretty amazing, considering the place.” The statements of the Point Hope PSO regarding the relative prevalence of drugs in relation to alcohol are in sharp contrast to that of PSOS from some of the other villages. In **Anaktuvuk** Pass, for example, the PSO with the most seniority in the village feels that drugs are minuscule in their impact when compared to the effects of alcohol.

According to one of the PSOS in April 1989, Public Safety activity in the village was down dramatically over previous levels. As of the third week of April, “there were only five calls last month and none so far this month.” There was a flurry of activity in the community in 1988, when there was a series of breaking and entering and burglary cases. According to the PSO, the individuals responsible for the spree were caught, and things have been very quiet since.

According to one PSO, there is a definite yearly cycle for service calls. “The summer is the worst. There is no school to have the kids on any kind of a schedule, and the parents do not keep them on any kind of a schedule. They are up at all hours around the clock, and that is when we have our most vandalism, break-ins, and that sort of thing.”

One officer noted that “the biggest adjustment of coming here [to a North Slope village] as an officer is that you have to do your job without experts. Back in . . . [his home state] . . . there were investigators, a crime lab, and all of that. Here, I worry that there are things that I have forgotten to do. You have to do everything from start to finish on your own.”

3. Issues

Concerns over public safety in the villages are quite prominent, and appear to vary considerably from village to village. In Point Hope, there recently has been concern voiced over a series of breaking and entering incidents, assaults, and substance abuse related disturbances. There is a tension in the village over local responsibility for controlling these behaviors as opposed to looking to the formal Borough Department of Public Safety to solve them. The issue of local **versus** outside formal social control is one that at times evokes strong emotion.

On the North Slope in general, the direction of formal social control has been in control of individuals and institutions from outside the individual villages for quite a while, but the changes that village residents in some of the smaller villages have noted is the obtrusiveness and perception of this authority. In the not-too-distant past, State Troopers only came to outlying villages for really serious things, and then often only after-the-fact. NSB Public Safety Officers (**PSOs**) are a constant presence. The extent to which PSOS are viewed as “locally-based” seems to depend a good deal on the congruence of the perceived interests of Barrow and the NSB, on the one hand, and the outlying village, on the other.

VanStone (1989 personal communication) relates his impression of Public Safety in Point Hope in the following way:

“On both of my [recent] visits to Point Hope it was clear to me that concerns about Public Safety were prominent in the village. The issue of outside versus local **formal** control is a major problem and one that people seldom had to face in 1955. During my 1987 visit it seemed to me that people looked to the PSOS to exercise social control that one might have expected to be taken care of within the family. At the same time, people complained that PSOS were away from the village too much and even when physically present, often were unavailable. Also a factor was the **frequent** turnover of PSO personnel. In 1987, I was impressed with the impersonal, ‘cop image’ projected by the PSOS who were always in full uniform and ‘clanking heavy metal.’ They seemed aloof from the villagers and especially lacked rapport with young people, the age group causing the most problems. In April, 1989, a new PSO did not project the same image. He was out of uniform much of the time and expressed a desire to change the way people viewed his official position. He wished to be seen as someone who could be **called** on for help and was anxious to assist in the development of an alcohol and drug abuse program at the school. He believed that conditions in the village had improved, in part because a rash of break-ins had been solved and the culprits removed from the village. Unfortunately, I did not learn whether villagers noticed these changes and approved of them. There is no doubt, however, that in the recent past the status of PSOS and their efforts at social control have been viewed by villagers as another example of an alien organization imposed on them from without.”

The PSO in question is careful to have some identifiable clothing that people can recognize. For example, he typically either wears a NSB Department of Public Safety baseball cap, or the PSO blue parka with **NSB** Department of Public Safety shoulder patches. The goal is to “wear enough ID so that people can identify . . . [the officer], but not to walk up and down the streets trying to intimidate people with the badge.” Standard police gear is carried in an unobtrusive fashion. **Handcuffs** are carried in a pocket rather than “hanging out,” and rather than carry a gun hanging out, the **officer** typically carries it in a shoulder or other unobtrusive holster.

According to one of the officers, one of the most difficult things about working in a village is fighting officer complacency. It is easy to fall into a routine and “there is no such thing as a routine stop.” Assuming things will always go well because they have in the past is seen as a danger to officer and citizen safety.

One issue the Department of Public Safety is seeking to address is the officer attrition rate due to family stresses. According to one officer, “the Department is trying to include the wives in a lot of things now. When there is a conference call to [all] the [**North Slope**] villages, they want the wives to participate and contribute their opinions.” It is seen as a problem to have an officer in a village without a co-resident wife, “because the wife of the other officer wants another PSO wife

to be able to talk to.” One attempt to get wives involved in the villages that the department is trying is to get them involved in community life from the **very** beginning of an officer’s career. According to one officer in April, 1989, “there are some trainees coming out here [Point Hope] for three weeks in a few weeks, and their wives have been invited to come out here too. The wives do not have to stay the whole three weeks, but it will be a chance for them to see the village before they actually move out there, and the department is picking up the tab. That seems like a really good program.”

One officer noted that it is “hard on the wives when there is only one officer in the village, [because] they [the wives] are the **only real** back-up the officer has. The department is going to have a real big problem with liability for that.” This officer stated the opinion that while he hopes that he is not around for it, he feels that given the numbers, the department is due to have an officer killed or seriously wounded and they are going to be in serious liability trouble when it does happen. Now officers call in to the central office before they go out on a “gun call” (a service call where someone reports an armed person creating a disturbance), **but** that does not decrease the odds, and it takes so long for people to get here from Barrow, what difference does it make? They really need to have a second officer in each village.”

According to one **resident** PSO, Point Hope “is an usual village for the level of intimidation here. There are a couple of families that people are really afraid of.” The officer does not see why that is the case, as “there is no one here who is big and mean looking, and I don’t see why people don’t stand up to it. **People** say that the reason is that I [the PSO] am just going to be here a year, or a couple of years, or whatever, do my thing and then move on. They have to live their lives here. Seems like they would not want to live their lives looking over their shoulders, and not be afraid of having their kids assaulted, or whatever.” That people were intimidated by a few families, or one in particular, was not the opinion of the PSO alone. According to one individual who has ties to one of the relatively small families in the village, everyone is afraid of one particular family, and that while some males in that family have assaulted women in the village, people are afraid to testify against them, so nothing is done about it. Having a small family is seen as a distinct disadvantage, and a more than sufficient reason not to call in formal law enforcement when one is hurt or intimidated because to do so, apparently, is to invite further trouble or ridicule. This is a negative aspect of kinship in the village. Kin groups not only include and act to the benefit their members; by doing so they also necessarily exclude and act to the detriment of others. One man, for example, specifically noted that it is tough to stand up to people because he does not have brothers to back him up.

J. Schools

1. History

The first school in Point Hope arrived with the first missionary. The early history of the school follows the early history of the church. Unlike the case in several of the other North Slope villages, the present community of Point Hope did not coalesce around the construction of a school on the site, as a long-established settlement preceded the school. The school at Point Hope undoubtedly had a considerable influence on families that lived on the land near Point Hope during a significant portion of the year.

There have been considerable changes in the nature of the school since the time of VanStone's field research in the mid-1950s. According to VanStone in the Point Lav Case Study (Impact Assessment, in draft), in 1955 the school and its teachers (a married couple) were a central focus of village life. Classes were offered through the eighth grade only and students who wished to go to high school had to go to Mt. **Edgecumbe**. Since they did not return for summer vacations, this meant that they were away from the village for four years. This prolonged absence took place at an age crucial for learning subsistence skills. Nevertheless, students were anxious to obtain more education and the graduating class in 1955 was the first in which **all** members went off to high school. It now appears that the "old" pattern may be repeating itself as the desire for higher education increases. Point Hope has eight students currently enrolled in higher education programs, the most of any of the NSB villages. While it will be some time before an entire graduating class leaves the village for college, the numbers are gradually increasing. VanStone has noted several contrasts between the school of 1955 and today.

The school teachers 30 years ago had many duties in addition to teaching. They maintained daily radio schedules with the ACS station in Kotzebue to receive telegrams and they also talked daily with the **Kotzebue** hospital. Thus, they virtually controlled contact with the outside world. In addition, the teachers maintained a clinic and supervised weekly movies which were shown in school. In a very real sense they seemed to be holding open house all the time, something that was perhaps inevitable since their living quarters were in the school building. Today, the school is an impressive physical plant that would not be out of place in a wealthy lower-48 suburb. It employs 45 people full-time of which 25 are certified teachers and the rest local people. The school is the biggest employer in the village. Since classes through high school are taught, it is no longer necessary for students to leave the village to continue their education. Although teachers clearly have a variety of duties in addition to teaching (officiating at basketball games, etc.), they no longer are involved in as many community affairs as they were in the past. Teachers are still important community resources, but are much more confined and certainly no longer control contact with the outside world in any real sense. They do have a profound influence on the socialization and value structure of their students, but all of the functions outside of the school have been taken over by other specialists. In addition, industry, the media, and the NSB have insured that there are multiple channels of communication. (VanStone 1988: personal communication)

2. Organization and Operations

The school curriculum has undergone substantial change in recent years, with perhaps the most interesting question of late being the proper blend of formal “Western” education and formal instruction in “traditional” Inupiat culture. At the present time perhaps one out of six periods is devoted to instruction in Inupiaq, the Native language. In addition, aspects of Inupiat culture may be introduced as illustrative material in other classes. Eskimo dancing is sometimes part of the school programs which are presented from time to time but is principally a community-supported activity rather than a school-sponsored one. This compromise seems to be the result of two diametrically opposed opinions held by (most) of the professional educators on the North Slope in general, and Point Hope in particular, and the majority of the Native population on the North Slope. The former believe the mission of the school is education in the lower-48 mainstream sense, and that Inupiat culture cannot be **preserved** by the school in any event if it is not first made **vital** in each student’s home. From this perspective even one period a day devoted to “non-school skills” is detrimental as it handicaps their students in competition with those in the lower-48. According to one school staff member from Point Hope, “They want instruction in Inupiaq one hour per day out of six hours. At the same time people also want to raise the test scores. Therefore, by the sixth grade the students here have had five years of education that will raise their scores, and one year of Inupiaq which will not. They will be competing with kids from Anchorage and Fairbanks who have had six years of training.”

The Native parents of Native students, on the other hand, generally want a greater role for Inupiat culture in the school and either do not place such a great value on a formal “Western” education or do not see them as mutually exclusive goals. This tension is quite evident in the dynamics of NSB School Board meetings, the relations between the NSBSD and the individual village advisory councils, and the hiring (and firing, or “contract nonrenewal”) of NSBSD superintendents or administrators. In the case of the school system, a discussion of institutionalization and of cultural value conflicts cannot be separated.

In this regard, the school is then observed to hold sort of a contradictory position in the village. At the same time that it is perhaps the most central and primary institution in the village, it is also one of the most marginal. All children, with a few exceptions, must attend school up to a certain age. For the majority, this precludes much activity of any other kind and certainly prevents learning subsistence skills in an intensive participatory/observational way. The primary occupation of children is to go to school. What they are taught is almost totally determined by **people** not living in the village, however, and to a great extent by non-Native professionals. Much of this is seen as not relevant for life in Point Hope.

That there are problems of achievement in Point Hope is clear from Figures 17-PHO and 18-PHO. Enrollment is fairly steady, but number of graduates **fluctuate** widely.

Figure 17-PHO

Point Hope **School** Enrollment
1980-1987

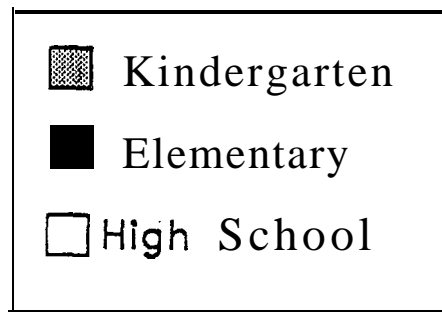
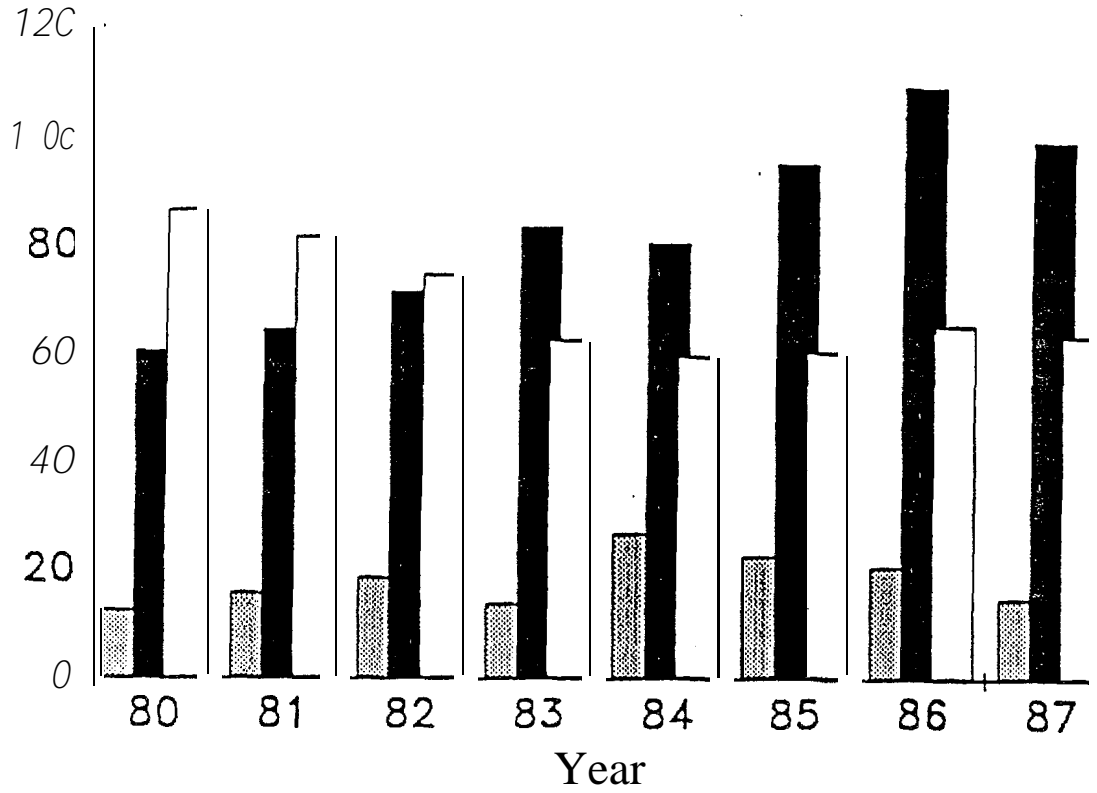
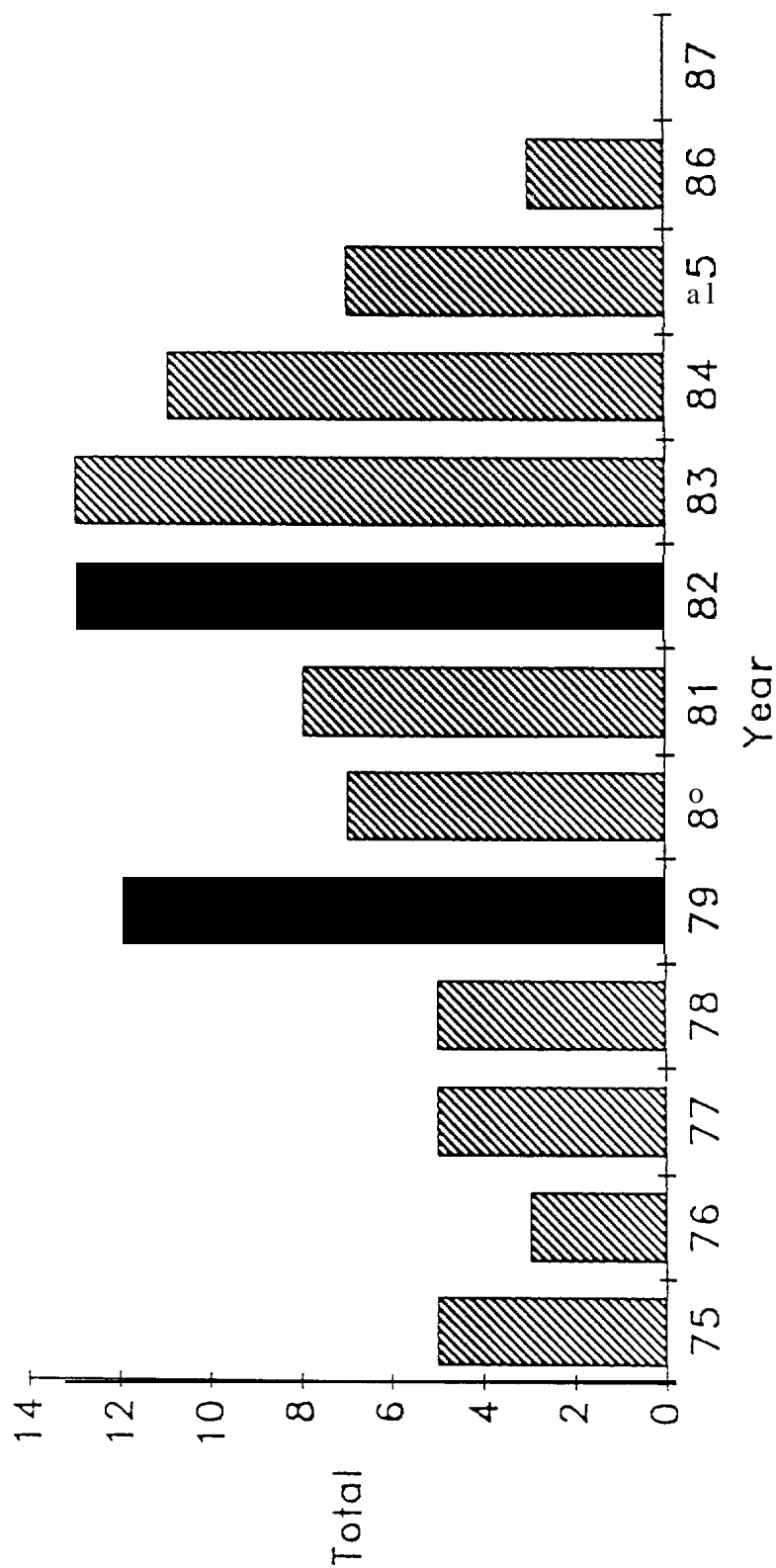


Figure 18-PHO

Point Hope **High School** Graduates
1985-1987



3. Issues

Many of the locally perceived problems of the schools -- discipline, lack of achievement by students, attendance, tardiness, and to some extent staff turnover -- stem from this contradictory nature of the school. Where staff and community work together (as was reported by informants for Wainwright of the recent past) the contradiction is reduced and the problems become more resolvable. Where this cooperation is not as obvious, either through community "apathy" or a community recognition that such "compromise" inevitably requires more from the community than from the outside institution, the symptomatic problems continue. Statistics purporting to measure the degree and significance of those problems may show improvement while the structural problems remain. This contradictory nature of formal institutions is not unique to the school district. Rather, it is a fundamental characteristic of relations between the village people and those actually in charge of the institutions that control a good portion of their daily lives. To call this the question of **local** versus **non-local** control is somewhat simplistic, but is useful in this context.

While there is a local school **advisory** board, this board advises the North Slope Borough School District board which is free to accept or reject the advice of the village board. It is a point of frustration in Point Hope that the concerns and priorities of the local board often do not match those of the district. In two recent disputes, the Point Hope school administration and advisory board were able to circumvent the district to obtain highly desired ends. One was the construction of new classroom space. The Point Hope school was able to obtain funding for this by going directly to the borough and not through the school district, which was the cause of some irritation on the part of the district. Another priority was to keep the school facilities open after hours for community use. This was done through application for staff funding from the Mayor's Job Program when funds were not available from the school district. These are two examples of the local administration and **local** board getting what they wanted in spite of non-support of the school district, but more often it is the district that is able to direct priorities.

Participation in school athletics is a very strongly motivated and rewarded behavior in Point Hope. Participation in sports, particularly in basketball, provides strong incentives for socialization to competition and performance. In general, events held at the school that feature the students are well attended. School board meetings, on the other hand, are not particularly well attended.

Education in school for post-school employment skills is problematic in Point Hope. There is some question as to the skills needed to make a living in the community beyond those required of a competent adult in society. Many of the jobs available in Point Hope do not require much **pre-training**, if any, and skills required for continued employment are learned on the job or through borough programs after employment. There are, of course, exceptions to this generalization, such as the teaching positions at the school. These specialized jobs, requiring advanced **formal** education, are now typically **filled** by **non-Inupiat** individuals.

There is also the problem of the training and expectations of the teachers being different from those of the population they serve. For example, to train children in vocational programs, instructors are needed who are willing and able to teach those programs, but the village **schools** do not have the resources to have specialized vocational teachers. According to Point Hope school staff, the problem is perhaps compounded if you rotate a vocational teacher between the schools in the NSB, as there is the difficulty associated with not being assigned to any one village, but moving every semester to a new place. The compromise reached is to have the students from the

outlying villages attend programs in Barrow, but these are only of limited utility because of their necessarily short duration.

During field research, in April 1989, the principal at the school was a “lame duck” administrator. The district school board had effectively terminated the principal, although technically this was not the case. Principals **serve** on a year-to-year basis, unlike teachers, so there is no need to “fire” a principal in most cases. To get rid of a principal, all the school board need do is not offer the individual a contract for the next year, and they need no cause to not offer a person a new contract. At the time of field research, the central board had already selected a new principal and vice principal for Point Hope for the following school year, and this was done without any input from the village. The outgoing principal noted that this procedure was quite unlike one that he had been through in another part of the state, where candidates were flown out to the villages for interviews with the local school advisory council. In Point Hope, the fact that the central school board did not solicit any input from the village in either the termination of the principal, or the hiring of his replacement, did not sit well. It is felt that the principal has a direct influence on the direction and effectiveness of the school, and the approach of the central school board was seen as a case in point of the lack of local control of the school. According to one administrator, “the district here does not make people feel like their input is meaningful.” According to the principal, in the past four years “the District has been down here [in Point Hope] once, and vowed never again. The superintendent came down that first year [of the principal’s tenure], and was cursed at and spat upon.” The principal attributed this to the fact that people “do not like to have things imposed upon them,” and that is what was happening. Reportedly, the superintendent returned to Point Hope in 1988 and was warmly received because, although there was still dissatisfaction with the district in several areas, overall the relationship had gotten much better.

One of the frustrations expressed by local administrators with not having local control of the school is that there is no way to give the distant central administration a balanced picture of what is going on at the school. According to one administrator, “there are always five or six people who will never be pleased with the school.” Reportedly, these are the people who will meet with the representatives of the district behind closed doors and air their complaints, and the people who think the school is doing **alright** normally will not go out of their way to seek out borough administrators and tell them their opinions.

Asked to reflect upon his tenure at the school, the outgoing **principal** felt that his biggest achievement was the change in the overall atmosphere of the school. He felt as if there were now an “educational atmosphere” in the school where “things are very calm,” whereas on the first day he arrived four years prior, he “thought about turning around and leaving” due to conditions that included “cursing and violence” in the school, and a general feeling that things were “really out of control.” Other achievements included the addition of new classrooms, over the desires of the central school board, and the fact that there were four more due to be constructed in the fall of 1989. He reported that this had gotten him a reputation in Barrow as “a whiner,” but as long as he accomplished what he wanted to for the good of the school, such a reputation did not bother him.

Of the five seniors of the 1988/89 school year, according to the principal, as of April 1989 two will definitely go to college, one is an unknown, and two will not go to college. It is the opinion of the principal that of the two who are going to college, both will make it all the way through. The 1988/89 class is reportedly academically stronger than the preceding year’s class. Of the

1987/88 seniors who went to college, one has subsequently left college for disciplinary reasons, two had academic difficulties before they also left college, and one has remained **in** college. Test **scores** have risen steadily at the school the past four years, and the **number** of students has risen each year as well. **Local** school polling efforts **designed** to be measures of effectiveness **indicate** that the school is well received **in** the community.

Teacher turnover has been minimal over the last four years, but for the year **1989/90**, there will apparently be more than normal. According to the principal, "it goes in cycles," and statewide there is a move to cut back on the number of teachers with high salaries, the teachers with the most seniority. To this end the state is looking **at** an early retirement incentive package for teachers and other public employees. In this way, **fiscal** and political agendas at the state, as well as the borough, level can influence local **conditions**.

SECTION IV: CULTURAL ISSUES AND INFORMAL INSTITUTIONS

A. Patterns of Change in Informal Institutions

As discussed several places throughout this report, the formalization of previously informal institutions is one of the more obvious forms of change on the North Slope in recent years. In Point Hope, in addition to all of the institutions spawned by ANCSA and the incorporation and development of the North Slope Borough, there are a number of institutions important to Point Hope that have arisen with the formalization of previously informal relationships. One example of this is the local whaling captain's association. This association is in a sense the local arm of the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission, which grew out of a loose association of local associations in the whaling villages in order to mobilize political clout to be an effective voice at the international political level. There is also an Eskimo Walrus Commission, and during field research in Point Hope in April 1989 there was talk of forming both a beluga commission and an migratory wildfowl commission.

Another example of formalization is dog mushing in Point Hope. In this case, what was once a widespread aspect of everyday life has become institutionalized. Dogsledding, once a typical means of transport, died out in the village after the introduction of affordable and practical motorized transport, but has recently enjoyed a revival of interest in the community. This time around, dog teams are being raised for recreation and formal competition, and most of this is occurring under the institutional auspices of the Women Dog Mushers. By raising money through sponsorship of bingo, the Women Dog Mushers, in addition to contributing to various community service-oriented causes, have been able to offer substantial prize money for their annual races. With first prize in 1989 being \$1,800, more than a few people talked of raising dogs for the money they could win. Another example of formalization maybe seen in an examination of traditional dancing and games. Point Hope, known for the skill of its traditional dancers, has two formal dance groups. In addition to individuals dancing at community festivals, these two groups grew out of one formal group that competed in events outside of the village. "Eskimo games," long a standard feature at community celebrations, have become formalized for the young people of the village under the auspices of the Native Youth Olympics. At the time of field research, young people from the village were training to compete at the 1989 games.

B. Subsistence

1. Organization of Subsistence Activities

Table 29-PHO points out that in Point Hope participation in subsistence harvesting is affected greatly by ethnicity and somewhat by household income. Inupiat households have much lower average incomes than do non-Inupiat households. For Inupiat, increased household income is directly correlated with increased subsistence harvesting activity. For non-Inupiat, increased household income is inversely related to subsistence harvesting activity. It must be noted, however, that the average household income for active non-Inupiat households is in the range of, but still higher than, the average household income of active Inupiat households. Clearly it appears that income facilitates subsistence activity, but that there is also a "need" factor which makes it socially unacceptable for high-income non-Inupiat to hunt very much. This may also be a personal preference or the natural result of a transient population, but the "public opinion" argument does

agree with informant reports of why some **non-Inupiat** are “allowed” to hunt (i.e., not negatively sanctioned for hunting) while for others it would be very problematic.

Information on the subsistence activity is given in some detail in the Point Lay Case Study (Impact Assessment, in draft). Like other villages on the slope, activities vary by a seasonal cycle. In Point Hope, the period of most intense **activity** takes place during bowhead whaling in the spring. In 1989, nineteen whaling crews went out on the ice. During this time period, whaling dominates all other activities in the village. Crew relationships structure the activity, and there are expectations of individuals based on their positions as captain, harpooner, paddler, boyer, and so on. Level of harvest for bowhead is regulated by the International Whaling Commission (overall), which then allocates a number of strikes to the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission, which in turn divides them between the eligible villages. For the spring 1989 whaling season, Point Hope was allocated nine strikes, but Point Hope whaling captains turned this down and only accepted six strikes. According to the local representative of the **AEWC**, three strikes were turned down because the captains felt that giving nine strikes to Point Hope would mean that there were not enough strikes for the other villages.

Not **all** whaling activities are organized by crew. There is a good deal of individual activity, particularly during preparation time when **snowmachines** and the like are repaired, and there are activities that involve larger than crew units. When the trail to the open lead is broken, for example, many of the men who participate in whaling are involved. In 1989, on the main trail-breaking day approximately 30 men, ranging in age from teenagers to elders, broke trail. To make the trail passable, obstacles such as pressure ridges, upheavals, cracks, and soft spots had to be dealt with. Using miner’s picks, axes, and ice-chopping tools, the workers filled dips with fist-sized ice chunks and larger cut blocks, cut sharp ridges down to manageable traverses, and packed down loose snow using their feet. One of the senior captains directed the work in a very low-key manner, and obtained consensus from other senior captains when there were important decisions to make regarding the direction of the trail.

While other seasonal activities are clearly important, such as going to fish camp in the fall, no activity other than whaling involves so many people for such a concentrated and sustained period of time. On the **local** area map, twenty-two cabin sites outside of Point Hope have been noted, in addition to the two Search and Rescue emergency shelter cabins. While sites are primarily used for fishing, they are also used as a base for other subsistence activities.

Other times, individuals help each other in what are primarily individual pursuits. For example, one man has a “workshop” that is a converted old house. Equipped with a wood-burning stove, and with the interior walls removed, the structure is tied as a place to repair **snowmachines** and three-wheelers and to work on various projects. It is also a place to socialize and help others on whatever projects they have going.

It should also be made clear that subsistence activities overlap to a large degree. In 1989, the arrival of ducks preceded the whaling, and ducks were hunted from the ice during the whaling preparation period. When crews were on the ice during whaling itself, ducks and **beluga** are also hunted. Ducks are also hunted during the whaling preparation time.

2. Inupiat Subsistence Ideology

The existing literature is quite comprehensive on the subject of subsistence ideology. For Point Hope, a good portion of this material focuses on whaling, for several reasons. Whaling is a politically volatile issue due to the international regulation of, and domestic interest in, marine mammals and it is one that is central to the identity and historical survival of the community. The analysis of recent changes in ideology is a difficult one. For Point Hope, materials exist on changes in approach to subsistence issues, and from this one may infer changes in ideology, but this is not entirely clear. The literature is more sparse with respect to the political, economic, and social conditions that have influenced subsistence ideology in Point Hope specifically. Much has been written, however, on the political conditions that fostered the formation of the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission.

It is important to note that there are paradoxes in subsistence ideology in Point Hope. For example, whaling is seen as a highly cooperative activity, requiring the mobilization of large groups of people up to and including virtually the entire village. On the other hand, it is also the most competitive of endeavors, as there are great **social** rewards for being a successful whaling captain and crew. According to one person now resident in Point Hope but originally from outside of the community, “people are at their worst here during whaling. Crews have shot near each other... have had disputes over just making a meaningless subsequent strike just to get a better share... have cut each other off and rammed each other in the boats... It is really bad competition, but **everybody** talks about it to Outsiders as if it is this big cooperative thing.” One non-Native reported that he “has a real problem with anthropologists who come up here and paint a rosy picture. No one has the guts to tell it like it really is. Nobody is willing to give a true representation of the place, and it is **all** misleading as a result, and that is wrong, but they want to come back here and be liked.” Perhaps the most accurate picture is that whaling is at once the most cooperative and competitive of undertakings in the community. Point Hope whaling captains are united in their efforts to protect community and regional whaling interests, and crews are highly cooperative to do the best they can in their whaling efforts. There is a strong rivalry between crews, however, while out on the ice, and there is much strategizing in positioning one’s crew **vis-a-vis** the other crews on the ice. It clearly is important for whaling captains to be successful, and the only way to do so, given the limited number of strikes allocated to the community, is to do so at the expense of one’s peers. There is great prestige associated with being a successful whaling captain, and this prestige carries over into many endeavors outside of whaling. Captains who do things that others consider reckless or wasteful to try and gain an advantage (and draw in others who want to remain competitive) are criticized, if not openly, by others. There are some restrictions on behaviors that are considered inappropriate on the ice that are still widely followed, such as the taboo against wearing red clothing, while others, such as the taboo against use of alcohol or drugs on the ice is, at times and by some individuals, privately broken. There has also been a gradual reduction of the number and severity of restrictions over the years such as, for example, the use of snowmachines on the ice.

Table 29-PHO

Point Hope Household Characteristics - 1988
By Levels of Subsistence Participation

	DEGREE OF SUBSISTENCE PARTICIPATION			
	MINIMAL	MODERATE	ACTIVE	ALL HHs
Average HH Income (\$):				
Inupiat HHs	\$24,117	\$29,444	\$32,808	
Non-Inupiat HHs	\$84,583	\$47,500	\$37,500	
All HHs	\$46,136	\$31,250	\$32,879	\$36,743
Cases:	33	10	66	109
Average HH Size (# Persons per HH):				
Inupiat HHs	3.5	4.0	4.9	
Non-Inupiat HHs	2.0	5.0	4.0	
All HHs	3.0	4.1	4.9	4.2
Cases:	40	10	74	124
Average Meat & Fish Csmptn from Own HH Subsistence (%):				
Inupiat HHs	7.8%	36.7%	75.7%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	0.8%	25.0%	50.0%	
All HHs	5.5%	35.5%	75.3%	49.6%
cases:	40	10	74	124
Average Meat & Fish Csmptn from Other HH Subsistence (%):				
Inupiat HHs	32.0%	12.8%	19.0%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	8.8%	0.0%	10.0%	
All HHs	24.5%	11.5%	18.9%	20.1%
	40	10	74	124
Average Meat & Fish Harvested and Given Away (%):				
Inupiat HHs	18.3%	28.3%	35.6%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	3.8%	10.0%	25.0%	
All HHs	13.6%	26.5%	35.4%	27.7%
Cases:	40	10	74	124
Average Proportion HH Income Spent in Village (W):				
Inupiat HHs	71.3%	63.3%	71.9%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	29.3%	30.0%	25.0%	
All HHs	58.4%	60.0%	71.3%	66.1%
Cases:	39	10	71	120

Notes: Degree of subsistence participation measured on the basis of how much HH meat & fish consumption was from the HHs own subsistence activities; where
 MINIMAL: Under 20% meat & fish from own HH subsistence
 MODERATE: 20-40% meat & fish from own HH subsistence
 ACTIVE: Over 40% meat & fish from own HH subsistence.
 Total cases (households) = 144.

Source: NSB Department of planning and Community Services
Census of Population and Economy

Whaling is seen as the undertaking that gives the community of Point Hope its identity. In an important sense, to be a fully competent adult male in Point Hope, to have “made it” in Point Hope society, is to be a whaling captain. Jobs may come and go, but whaling is seen as a very strong, unbroken link to the past. To be generous is an ideal that is held in high regard in Point Hope; to be a successful whaling captain **allows** one to be generous to the village, and far beyond. One captain described the feeling of landing a whale as a unique experience, because he knew that he would make people happy in not only Point Hope and other villages, but as far away as Anchorage as well through the sharing of the whale.

There is at least some active interest in the community in preserving traditional knowledge before it is lost with the passing away of elders. One example of this can be seen in the attempted preservation **of** knowledge of site names through a videotape recently made with a local elder. It was noted during a Search and Rescue operation that a substantial number of the young men did not know the names **of** many of the land features in the region around the village, and this was the impetus that started the effort to make the tape. There are plans to make similar tapes of ice and weather conditions, if funding can be found.

There is considerable variation in how “traditional” individuals are **in** their approach to subsistence pursuits. In whaling, for example, there is a range of technology available to crews. One older captain prefers **sealskin** pokes to the plastic floats that are in common use by many of the other crews. This individual also favors **mukluks** on the ice, while other prefer “sorrels” or “bunny boots” of Western origin. Some crews use **umiaks exclusively**; others use speedboats toward the end of the season when it is agreed that it is an appropriate thing to do. One crew uses a vessel that is a hybrid of traditional and recent technology. This craft features an umiak frame that is covered in fiberglass rather than with ugruk skins.

There are mixed feelings among **Inupiat** in the village of the appropriateness of non-Natives partaking in subsistence activities. In whaling, for example, there have been occasional non-Natives in whaling crews, although not involved in the direct taking of a whale in recent years, due to the restrictions of the Marine Mammals Act. There are individuals who feel that it is not appropriate for non-Natives to be on a crew on the ice in any capacity. Some individuals feel that it is not appropriate for non-Natives to hunt any species anywhere within the subsistence range of the village; others feel that as long as the person is a resident and the spoils of the hunt are shared that it is **OK**, while **still** others feel that everyone should have the right to hunt and provide for their family. Non-Natives are known to have hunted marine mammals while in the company of **Inupiat** hunters, and so long as the animals were given to the **Inupiat** hunter this was considered acceptable. Typically in such a case the **Inupiat** hunter would then give the non-Native hunter a portion of the animal. During the winter of 1988-1989 one non-Native resident was the most active trapper in Point Hope. While there were **Inupiat** hunters who went out more frequently than this individual, this man had a trap line that extended over a large area and, as a result, he caught a large number of fox and by far the most wolverines, the most desired species of furbearer, of any individual in the village. This person reported that he was the target of some negative remarks because of this. Whereas this individual trapped almost exclusively, **Inupiat** individuals tended either to hunt exclusively, or to combine hunting with much smaller scale trapping than this individual practiced. The individual in question was of the opinion that since trapping was a strategy available to all, that any negative responses his trapping elicited were unwarranted. Another non-Native the previous year had successfully hunted caribou when they were difficult to

find. He reported having to go nearly to **Kivalina** to find the animals, and was quite proud of his persistence in obtaining them. Some **Inupiat** individuals in the village expressed the opinion that it was not right for this man to hunt at all, feelings that were no doubt amplified by the fact that it was a lean year for caribou. It was also considered particularly inappropriate because this individual did not share with anyone in the village. On the other hand, it should be noted that no one shared with this individual, probably due in large part to the fact that he was outside of any kin group in the village. He did not feel any compunction to share because no one had shared with him. To further worsen the situation, this individual apparently shipped some of the meat to his family outside. This was seen as taking local resources away from local people. There is little doubt, however, that sharing with distant family would not have been seen as a **local/non-local** issue had the hunter been an **Inupiat** resident.

There is continuing involvement of the Episcopalian church in subsistence undertaking in Point Hope in general, and in whaling in particular. Sharing is noted as a Christian value and at the public festivals where subsistence resources are shared, an opening prayer is typically offered by either the local deacon or lay leader. Beyond this, there is at least one church service specifically intended to accompany a subsistence undertaking. Prior to whaling crews departing for the ice each year, there is a Rogation Day service held at the Episcopal church. Popularly called “the blessing of the whaling,” this service is unique in Point Hope. (This **service** apparently is not connected with Rogation Days as traditionally observed in the West. Rogation Days fall on the three days preceding Ascension Day, or the 37th-39th days after Easter. The Rogation Day service in Point Hope fell on the first Wednesday after Easter in 1988, and the third Monday after Easter in 1989.) An **umiak** is brought into the church and set on a sled in the front of the church. Each captain, or his representative, brings a whaling tool, such as a harpoon, paddle, or butchering tool, to the **service**, and places this in the **umiak**. The service is a special supplication asking for protection of whalers on the ice and for success in the pursuit of whales. The captains take an active part in the **service**, each reading a portion of the service in turn. In 1988, 14 crews were represented by their captains or a stand-in at this **service**, while 16 were represented in 1989. The service is typically attended by captain’s wives and village elders, among others. It is considered essential that this service be held before whaling starts, and when ice conditions improve to allow whaling earlier than anticipated, the service is organized on short notice.

3. Issues

Subsistence leave from both school and employment is available in Point Hope. Most North Slope borough-related jobs have ten days of subsistence leave per year. In the recent past, the school district only allowed subsistence leave when it was taken as a consecutive string of days. As school policy was modified in 1988, there is no longer formal subsistence “block” leave from school. **As** the policy now **stands**, a student may miss a certain maximum number of days and still move on to the next grade. Distinction is no longer made between any type of excused reason for leaving school. This is an issue of some concern in the community, in that it appears that the **school** is no longer accepting a special status for subsistence and the need to integrate subsistence activities with the school cycle. It does, however, allow for flexibility on the part of the students in the case of an open lead closing for a period of time during whaling season, for example. In the past when subsistence leave had to be taken as block time, the student could not return to school early and then take another block later, which caused difficulties at times. Other school policies, besides the leave policy, do influence the ability to take time off. During the whaling season of 1988, the

beginning of whaling season overlapped with the administration of basic skills testing in the school. This effectively kept high school-aged persons out of whaling camp during this period.

One aspect of subsistence that has involved profound changes is the issue of compensation for previously non-monetized exchange in Point Hope. A primary example of this is the practice of paying women to sew skins for covering the whaling boats. This is considered an important institutional change through formalization and commercialization of an aspect of a formerly non-commercial exchange system, and a specialization of skills that were once widely shared. This may be seen as a component of a growing formalization of subsistence activities. Few women are able to sew the skins and therefore, if the use of skins is to continue, they must provide this service for **all** of the crews. Up until a few years ago, skin sewing was one of the tasks the wives of the crew members contributed to the whaling effort of their husband's crew.

There is little in the way of literature on the topic of the relation of subsistence to oil activities in Point Hope. Based on earlier research in the community, **offshore** development is seen as inherently more threatening to subsistence pursuits than is onshore development, particularly given Point Hope's maritime subsistence orientation. Increased employment opportunities are sought (as opposed to the case in Point Lay, Point Hope's nearest NSB neighbor, where there are more jobs than there are **local** residents interested in employment), but there is a fundamental concern over the limitations of **contemporary** technology in preventing environmentally damaging accidents in the **Chukchi Sea**.

It has already been noted that employment impacts on subsistence because employed persons must restrict their hunting to weekends. This may be less of a problem for large families which are likely to contain at least one young **adult** who is available to hunt at more frequent intervals. The problem is perhaps greatest during whaling season when more sustained effort is required. Most crews are larger than would be necessary if **all** adults were available to participate in the hunt, thus assuring that enough men to man a crew will **always** be present.

Regardless of the amount of time spent pursuing subsistence activities, the fact is that subsistence hunting is "what it is all about" as far as "being **Inupiat**" is concerned. That is, subsistence resource procurement and consumption is central to (a) ethnic identity, (b) self-identity, and (c) community identity. Informants stressed that Point Hope is still a sharing village and contrasted it with Anchorage, Nome, and Fairbanks where whale muktuk and other subsistence foods are sold (according to VanStone they also talked about this in 1955). Subsistence foods are given to the elderly, usually through a contribution to lunches at the senior center. They were also eaten by **almost** everybody in some quantity at virtually every meal observed, with the exception of breakfasts. Involvement with the yearly subsistence round, to a greater or lesser degree, is what provides Point Hope residents with their ties to the traditional **Inupiat** world. These **subsistence**-based ties have ramifications throughout the social system and serve to remind people of their important relationship with the land which must endure in spite of their changing lifestyles and uncertain relations with the outside world.

A potential problem for the future may be the continued interest and sustained involvement of young people in subsistence activities. There is considerable interest by the young during whaling season when, according to some informants, there is a need for paddlers (a task young people seldom performed at the time of VanStone's research in 1955), but the extent to which they are learning subsistence skills is questionable. There are, perhaps, too many distractions in the village

and older people no longer have as many opportunities to teach subsistence techniques to their children. As the interests of young people become increasingly focused on education and employment, not to mention pop culture (and in some cases alcohol and/or drugs), it may be that the relationship with the environment through hunting and **fishing** will have less meaning to them. In any event, today, for adults at least, the environment is viewed not just as a way to make a living, but as a **real** basis of their way of life.

Information about lifestyles outside of Point Hope comes into the village in a variety of ways, but mass media has been a primary means for many years. The nature of the media has, however, changed over the last several decades. Regarding the influence of media in 1955-1956, VanStone wrote, "Everyone in the village is influenced by the radio, magazines, and the movies. The wants that have thus been created can be satisfied only by the possession of a money income" (VanStone 1962; 161). Reflecting on the changes between 1955-1956 and 1989, VanStone wrote:

I did not determine the exact number of homes with radios [in 1955-1956]. I am under the impression, however, that most families owned at least one set, but these were often inoperative since they required large dry cell batteries that could only be obtained from mail-order houses and frequently arrived frozen and worthless. Only shortwave stations could be received except for a station in Nome that played country music much of the time and featured evangelical religious programs on Sundays. To my knowledge, few individuals listened to the news or even to the high-powered shortwave stations in the lower-48. The most popular listening was to the daily transmission by the ACS in **Kotzebue** which broadcast telegrams and other information. People also liked to listen to the daily schedule from the **U.S.P.H.S.** hospital in Kotzebue and pilots' communications with the Wien office at the **Kotzebue** airport which allowed the villagers to know if and when a plane would arrive. In general, people listened to their radios sparingly in order to conserve the life of the batteries.

A much more significant source of information about the outside world in 1955-56, inaccurate though it doubtless was, came from the weekly movies shown at the school. Although the villagers preferred westerns, a great variety of **films** were shown and people often commented on the actors' behavior, dress, conversation, etc. Children imitated the actors' and sometimes incorporated such behavior into their games and conversation.

Although a limited number of magazines came into the village in 1955-56, people enjoyed looking at them, especially the illustrations and advertisements. My impression is that most ideas about clothing came from these ads and the catalogs of Sears and other mail order houses. Virtually all clothing was ordered through the mail, mostly from Sears, although the store did carry a limited selection of dresses, sweaters, and work clothes. The only fashion conscious individuals

were teenage girls who insisted on wearing skirts in weather that was totally unsuited to such apparel.

The availability of 11 channels of cable television in the village today is the most dramatic indication of the villagers' increased exposure to an alien environment. [During field research over the period 1987-1989, VanStone and other researchers] . . . virtually never entered a house at any time of the day when the television set was not on. [It may be said that] . . . the villagers are 'equal opportunity' television viewers. [While there are clearly viewing preference patterns, it is also the case that they will watch virtually] . . . anything and do not hesitate to change channels during a program. I do not recall anyone listening to a radio. (VanStone 1989 personal communication)

Radios are listened to in the community, but seem to be more popular in workplaces than in homes. Young people would appear to listen more often to recorded music than to radio broadcasts, and music preferences are reflected in clothing styles.

C. Traditional Sharing and Kinship Behaviors

1. Kinship Organization

Kinship organization for Point Hope is described in some detail in the Point Lay Case Study (Impact Assessment, in draft). Kinship networks are very dense in Point Hope. Within Point Hope, there are several clusters of households which are more closely related to each other than to households outside of that cluster. When contrasting the Point Hope context with the community of Point Lay, it is apparent that this is more pronounced in Point Hope than in Point Lay. The larger size of Point Hope makes such social differentiation more obvious and the statistical perturbations possible in a community as small as Point Lay may very well mask them. While it is recognized in both villages that these clusters of related households exist, in Point Hope it is expressed as the formal kinship ideology whereas in Point Lay the expressed ideology is exactly the opposite. That is, in Point Hope political and other community issues will often be expressed in terms of named kinship groups as opposed issue-oriented interest groups. To an outside observer, such characterizations sometimes seem to reflect reality and other times not, but the "objective analysis" does not affect the fact that kinship groups are often used to define conflicting positions on community issues in Point Hope.

Point Hope provides an interesting contrast to smaller communities in the region in that it is an arena with more resources than villages like its nearest NSB neighbor Point Lay, on an absolute basis. There are, however, many more people among whom to divide those resources than in Point Lay. This likely explains the much more public competition for public office and other rewards in Point Hope than in Point Lay. In Point Lay the perception has been that there are ample economic opportunities for all, and to a remarkable degree that has, indeed, been the case. In Point Hope, however, there are many fewer jobs per capita and even marginal opportunities are competed for. This competition is often expressed in terms of named kin groups because when a household needs assistance, it is to those it is most closely related that it most commonly turns and

can expect help from. Perhaps the best way to illustrate the operation of kinship in Point Hope is to give some brief examples of household kinship groupings.

Household Network A

The households composing this family group make up one of the largest kinship clusters in Point Hope. In both 1982 and 1984, there were sixteen households with the head of household with the family surname, with eighty-five total household members in 1982 and eighty-nine total household members in 1984. This is 13.9% of all 1982 households (16.2% of the population) in 1982 and 12.0% of all 1984 households (approximately 16.796 of the total population). Average household size for this family cluster was 5.3 in 1982 and 5.6 in 1984. This is significantly larger than the average for the village as a whole, which was 4.5 for both years. Of the sixteen 1982 households in the group, three are of the most senior generation in the village. Ten are roughly of the generation after (their children, for the most part), and three are of the second generation after the most senior (their grandchildren). The age ranges for the heads of households for these three subgroups were 55-78, 28-49, and 20-24. If one excludes the last grouping from the calculations, and two of those households did not appear in the 1984 census, the average household size for the other thirteen households is 6.1 (6.3 for senior households, 6.0 for the ten others). By 1984, of course, the average for the group **would** be the 5.6 stated above, as the most junior of the households proved to be **transitory**.

The household composition of this network has also undergone some restructuring since 1984, but our information is incomplete as no census by name has been conducted in Point Hope since then. The major change of note for our discussion of this network in present-day Point Hope is that the largest of the “second generation” households of 1984 has disbanded due to their house burning down. Many of the members of this household are now living in the most senior household. Most of the other households remained as they were, excepting natural increase due to the birth of children.

One of the main focal points of this network is the household of the senior member of the family. The house itself is a standard NSB three-bedroom model with central heating and running water. The senior woman’s husband has recently had to move to Anchorage so that he **could** receive adequate medical care, but she remains in Point Hope and acts as the family matriarch. She is the titular head of household and maintains a bedroom of her own. The second bedroom is occupied by the married couple whose house burned down. Their youngest children also sleep with them. The third bedroom is used for older children, and the number actually using the room at any one time can vary considerable. The sofa in the living room is also used as a bed at night by a child, as is a mattress placed on the floor.

There is a constant flow of guests into and out of this household. Many come to visit the senior woman, and much of this interaction takes place in her bedroom. Here she has a sewing machine set up, a television available, and a large collection of pictures. When she wishes to talk with someone she will most often request that they do so in her bedroom as it is one of the quietest places in the house. Many of the guests also come to visit the married couple. Such guests will usually greet the senior woman if she is home by going to her room and briefly talking with her, and then proceed to interact with whoever else is home. Depending on the time of day, the purpose of the visit **could** be to chat, to borrow some item, to play cards, or share a meal.

Children from many of the other households of this network come over to this household to eat on a **regular** basis. There is almost always a large pot of soup or meat on the stove, available for whoever comes in. When asked about this, the **couple** responded that this is the **Inupiat** way. It is their duty (and the senior woman's duty) to be generous with what they have and what they are given. Besides, their house has good cooking and cleaning facilities, which many of the other households in the network do not, being older. The married woman especially reports that sometimes she feels that she must work too hard, but also seems to enjoy the central place of the household in the network. Members of other households (especially women) do contribute to the cooking and cleaning of this household. Men of the other households in the network contribute a substantial amount of subsistence food.

Both spouses of the married **couple** now **work**, and the senior woman receives Social Security. They report that their finances are still very tight. This may in part be due to the man's responsibilities as a whaling captain. This is again, however, seen as a shared duty. This man could not afford to be a whaling captain on his own. It is only through the mobilization of the household network that he is able to raise the money and crew to mount the whaling effort. His contribution at present is mainly financial, organizational, and ideological. In the past, before he worked full-time, he engaged in somewhat more subsistence resource harvesting than he now does, but not a great deal more. He is deeply involved in the IRA and the continued vitality of the **Inupiaq** culture, however. Thus, he devotes a considerable amount of effort to political/ideological activities and Eskimo drumming and dancing. He has also fostered the resurgent interest in **Inupiaq** names by naming one of his sons after his grandfather, a powerful shaman, and using the same name as his **CB** "handle." He has two younger brothers, each of whom maintains his own household, who concentrate on subsistence resource **harvesting** to a much greater degree.

Social activities of a typical sort observed in this household were early (and late) evening games of pinochle and Scrabble, Collective television watching, and casual conversation. Most typically, all three would be going on at once, with members of different households arriving and leaving on an irregular basis related to an individual's schedule. Members of this household also played bingo often, and worked one night a week when bingo was sponsored by the dance group to which the married couple and senior woman belong. On such nights they often need a babysitter for the young children of the household, which most commonly turns out to be a male in his 20s from another household.

During holidays, this household becomes a production center for the entire network and is awake nearly twenty-four **hours** a day (and as a normal state of affairs, one can usually expect to find at least one person asleep at any given time). For example, before and during the whale feast in Point Hope, there was always at least one person awake in this house. There were parkas to sew for the members of various households, **mikigaq** and other food for the feast to prepare, and other arrangements to be made. Apparently this household was the "command post" for this activity for two reasons. First, it is normally a focal point for such social interaction. Second, the married man had caught his first whale that year and so was honorary host of the main part of the whale feast. This entailed heavy organizational and financial obligations upon him, which he could fulfill only by mobilizing the extensive household kinship network. This was made even more necessary because of the obligations his wife had to fulfill. The senior woman could help somewhat, but because the wife **was** raised outside of Point Hope and does not speak **Inupiaq**, the primary language of the senior woman, more assistance from the other households of the network was required.

The two other households of this network about which we have a reasonable amount of information are smaller in size. They are not central nodes of interaction, and are in general much less active places. One is a common place for men and young couples to go to play cards, watch television, talk, and smoke. These games are not confined to members of the household network, but only two or three such “non-members” commonly drop by. Children do not drop in, and the only children present are those of the household and those that the guests may have brought because they could not arrange for a baby-sitter. Food is not prepared and served as a matter of course, and when it is, tends to be more of a sandwich or snack variety than a fully cooked meal.

Household Network B

The households composing this family group also make up a significant portion of the Point Hope population, but not nearly as large as Network A. In 1982 there were four households, with 23 total household members. This is 3.8% of all households. There are several additional households related by marriage. In 1984 there were three households with 24 total members (2.3% of all households). The average household size in 1982 was 5.75, but increased to 8 in 1984. The youngest head of household was 30 in 1982, with the others being 50 or greater.

The household that we will consider here is the primary household of this network in terms of activity. There are other households in this network with individuals who are more senior, and recognized as important elders and leaders in the family and the village, but these individuals are no longer centrally involved with the day-to-day activities of the village. They have attained the age where they are accorded a good deal of respect and deference, but they are no longer active decision-makers.

The head of household is in his late 60s, his wife in her mid-50s. Although the head of household is of an age where he could easily decrease his activity in the village, he is still an active whaling captain who spends time on the ice, he is still active in a leadership role on the board of the Tigara Corporation, and he is one of the lay leaders in the Episcopal church. In the past he has been the manager of the Native Store, president of one of the regional Native Corporations, and a leader of the Alaskan Eskimo Whaling Commission. His wife is an active sewer, and in addition to running the large household and serving (as other captain's wives do) as a partner in whaling undertaking, she sews clothing for sale.

Theirs is still an active household, in terms of family dynamics. It is a household that extends over two structures and had 16 residents in 1988. One son has recently built a separate structure for himself, his girlfriend, and their five children, but this house cannot be considered a separate household. It is located only a few yards away from the main house and does not have its own cooking facilities. Meals are prepared and taken at the main house. When unemployed in 1988, this son was a “subsistence specialist” and made substantial contribution to the household through the provision of game. Although employed in 1989, he still hunted, although less frequently than the previous year. He also provides skins that his mother uses in her sewing. He is the harpooner of his father's whaling crew and takes the major responsibility for working on the preparations for whaling as other crew members work or come from outside of the village. He performs many of the physical/outdoor chores for the household such as cutting and collecting ice for drinking water

in the wintertime. **His** girlfriend (who is functionally, **if** not formally, his wife), who is from another North Slope village, works part-time.

In the main house there were nine residents in 1988. One son and his girlfriend recently had a child, and the three of them lived in one bedroom. He worked full-time and contributed financially to the household. In 1989, these three moved to a house recently vacated by older relatives. One unmarried son works full-time and sleeps in the **livingroom**; he does not contribute substantially to the household and is the only resident son who chose to whale on a crew other than his father's. Two teenaged daughters share a room with a granddaughter who was adopted from a third daughter who lives outside of the village. The parents have their own room.

This family also has a cabin on the river that is used as a subsistence base, primarily for fishing. A large family, it is analytically instructive for the way new families are being created from existing ones. The detached structure that one son built is a step in the progression toward an independent household, but functionally this son, his girlfriend, and their children are still very much a part of the main household. His girlfriend often visits her home community, and it is not unusual for her to take only the youngest of their children with her. The parents of the main household are in effect co-parents of these children (their grandchildren) in that they are the primary care providers when their mother is out of the community. They also provide a substantial degree of parenting when the son's girlfriend is in town as well; the head of household takes responsibility for getting the children to school on time in the morning, sees that they are fed when their mother is working or otherwise unavailable, and generally looks after the children on a daily basis. This son is also the main provider of subsistence goods for the main household. The family eats a large proportion of locally harvested foods, so this is a substantial contribution indeed. The son who was beginning his young family in one of the bedrooms of the main house in 1988 was at the time one step behind the son who has built the separate structure, as this was the same pattern that the older son followed. The younger son has in a sense passed his older brother as the household he has since set up is more independent of the main house than his **older** brother's. This is somewhat complicated, however, by the fact that his household has ties to his wife's family, whose members also live in Point Hope, whereas the older brother's household is oriented toward only one set of parents resident in the community.

The main house of this network is an active one for visiting, and the social activity most commonly found in the house in the evening is television-watching and conversation with people who are visiting. There is usually something to eat available and this is shared with visitors. If nothing else, there is virtually always a pot of coffee on and snacks to eat with the coffee. It is also a household that is frequently visited by friends of the children and grandchildren.

The head of household and his wife actively visit older members of the network in their own homes and invite them to their home. They look after these older people and share meals and subsistence resources with them. The couple approach the ideal of the whaling captain and wife of being totally generous with what they have, and they are the ones who look after the oldest and youngest members of the network.

Household Network C

The households composing this family group make up a smaller than typical portion of the Point Hope population when simply considering households with the same surname. There were two households in both 1982 and 1984, with 11 **total** household members in 1982, but dipped to 8 in 1984 when the three people left the village temporarily. Household size averages were thus 5.5 and 4.0. This family group used to contain many more named families, and is still related to many people through marriage. In 1988, one household head was a man of forty-nine, **while** the other was a woman of seventy-two.

The household headed by the man of forty-nine somewhat resembles the household described for network **A**. It is a relatively new house, and the head of household could usually be found there. It was not as crowded as the main house of network **A**, but often guests were over. Overall, the **livingroom** in the house was more formal and the house has less of a twenty-four hour a day activity level. The wife **of** the head **of** household was often out of the house; she is active as a traditional healer in the village, she does a good bit of sewing and helps others to sew as well, and attends bingo extensively.

The household headed by the woman of seventy-two contrasts significantly with the network A and B households. This household consists of the female elder, her twenty-nine-year-old grandson, his wife, and their two children. The activities of the household normally revolve around the grandson's family. This household is tied to network B, as the elder of this household is the sister of the head of the main household described for network B.

Both the grandson and his wife are vigorous individuals who are involved in a variety of activities. The husband has a full- and part-time job in the village, as does his wife. While his grandmother is formally the captain of a whaling crew, and his father is the socially recognized head of the crew, he handles the majority of the day-to-day activities of preparing for whaling and running the crew. He is involved to a degree in other subsistence activities, but both he and his wife are more directed toward commercial and volunteer activities within the village. Subsistence goods do come into this household on a regular basis through individuals sharing with the elder of the household.

The house is among the most formal-appearing in the village because of its cleanliness and orderliness, which is no doubt enhanced due to the couple only having two children. The income brought in for such a relatively small **family** has allowed for the purchase **of** high-quality home entertainment equipment, and the household is well-equipped with relatively new vehicles.

Socially, this household interacts with perhaps the widest segment of the village of any of the three networks considered. Elders visit the elder of the house **often**, and Inupiaq is commonly heard there. The young couple, on the other hand, have a wide range of friends and interact with a number of individuals who are relatively marginal socially in the village. They also frequently host visiting administrators from the borough who are staying in the village. The family has a history of being active in politics and **social** issues on the slope and at the state level, and are open toward outsiders. Evenings are likely to find the elder at bingo and the young couple and their children at the **school** gym, or visiting or entertaining friends. Common evening entertainment includes playing card games, board games, sharing listening to music, watching sporting events on television,

or watching recorded movies. Both of the young couple have some post-secondary education outside of the community.

Other Household Networks

There are several other significant family networks in Point Hope. Most range in the area of from four to six households each, with an average household size of **from** five to six. Such networks account for at least **50%** of the Point Hope population.

One **aspect** of kinship and sharing in the village that is frequently noticed by outsiders is the **sexual** division of labor seen in many Point Hope households. Men, while expected to provide subsistence resources to the household and/or work for wages, are not expected to perform many chores around the house itself. In general, women are expected to do the subsistence food processing, the cooking, cleaning, laundry, and **nearly** all of the **childcare**. Several women commented on this as an inequitable situation, as sometimes these expectations are still in place even though the women is employed full-time. Whether or not this expression of discontent is a precursor to change in responsibilities is unknown.

2. Formal and Informal Sharing

Formal sharing in Point Hope was **observed** in the context of Christmas, Thanksgiving, Easter, and **Nalukataq** celebrations. This sharing is community-wide, and in the case of **Nalukataq** both highly formal and informal dimensions are seen. This information **is** presented in some **detail** in the **Point Lav Case Study** (Impact Assessment, in draft), and some information on the sharing at Easter has been presented in this chapter in the discussion of the Episcopal church. Informal sharing has been observed within households and within families, and some of this information is presented in the discussion of kinship networks above. It is important to note that sharing is considered to be an important aspect of what it means to be **Inupiat** in Point Hope. Generosity is an often-stated ideal, and one that was often observed as **well**.

3. Ideology of Kinship and Sharing

As noted in several places, in Point Hope kinship group size equals strength within the community. Informants have noted that having a small family is a disadvantage in both political arenas and in the instance **of** the need for physical support in dispute situations. Most sharing in the community can be shown to be kin-based to some degree, and the ideology that Point Hope is composed of people who are **all** related to each other is expressed in the community-wide **events** where formal and informal sharing take place, such as Christmas. Kinship has been shown to be perceived as having both positive and negative aspects. Positive aspects are seen in the form of support networks when times are tough for individuals; negative aspects are seen in the difficulties of nepotism in the job market, the protection of individuals who may have committed serious crimes through intimidation, the formation of factions along kin lines, and the difficulty experienced by some who move into the community. One individual from a village other than Point Hope who married into the community, and who would appear to be well-accepted, noted with displeasure

that “they never let you forget that you are not **from** here.” Further issues of traditional kinship and sharing are discussed in the regional chapter.

D. Attitudes Toward Development

No current statistics on the effects of the oil-related **industry** are available for Point Hope. No media coverage of OCS development was observed in the community during the field periods of the Point Lay Case Study. Several residents voiced awareness of the (then) upcoming Lease Sale 109 and were most interested in the expected level of development. Individuals in the **Tigara** Corporation were interested from the perspective of community development; at least one other individual who has exhibited an entrepreneurial spirit was interested from the perspective of the business opportunities that might be presented by development. Most people were aware of the lease sales in a general sort of way. Most felt that not enough information was made available to the local populations likely to be affected by the lease sales, but also were not likely to seek out more information. Most people in fact had little idea of how to obtain such information and those few individuals with a keen interest **in** the lease sale used the researchers as a guide to recent information.

Shell Oil held public hearings in Point Hope recently to disseminate information on their activities in the **Chukchi** Sea and to gather public input. One person active in political and development issues in the community expressed the opinion that Shell led the community on before and during the hearings and up to the last minute by saying they did not know where the support base for operations would be located, and “led them to think that there may be benefits here [in Point Hope].” It has now been made clear that the support base **will** be located at the old **NARL** facility in Barrow. **Because** of this, it does not look like there will be any employment in Point Hope at all. **The** hearings got input from people who thought there might be some benefit; now there would seem to be only risks. Another thing that apparently bothered people about the hearings were that they only covered the exploration phase, while at least one village leader felt that it was misleading to speak only of this phase in isolation as if it were unrelated to subsequent phases. The structure of the employment opportunities is also disturbing to some. Jobs will be available for those who have training, and there are four positions allocated for residents from each **Chukchi** Sea community, but it is not clear how the training would be obtained- What is clear is that the training could only be obtained through the Piquiniq Corporation in Barrow.

One portion of field research in Point Hope was conducted immediately after the *Exxon Valdez* disaster. There was serious concern expressed by some residents as to whether or not the **beluga** and ducks migrating to the Point Hope would be contaminated by the spill, and further, if they were contaminated, how could that be determined? The **spill** was also linked in residents’ minds to their worries about offshore oil development.

During **field** research, key informants indicated that there is a good deal of concern in the community over the decline of the employment associated with the NSB Capital Improvements Program and overall conditions of underemployment in the community. There is little hope for an upturn in the local economy without some other type **of** development occurring. There are different types **of** concern over different types of development, and there is considerable variation of opinion within the community.

E. Attitudes Toward **Local** Control of Schools

VanStone (1989 personal communication) relates that it is difficult to get a handle on how Point Hopers feel about their school. Some informants certainly believe that school is important and especially that an education is **necessary** to obtain good employment. On the other hand, some people keep their children home from school seemingly on the slightest pretext. The principal at Point Hope was an upbeat, optimistic individual who felt that he has accomplished a great deal during his tenure. His seems most proud of the physical plant which is indeed impressive. In 1987, it was apparent that he was not enthusiastic about the language program and would clearly have been opposed to adding more **Inupiat** culture programs to the curriculum. Inupiat-oriented villagers are **in** conflict with him on this point.

During **field** research in 1989, it still appeared as though **local** control is more apparent than real. The hiring and evaluation of teachers is accomplished without local input and **local** people have very little or no say in the curriculum. On the other hand, there may not be much pressure from the village for a greater say in these matters. This doubtless varies with the composition of the **school** board. In any event, the school seems to be accepted as an institution imposed from without just as it was during the 1950s, at the time of VanStone's earlier work.

There is also concern about **local** control over non-teaching staff positions at the school. For example, the job of boy's basketball coach had for the past several years been filled by a teacher at the school. Basketball is a strong passion in the community, and there was a division of opinion between the school administration and some residents over whether the team should necessarily be coached by a teacher, because of its direct affiliation of the basketball program with the educational mission of the school, or whether community needs could be at least as well served by having an **Inupiat** resident as a coach. Not without some difficulty, a non-teacher is slated to be the coach for the 1989-1990 school year.

F. Secularization

According to the Episcopal deacon, church attendance was down occasionally, but he would not concede that the church played a lesser role in the village life than in the past. Several informants, however, said that far fewer people go to church today than in the past and that this is particularly true of young people who are formal members of the church but participate rarely even in extracurricular church-sponsored activities. Nevertheless, the deacon mentioned that regular confirmation classes were being held. It is probable that many people, both young and old, consider themselves church members by virtue of their upbringing but attend only occasionally, usually at the time of major holidays.

It is possible that the church's decline in influence is more apparent than real. According to VanStone, in 1955 there was little to do in the village that was not church-related, and its importance may have been overestimated. Nevertheless, it is clear that at the time the Episcopal church was a major focus of village activities, both religious and social.

The Assembly of God church, a relative newcomer to the village, seems to appeal to a younger age group than the Episcopal church. The minister is young, athletic, and friendly. He believes that

people come to him when they need help and that he operates a crisis intervention ministry. He makes no attempt to gain members at the expense of the Episcopal church. Point Hopers have long been familiar with the fundamentalist-type churches in Kotzebue and indeed, the Episcopal church made some concessions to this type of service even in 1955. It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that such a church has been reasonably successful even in the face of the nearly 100-year tradition of the Episcopal version of Christianity.

The bottom line, perhaps, is that there are a great many distractions of a secular nature in the village these days and they draw off the time and interest that was once devoted to church activities. Thus, secularization at Point Hope may be progressing no faster than it is in the rest of the country. The prominence of the Episcopal church at Point Hope in 1955 might be compared to the importance of churches in the rural U.S. in the early years of this century. It is important to note that the church is the one remaining formal institution in the village, that is still relatively strong, that is not directly controlled by the North Slope Borough. It is seen as an important link “ to the past history of the community. Secularization then is not only a transition away from a more religiously influenced way of life, it is in a sense a movement away from Point Hope’s past.

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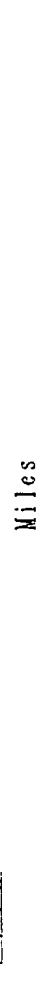
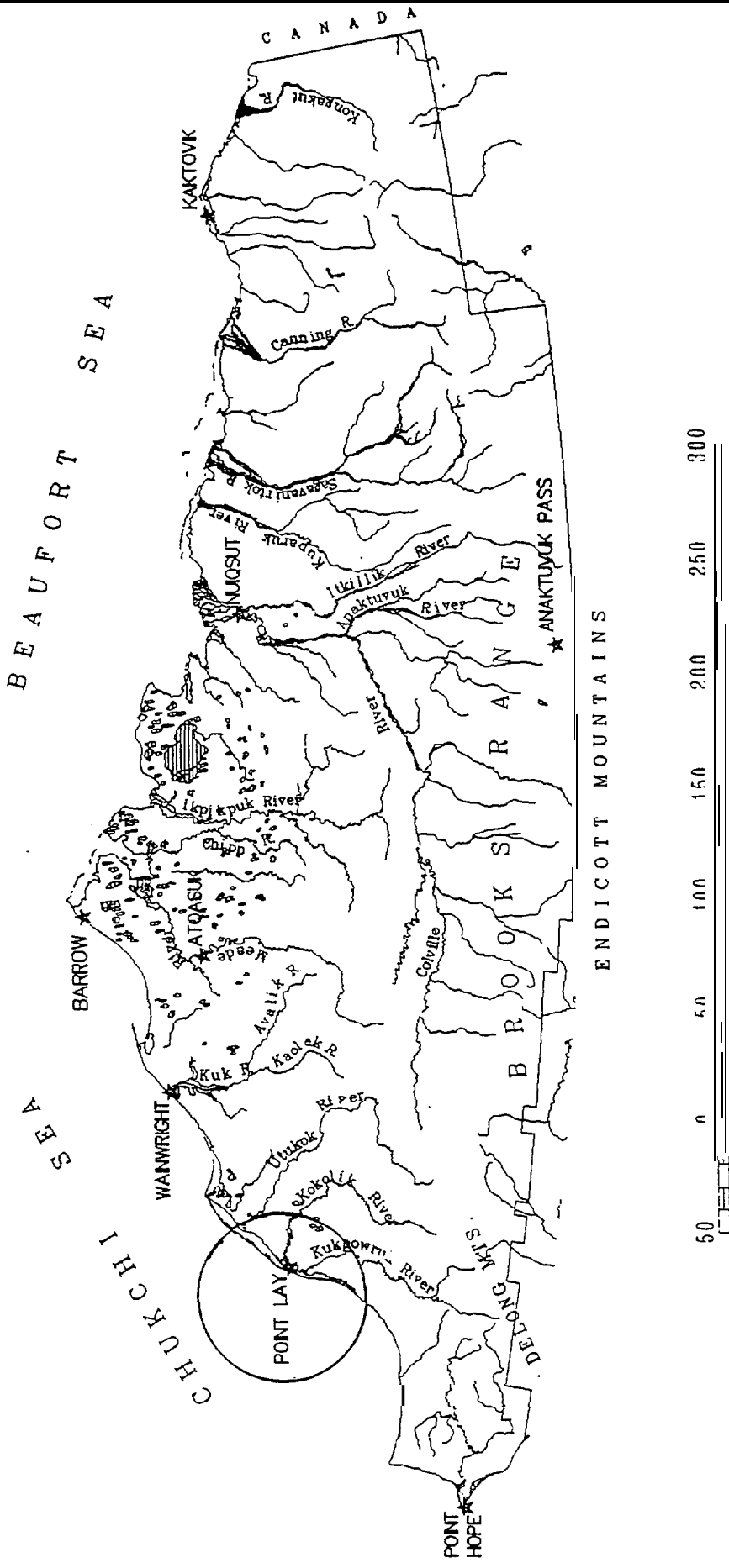
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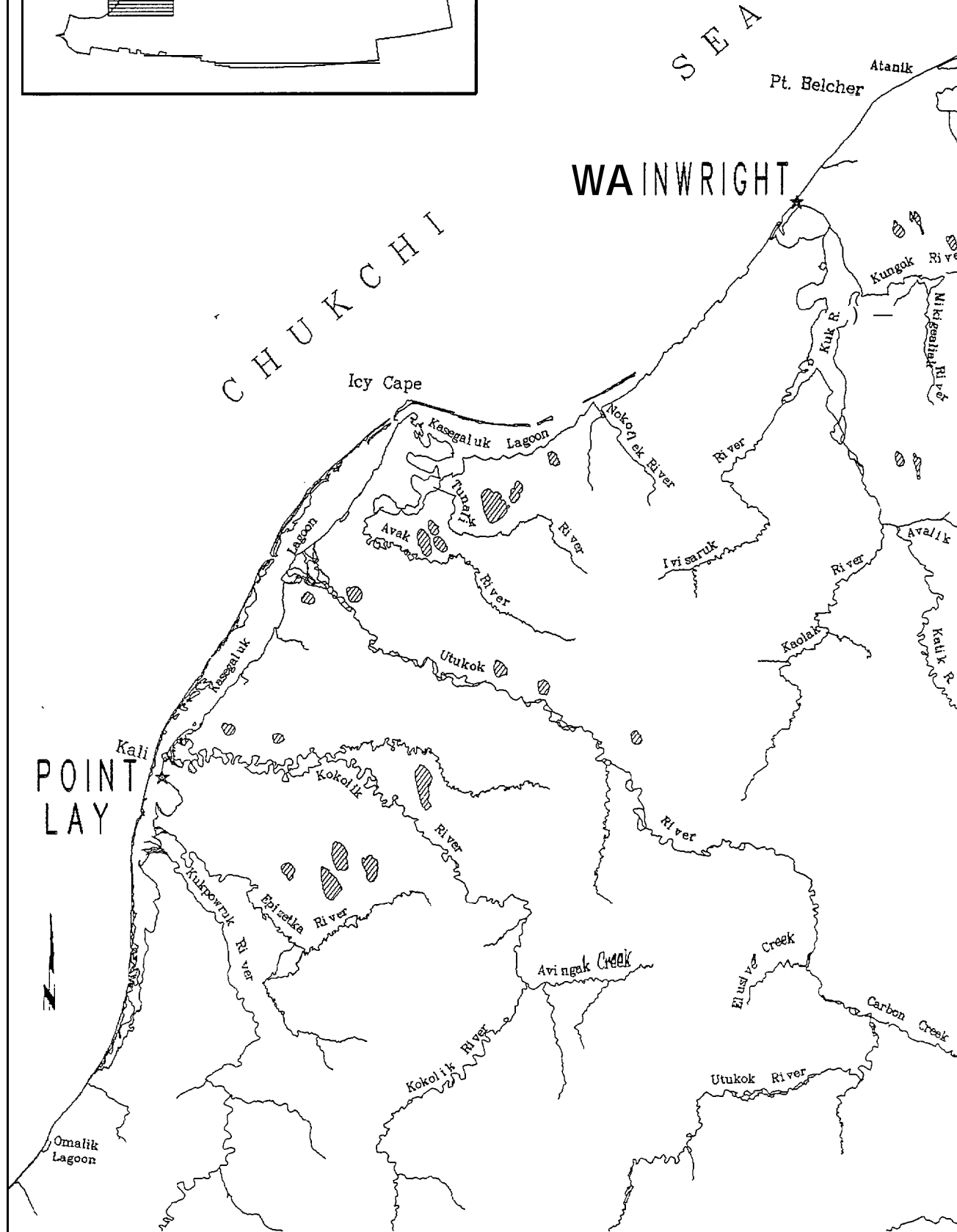
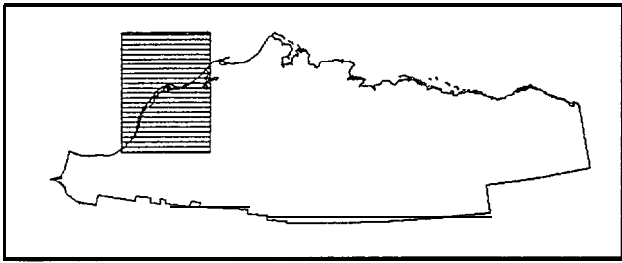
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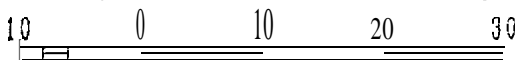
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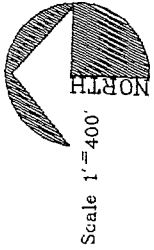
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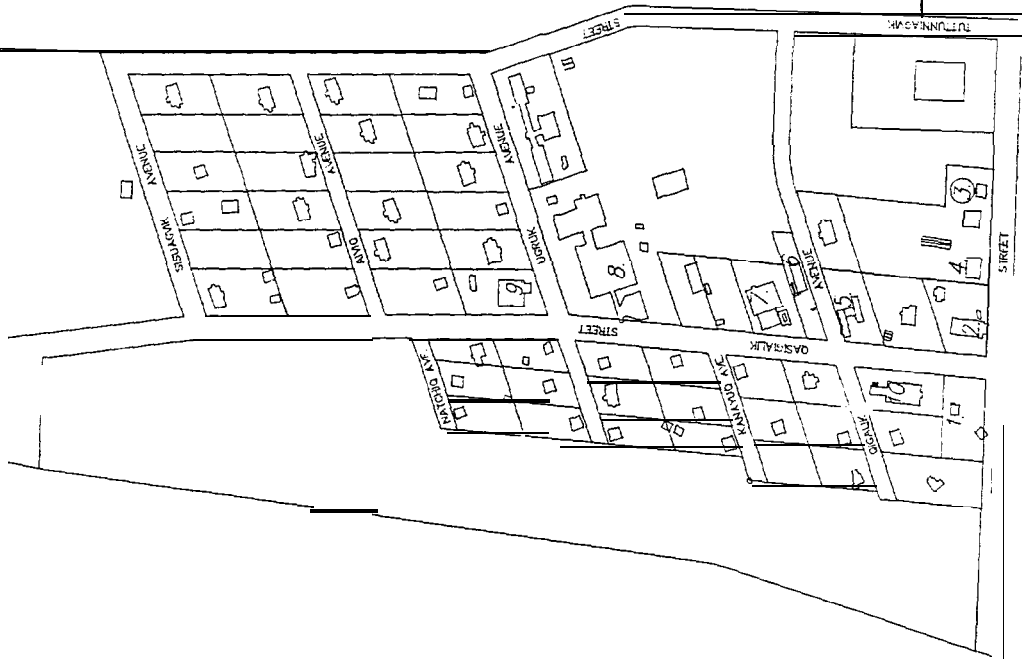
PT. LAY, ALASKA



LEGEND:

NSIB REAL PROPERTY

1. Central Dial Office
2. Vehicle Maint./Warm Storage
3. Water Treatment Facility
4. Generator Plant
5. Construction Camp
6. Community Center
7. Fire Station
8. Elementary & High School Complex
9. School Play Structure
10. Heat Clinic



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June 1988

POINT LAY

SECTION 1: POPULATION	1
A. Size and Composition	1
Demographic Characteristics	1
Population Size and Growth Rate	1
Age, Sex , and Ethnicity Distributions	3
Influences on Population Size and Structure	15
B. Household Size and Composition.	17
Characteristics of Households	17
“Discussion	18
C. Educational Status	29
Organization and Operations	29
Current Educational Levels	30
Issues	31
D. Marriage Patterns	37
Characteristics of Marriage e.....	37
The Stability of Unions in Point Lay	39
Census of July 1984	39
Census of 1989	41
Changes in Marriage Patters	42
E. Migration Patterns	43
Characteristics of Migration	43
Introduction	43
Founding Population	44
Inupiat Migration Since Resettlement	44
Non-Inupiat Migration Since Resettlement	45
Influences on Migration	45
Introduction	45
Inupiat	46
Non-Inupiat	48
Mixed	48
Population and Employment	49
Community History	49

POINT LAY

SECTION II: ECONOMY	54
A. Historical Overview	54
B. Public Sector Organization and Employment	54
C. Private Sector Organization and Employment	54
Point Lay Caucasian Employment -- Males	57
Point Lay Caucasian Employment -- Females	59
Point Lay Inupiat Employment--Males	62
Point Lay Inupiat Employment -- Females	63
Point Lay -- Male and Female Inupiat Employment Compared	63
13. Economic Issues and Concerns.	67
Effect of Wage Economy on Other Institutions	67
Role of Subsistence in the Market Economy	68
Trends in Employment	73
Issues	77
Projects Operations	78
Point Lay Subsistence and the Coal Mine	80
Long Term Consequences	80
SECTION III: FORMAL INSTITUTIONS	82
A. Government	82
Organization and Scope of Operations	82
Overlaps in Authority and Conflicts Among Institutions	83
Government Institutions and ANCSA Corporations	83
B. Native Corporations	84
C. Health and Social Services	87
D. Religion	88
History of Churches	88
Contemporary Churches	88
The Episcopalian Church	88
The Baptist Church	89

POINT LAY

E. Infrastructure91
 Overview91
 Issues92
 Ideology and Infrastructure 93
 Local Hire94

F. Fire Protection95

G. Search and Rescue96

H. Public Safety98
 History98
 Organization and Operations98
 Description and Rationale for Categories 99
 Discussion 100
 Public Safety Utilization in Point Lay -- Service Calls by Call
 Type 100
 Service Calls in Point Lay, Reported Involvement of
 Alcohol 104
 Service Calls in Point Lay, Involving Alcohol/Service CallSin
 Point Lay, Not Involving Alcohol 104
 Service Calls in Point Lay, Involvement of Alcohol Not
 Specified 104
 Issues 107
 Personnel 107
 Turnover 107
 Role 108

I. Schools 111
 History 111
 Organization and Operations 111
 Issues 112

SECTION IV: CULTURAL ISSUES AND INFORMAL INSTITUTIONS 113

A. Patterns of Change in Informal Institutions 113

B. Subsistence 113

C. Traditional Sharing and Kinship Behaviors 117
 Kinship Organization 117
 Formal and Informal Sharing 117
 Ideology of Kinship and Sharing 121

POINT LAY

D. Attitudes Toward Development 122

E. Secularization 122

BIBLIOGRAPHIC SOURCES: POINT LAY 123

List of Tables - Point Lay

Table 1-PTL	2
Total Population of Point Lay, Alaska	
Table 2-PTL	5
Population Percentage Comparisons	
Table 3-PTL	6
Population Composition-June, 1980	
Table 4-PTL	7
Age, Sex, and Ethnicity - July, 1983	
Table 5-PTL	8
Age, Sex, and Ethnicity -June, 1988	
Table 6-PTL	9
Age, Sex, and Race Composition of Population -1988	
Table 7-PTL	11
Ethnic Composition of Population -1988	
Table 8-PTL	15
Demographic Ratios for Point Lay, Alaska	
Table 9-PTL	16
Age Categories as Percentages of the Inupiat Population for Certain Dates	
Table 10-PTL	19
Age of Head of Household for Alaska Natives, Non-Natives, and All Groups June, 1980	
Table 11-PTL	20
Household Composition, Point Lay, Alaska - 7/84	
Table 12-PTL	21
Household Composition, Point Lay, Alaska - 9/87	
Table 13-PTL	22
Household Composition, Point Lay, Alaska - 12/87	
Table 14-PTL	23
Household Composition, Point Lay, Alaska - 6/88	

List of Tables - Point **Lay**

Table 15-PTL	23
Average Household Size by Ethnicity	
Table 16-PTL	24
Household Size-1988	
Table 17-PTL	26
Household Income and Spending- 1988	
Table 18-PTL	27
Household Size Statistics	
Table 19-PTL	28
Average Inupiat Household Size	
Table 20-PTL	28
Age of Head of Household, Point Lay Inupiat	
Table 21-PTL	32
Highest Level of Education Attained by Age Group (Inupiat Residents)	
Table 21-PTL (continued)	33
Highest Level of Education Attained by Age Group (Non-Inupiat Residents)	
Table 22-PTL	34
Graduation Rates for Selected Age Groups	
Table 23-PTL	34
Graduation Rates for Selected Age Groups, Inupiat	
Table 24-PTL	40
Marital Status by Ethnicity - 1988	
Table 25-PTL	41
Point Lay Marital Status, 1984	
Table 26-PTL	42
Point Lay Marital Status, 1989	
Table 27-PTL	55
Industry Composition of Employment by Sex and Ethnicity - 1988	

List of Tables - Point Lay

Table 28-PTL	56
Occupation Composition of Employment by Sex and Ethnicity -1988	
Table 29-PTL	58
Employable Caucasian Adults, Age 16 and Over- 12/87	
Table 30-PTL	60
Employable Male Inupiat Adults, Age 16 and Over-12/87	
Table 31-PTL	61
Jobs Held Inupiat Males, December 1987	
Table 32-PTL	64
Employable Female Inupiat Adults, Age 16 and Over- 12/87	
Table 33-P-I L	65
Jobs Held Inupiat Females, December 1987	
Table 34-PTL . 0	66
Employment Classifications	
Table 35-PTL	74
Composition of Employment by Race and Sex-June 1980	
Table 36-PTL	75
Composition of Employment by Age, Race, and Sex-June 1980	
Table 37-PTL	102
Public Safety Department Activity 1980-1982	
Table 38-PTL	118
Point Lay Household Characteristics -1988 By Levels of Subsistence Participation	
Table 39-PTL	119
Point Lay Household Characteristics - 1988 By Categories of Household Size	
Table 40-PTL	120
Point Lay Household Characteristics - 1988 By Levels of Household Income	

List of Figures - Point Lay

Figure 1-PTL	10
Inupiat and Total Population -1988	
Figure 2-PTL	12
Point Lay Population Characteristics -1988	
Figure 3-PTL	13
Ethnic Composition of Population -1988	
Figure 4-PTL	25
Average Household Income Distribution, Native and Non-Native Households by Household Size, June 1980	
Figure 5-PTL	35
Point Lay School Enrollment: 1980-1987	
Figure 6-PTL	36
Point Lay High School Graduates: 1980-1987	
Figure 7-PTL	76
Population, Labor Force, and Employment Point Lay 1980, 1988, and 1994 (projected)	
Figure 8-PTL	103
Service Calls in Point Lay, by Call Type	
Figure 9-PTL	103
Service Calls in Point Lay, Reported Involvement of Alcohol	
Figure 10-PTL	105
Service Calls in Point Lay, Involving of Alcohol	
Figure 11-PTL	105
Service Calls in Point Lay, Not Involving Alcohol	
Figure 12-PTL	106
Service Calls in Point Lay, Involvement of Alcohol Not Specified	
Figure 13-PTL	114
Point Lay Seasonal Round	

List of Figures - Point Lay

Figure 14-PTL 115
Seasonal Round: Waterfowl, Point Lay, 1987

Figure 15-PTL 116
Seasonal Round: Caribou, Point Lay, 1987

POINT LAY

SECTION I: POPULATION

A. Size and Composition

1. Demographic Characteristics

Population Size and Growth Rate

Historically, the Point Lay area has been used by people from many areas. Only recently has it been the location of a permanent settlement. Roughly speaking, prior to the 1880s most people in the Point Lay area were living off the land and had no one settlement of focus. Rather, they ranged one or several river drainage systems subsisting on both terrestrial and coastal animal resources. Other people using the area did have an identity as Point Hope or Barrow residents. Even people from south of Point Hope (**Kivalina**, **Kotzebue**, **Noatak**) used the Point Lay area as a hunting area. Once Wainwright, Icy Cape, and Point Lay were settled, they acted as regional magnet communities for different periods of time. Icy Cape proved to be a temporary village. Point Lay in its present form is still quite young. It is therefore not surprising that many people in Point Lay still retain close connections with Wainwright, Point Hope, Barrow, and Kotzebue and other communities to the south. Such population figures as do exist are summarized in Table 1-PTL and briefly discussed below.

The arctic whaling industry increased the populations of coastal communities in general, and even though Point Lay was not itself near a whaling site, it was no exception. Community residents most commonly whaled off Icy Cape or near Wainwright, but otherwise stayed in the Point Lay-Icy Cape area. With the decline of whaling and the introduction of reindeer herding in 1908, and the increasing importance of the fur industry, the central population dispersed in a pattern akin to more traditional times, utilizing many formerly abandoned winter settlement sites in the region. The Point Lay area especially seems to have been a good location for a reindeer herd and so served as the headquarters for a herd unit (in earlier years located at Icy Cape and associated more with **Wainwright**). Point Lay's recorded population peaked in 1939, near the end of effective reindeer herding in the area and near the same time when the last bowhead whale was taken. During the subsequent period, when both trapping and reindeer herding activity were in decline, Point Lay benefited from being approximately equidistant between Point Hope and **Wainwright**. Those people utilizing the **Utukok** River area tended to gravitate towards Wainwright, and some people to the south of Point Lay moved to Point Hope, but a substantial number aggregated between these two larger communities in Point Lay. This happenstance, combined with the base population already there, fostered the move of the school from Icy Cape to Point Lay. Icy Cape was considered too close to Wainwright to justify having its own school. The transfer of the school encouraged many of the Icy Cape people to relocate in Point Lay, as did many of the people to the south of Point Lay (certainly as far south as **Kuutchiaq**).

Table 1-PTL

Total Population of Point Lay, Alaska

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population of Point Lay</u>
1880	30''
1890	77*
1939	117*
1950	75*
1973	31
1975	27 or 48
1976	51
1977	54
1978	57
1979	72
1980	68* or 91 or 94
1981	105 or 126
1982	71** or 105
1983	76** or 126
1984	129
1987	144*** or 153***
1988	150***
1989	

Unattributed figures are from various (often inconsistent) North Slope Borough sources.

* U.S. census

** Alaska Permanent Fund Checks distributed to people in the village.

*** Counts by Impact Assessment, Inc. (9/87, 12/87, 6/88).

The settlement pattern around Point Lay was much more fluid before 1939 than at present, with numerous small villages and much seasonal movement. Reindeer herding had a great deal to do with this transient lifestyle from the turn of the century until the late 1930s. Subsistence activities were of primary importance **at most other times** and in general required a dispersed and mobile population distribution as well. Fur trapping **also fits into this category, even with its** commercial aspect, because the characteristics of the productive process differed **little** from the harvesting of furs for personal use. Other aspects of the process, such as greater time allocation to furs **than** to food harvest, change **in diet**, and other changes are no doubt of historical interest for the North Slope **in** general and Point Lay **in** particular but the information to discuss **Point Lay** in this context as **either** example or exception to general North Slope **social** processes of the **time period** is lacking. The interested reader is again referred to The Point Lay Case Study.

In the 1950s Point Lay was again “abandoned” as a permanent settlement. The usual explanation for this has been that the school was closed, but local informants claim that the school’s closing was

an effect, and not the cause, of the population loss. They attribute the abandonment of the site to the construction of the DEW Line station in the locality, with an accompanying increase in social pathologies that the local population essentially moved away from. As the DEW Line station provided few employment opportunities after it was constructed (one **Inupiat** worked there and supported the only household in Point Lay for most of the 1960s and 1970s), this solution imposed few opportunity costs on the local population, especially as most of them were familiar with other North Slope villages. Wainwright, Barrow, and Point Hope were the most common North Slope destinations. Fairbanks, Anchorage, and some lower-48 cities (especially for those who had attended **school** or training, whether vocational or military, in those places) also absorbed some of Point Lay's population. Details for the period 1950 to 1973 are unavailable, but after the school was closed in 1958 **all Inupiat** except one couple moved elsewhere. The one couple stayed because of employment at the DEW Line station and a love of the area. Thus, the DEW Line was the focus of human settlement in the Point Lay area for this period of time.

Point Lay was resettled in 1973 and its population has steadily increased from that time. There is no obvious explanation for the population figure for 1981, which appears to be anomalous. That year aside, the pattern of slow, steady population growth is clear. This can be expected to continue, given the number of wage positions available in Point Lay at present and in the foreseeable future. It is unlikely that there will be a rapid population growth unless a substantial amount of housing is built within a short period of time. Given general Alaskan economic conditions and the current priorities of the NSB, such an expansion of the housing supply is unlikely.

Age, Sex, and Ethnicity Distributions

Detailed population breakouts by ethnicity, age, and sex are provided for Point Lay in the following tables (see Tables 2-PTL, 3-PTL, 4-PTL, **5-PTL, 6-PTL**, and 7-PTL, and Figures 1-PTL, **2-PTL**, and **3-PTL**). Good information is lacking for years prior to 1980, and even in 1980 the completeness of the household survey is in question. Because of the small size of Point Lay, the sample that was used may not have been representative of the community. Information for the period 1973 to 1980 is even more fragmentary. Certain consistencies emerge, however. The population of Point Lay is increasing, with the largest increases in the early 1970s when the village was refounded, and in the early 1980s when the **CIP** funding was greatly increased. Growth since then has been steady, but much more restrained.

Except for the anomalies of 1983 and December 1987, the **Inupiat** population has been at about 80% of the total population of the village, with the **non-Inupiat** (Caucasian) population being somewhat over 15% (Table 2-PTL). It is suspected that seasonal fluctuations due to construction employment are the cause of the variability. Because of the small size of Point Lay, relatively small changes can have large effects, especially for the **non-Inupiat** population. For the two years in question there was a good deal of construction activity not normal for that time of year going on, involving non-Native, non-local labor. It appears to be a valid generalization, then, to say that Point Lay's population is now about 80% **Inupiat** and 15% **non-Inupiat**. There is also a **small "mixed"** portion of the population (the offspring of marriages between an **Inupiat** and a **non-Inupiat**) which in most cases are enumerated as **Inupiat**. These cases will be discussed as a separate category below for various reasons, but mainly because they demonstrate the complexity of the

Point Lay context. These individuals are all children at present, and it is clear that they are not being socialized in the same way as are either **Inupiat** or non-Native "fullbloods."

"Mixed" is not a local term. It is used in this context to describe the children of interethnic marriages between **Inupiat** and Caucasian individuals. It is thus an analytical category. It is also a behavioral **category**. All adults in Point Lay are either **Inupiat** or Caucasian (there were two Alaskan **Indian-Inupiat** couples with children in Point Lay during the period of fieldwork, but they are treated in most contexts as if they are **Inupiat**). Adults thus have an inflexible ethnic identity, whereas children (through the choices of their parents) of **interethnic** marriages have some flexibility in defining their ethnic identity. The concept of ethnic identity in Point Lay can perhaps be best understood through an examination of these households, as the formation and use of ethnic identity is most easily examined in these cases. The socialization of these children varies with each household context. Some are very **non-Inupiat** oriented, while still maintaining contact with the **Inupiat** world. Others try to blend the two cultures, and tend to be those with **Inupiat** fathers and **non-Inupiat** mothers. The situation is further complicated since legally these children are classified as Alaska Natives and are thus entitled to certain rights that non-Natives are not. The Point Lay Case Study develops these points beyond the summary treatment accorded them here.

The **Inupiat** population of Point Lay is remarkably constant at about 60% male and 40% female (Table **PTL-2**). Such unequal proportions are not expected from normal birth and death processes, which implies that other factors are at work. One suspects differential migration in the case of Point Lay. Given the number of single males in Point Lay, and the generally high level of economic **activity** in the village, it appears that Point Lay is attracting a surplus of young males of working age. This appears to be reinforced with a greater frequency of male births in the recent past. There are also indications that young women, after graduating from high school, are more likely to continue to go to **school** or to look for work in a larger village or city, while men generally find it **satisfactory** to remain in the village. As seen from Table **PTL-2**, the percentage of **Inupiat** aged 20-54 has increased since 1980 for both **males** and females, but only to a small degree and there is still more than a 5% difference between the two. The percentage of **Inupiat** in Point Lay who are female and aged 0-19 has decreased dramatically since 1980. Most other percentages are roughly the same.

The sex ratio of the **non-Inupiat** population is much more volatile, ranging from 79% male - 21% female in 1980 to an even 50% male - 50% female in 6/88 (Table **2-PTL**). This most likely reflects the maturation of Point Lay as a corporate entity, at least in the sense that the major part of its infrastructure is now built. The earlier **non-Inupiat** population was oriented to construction work. Now they are more likely to be employed by the school, or to hold full-time jobs in the service sector of the village (Utilities, Public Works). Employment at either **location** lends stability to the **non-Inupiat** population in a way that seasonal work did not. Seasonal labor attracted mostly single men. or at least men who did not bring their spouses with them. The NSB **CIP** program is for the most part finished now and those **NSB-sponsored** projects which are underway tend to employ many fewer **non-Inupiat** non-local individuals than before.

Table 2-PTL

Population Percentage Comparisons - Point Lay, Alaska

	<u>1980</u>	<u>1983¹</u>	<u>09/87¹</u>	<u>12/87¹</u>	<u>1988</u>
Total Pop. ⁹¹	129	144	153	150	
# of Inupiat	77	88	116	113	126
% of Total Pop.	84.6	74.6	84.7	77.4	84.0
% Male	57.1	59.1	62.5	61.6	59.8 ²
% Female	42.9	40.9	37.5	38.9	40.2²
% 0-19	49.4	42.9	43.1	39.8	44.03
% 20-54	45.5	47.1	50.5	49.6	50.43
% 55+	5.2	10.0	6.0	6.2	5.6³
# of Non-Inupiat	14	30	21	33	24
% of Total pop.	15.4	25.4	15.3	22.6	16.0
% Male	78.6	56.7	52.4	60.6	50.5
% Female	21.4	43.3	47.6	39.4	50.0
% 0-19	11.1	25.0	19.1	15.2	16.7
% 20-54	88.9	75.0	76.2	81.8	79.2
% 55+	0.0	0.0	4.8	3.0	4.2
# of Inupiat	n	88	116	113	126
% Male, 0-19	27.3	20.9	27.4	28.6	27.8 ⁴
% Female, 0-19	22.1	15.4	18.0	16.1	15.94
% Male, 20-54	26.0	19.8	28.2	27.7	27.8
% Female, 20-54	19.5	15.4	20.5	21.4	22.2
% Male, 55+	3.9	5.5	4.3	4.5	4.0
% Female, 55+	1.3	2.2	1.7	1.8	1.6
% Male, Unknown	0.0	13.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
% Female, Unknown	0.0	6.6	0.0	0.0	0.8
# of Non-Inupiat	14	30	21	33	24
% Male, 0-19	0.0	0.0	4.8	6.1	4.2
% Female, 0-19	7.1	10.0	14.3	9.1	12.5
% Male, 20-54	42.9	13.3	47.6	54.6	45.8
% Female, 20-54	14.3	16.7	28.6	27.3	33.3
% Male, 55+	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
% Female, 55+	0.0	0.0	4.8	3.0	4.2
% Male, Unknown	35.7	43.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
% Female, Unknown	0.0	16.7	0.0	0.0	0.0

¹Percentages below based only on subtotal of individuals about which age, sex, and ethnicity information is known.

²Excludes nine Inupiat individuals of unknown sex.

³Excludes one Inupiat female of unknown age.

⁴Nine sex-unspecified Inupiat aged 0-4 were allocated as 5 males and 4 female.

Source Alaska Consultant, Inc. 1980; Alaska Consultants et al. 1984; IAI unpublished field notes.

Table 3-PTL

Population Composition *
Point Lay - June 1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Under 5 years	8	4	12	0	0	0	8	4	12
5 - 9	8	5	13	0	1	1	8	6	14
10-14	3	2	5	0	0	0	3	2	5
15-19	2	6	8	0	0	0	2	6	8
20-24	3	2	5	1	1	2	4	3	7
25-29	3	4	7	2	0	2	5	4	9
30-34	3	5	8	2	0	2	5	5	10
35-39	6	3	9	0	1	1	6	4	10
40-44	4	0	4	0	0	0	4	0	4
45-49	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	2
50-54	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
55-59	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
60-64	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
65-69	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	2
70-74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>86</u>
<u>Median Age</u>	<u>21.0</u>	<u>19.5</u>	<u>20.2</u>	<u>30.0</u>	<u>24.5</u>	<u>29.5</u>	<u>24.0</u>	<u>20.0</u>	<u>23.0</u>

* Figures exclude a total of 5 persons (all of them non-Native males) for whom no age information was provided. Thus, a total of 91 persons in Point Lay was surveyed by Alaska Consultants, Inc.

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 4-PTL

Age, Sex and Ethnicity
Point Lay, Alaska - July, 1983”

Age <u>Category</u>	<u>Inupiat</u>		<u>Non-Inupiat</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
0-4	6	5	0	3	6	8
5-9	3	4	0	0	3	4
10-14	5	2	0	0	5	2
15-19	5	3	0	0	5	3
20-24	2	5	0	1	2	6
25-29	2	0	1	1	3	1
30-34	4	3	2	1	6	4
35-39	4	3	0	0	4	3
40-44	4	4	1	1	5	5
45-49	1	0	0	0	1	0
50-54	1	0	0	1	1	1
55-59	2	0	0	0	2	0
60-64	2	0	0	0	2	0
65-69	0	2	0	0	0	2
70-74	0	0	0	0	0	0
75+	1	0	0	0	1	0
Unknown	12	6	13	5	25	11
Totals	54	37	17	13	71	50
	91		30		121	

“Excludes **eight individuals, six with no information and two** of unknown sex and ethnicity.

Source: Alaska Consultants et al. 1984, IAI unpublished fieldnotes.

Table 5-PTL

Age, Sex, and Ethnicity
Point Lay, Alaska - June 1988

<u>Age Category</u>	<u>Inupiat</u>		<u>Non-Inupiat</u>		<u>Mixed</u>		<u>Unknown</u>
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	
0-4	12	5	0	0	0	1	9 ^o
5-9	4	3	0	3	1	1	0
11-14	4	3	0	0	1	0	0
15-19	8	3	1	0	0	0	0
20-24	10	8	0	1	0	0	0
25-29	6	6	3	1	0	0	0
30-34	2	1	1	2	0	0	0
35-39	8	6	3	1	0	0	0
40-44	5	4	0	1	0	0	0
45-49	3	2	2	1	0	0	0
50-54	1	1	2	1	0	0	0
55-59	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
60-64	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
65-69	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
70-74	0	1	0	0	0	0	0 ^o “
75-79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80-84	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	65	45	12	12	2	2	9
	150	113		24		4	9

• 8 Inupiat, 1 “Mixed” - all sex unknown.

Source Impact Assessment, Inc., unpublished fieldnotes.

Table 6-PTL

Age, Sex, and Race Composition of Population -1988
Point Lay

	INUPIAT			NON-INUPIAT			TOTAL			% TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	
UNDER 4	11	8	19			0	11	8	19	12.8%
4 - 8	9	8	17	1	1	2	10	9	19	12.8%
9 - 15	6	8	14		2	2	6	10	16	10.7%
16-17	5	1	6			0	5	1	6	4.0%
18 - 25	13	8	21	1		1	14	8	22	14.8%
X - 39	8	10	18	6	3	9	14	13	27	18.1%
40 - 59	14	9	23	5	6	11	19	15	34	22.8%
60 - 65	1		1			0	1	0	1	0.7%
66 +	3	2	5			0	3	2	5	3.4%
TOTAL	70	54	124	13	12	25	83	66	149	100.0%
%	47.0%	36.2%	83.2%	8.7%	8.1%	16.8%	55.7%	44.3%	100.0%	
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS									9	
TOTAL POPULATION									158	

AVERAGE AGE
(years)

ENTIRE POPULATION	25.5
MALE	26.2
FEMALE	24.6
INUPIAT	23.5
NON-INUPIAT	35.7

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Figure 1-PTL

Inupiat and Total Population in 1988
Point Lay

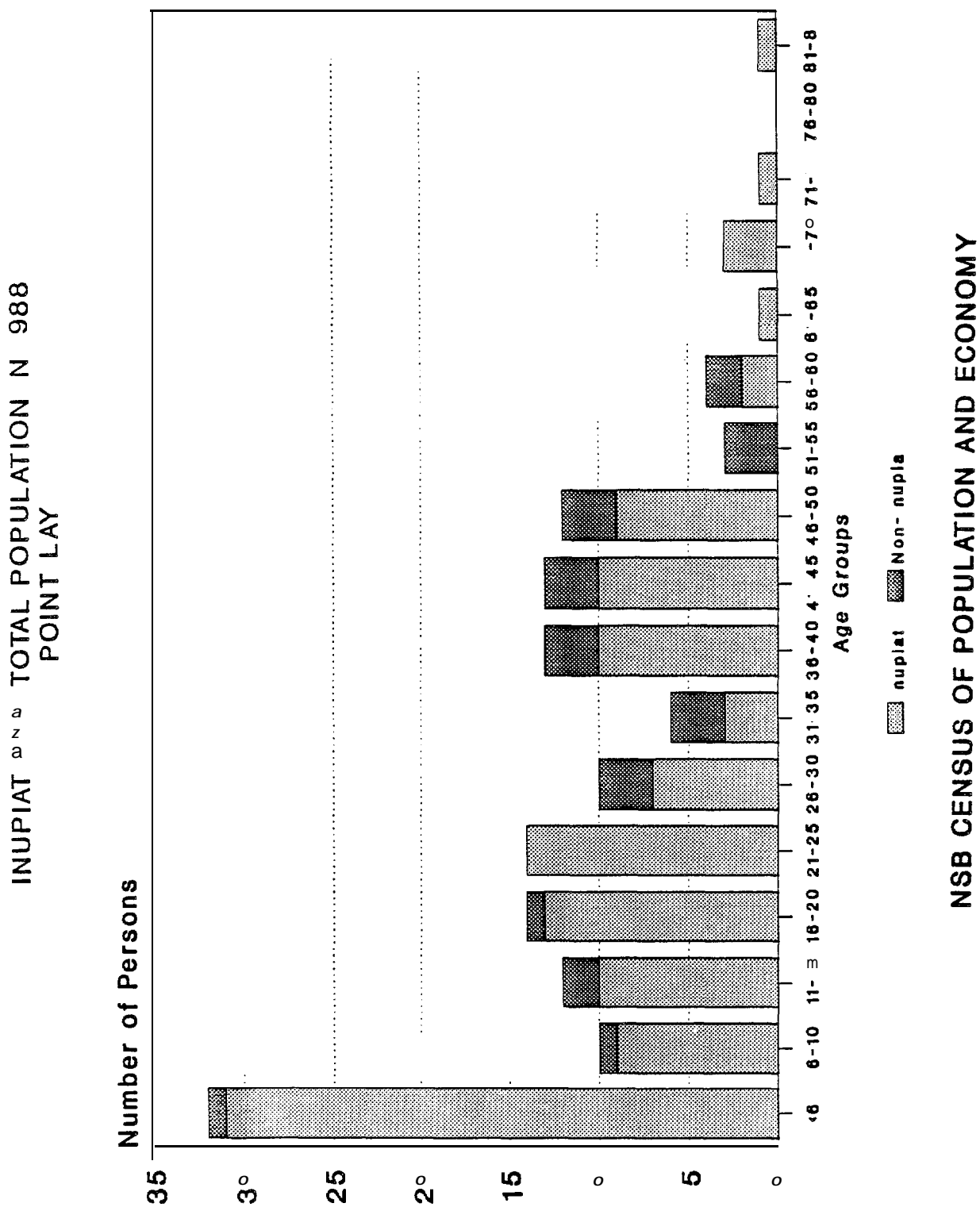


Table 7-PTL

Ethnic Composition of Population -1988
Point Lay

ETHNIC CATEGORY	TOTAL POPULATION			% OF TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	
INUPIAT	75	57	132	83.5%
OTHER AK NATIVE	1	1	2	1.3%
WHITE	13	11	24	15.2%
TOTAL	89	69	158	100.0%
%	56.3%	43.7%	100.0%	
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS			0	
TOTAL POPULATION			158	

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Figure 2-PTL

Point Lay Population Characteristics -1988

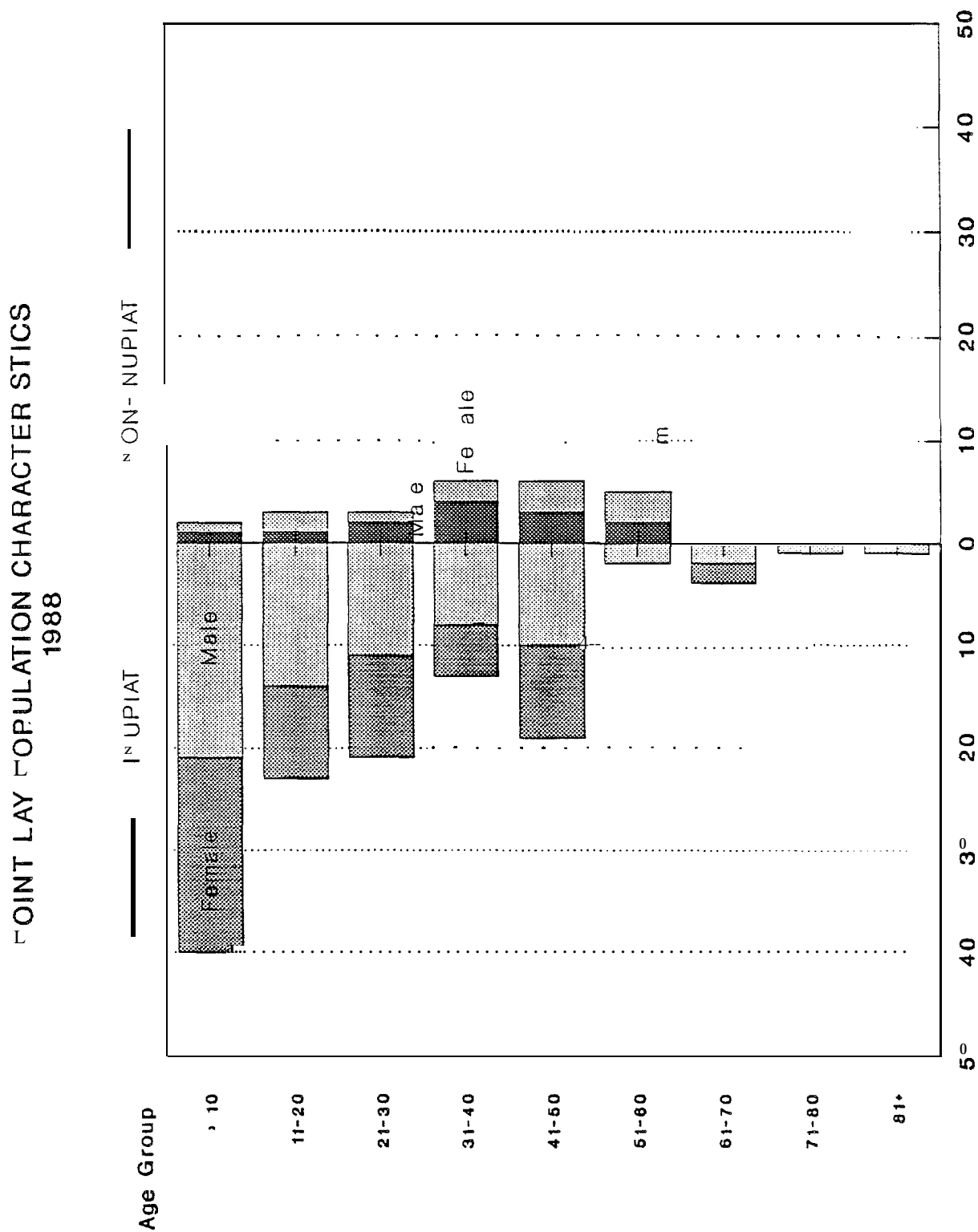
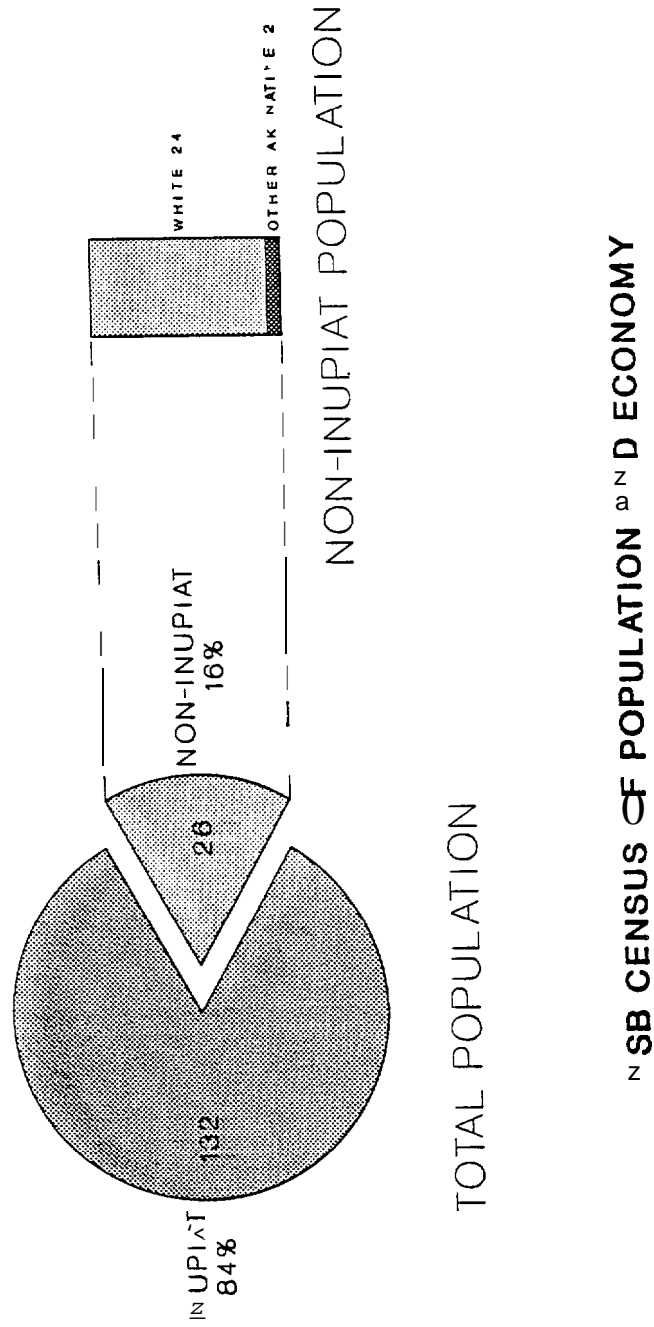


Figure 3-PTL

Ethnic Composition of Population -1988
Point Lay



TOTAL POPULATION

NON-INUPIAT POPULATION

The school actively recruits teaching couples, who tend to be non-Native. Point Lay is unusual in having a significant number of **non-Inupiat** NSB employees not affiliated with the school. These jobs foster the establishment of a permanent home in Point Lay, encouraging a number of stable and socially central **interethnic** marriages in the community.

The age distributions of both **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** populations have been drifting somewhat, but again descriptive generalities are evident for each population which contrast markedly (Table 2-PTL). **Inupiat** aged 0-19, basically the dependent years, comprise about 40 to 43% of the **Inupiat** population. Working age **Inupiat**, 20-54, make up about 45 to 50% of the **Inupiat** population. **Elders** comprise 5 to 10% of the **Inupiat** population. For **non-Inupiat**, dependents make up from 11 to 25% of the population, with the low figure being 1980 and the most recent numbers stabilizing around 15 to 20%. This is less than half of the **Inupiat** portion. Working age **non-Inupiat** comprise 75 to 89% of the **non-Inupiat** population, again with the extreme, 89%, being a 1980 figure. More recent numbers are in the 80% area. Elderly **non-Inupiat** comprise 4 to 5% of the **non-Inupiat** population. At present this represents one person.

These figures are reinforced by the dependency ratios and child-woman ratios calculated for Point Lay, although 1983 is an anomalous year (Table 8-PTL). The actual numbers are somewhat different, since the age groups these standard demographic measures are based on vary slightly from those of the above discussion. These ratios are useful to compare populations for **interregional** analysis since they are explicitly defined, but the definition has to be evaluated in terms of the specific social-demographic context of the population involved. It is suspected that the 1983 ratios are exceptional because of the presence of one (possibly two) **non-Inupiat** families with young children. This demonstrates the statistical perturbations that can occur with a change in one or two cases in a small population.

There are few older **non-Inupiat** in Point Lay. There were none in 1980 or 1984, and the current figure is about 4%. This is the one "cohort" roughly equivalent to its **Inupiat** counterpart, but there is no special status attached to this single **non-Inupiat** because of **age**. Because this is a single case it is difficult to make generalizations, but behaviorally this age span is not treated as defining a group or category and so contrasts markedly with the category of "Inupiat Elder."

These sex distributions underscore certain dynamics in Point Lay. **Non-Inupiat** come to Point Lay to **work**, and tend not to raise families there. This was even more true in the past when most work was seasonal construction and the permanent service and **school** positions were not yet fully established (Table 3-PTL). Once past working age, most **non-Inupiat** leave the village. Those over age 55 remaining in Point Lay are still working (one full-time, one part-time) and also have family reasons to maintain residential ties in Point Lay. The **Inupiat** population, on the other hand, is clearly a permanently residential one, as indicated by the large number of young people.

Except for slight inconsistencies, the age category percentages for the Point Lay **Inupiat** population have been relatively constant since 1980, as can be seen in Table 8-PTL and the population pyramid from the NSB census, Figure 2-PTL.

2. Influences on Population Size and Structure

The decline of the CIP program is one explanation for the present equality of the **non-Inupiat** sex ratios. The larger CIP projects of the past employed a substantial number of workers, most of them male. Few North Slope communities had a large enough labor force to supply enough workers for these projects, and because most of the communities had projects at the same time it was necessary to import **non-Inupiat** in many cases. This is no longer the case, both because the scale of the projects has become smaller and there is more of an effort to employ women as well as men. There is also less reliance on skills not possessed by community residents. However, non-Native males are still preferentially hired at the DEW Line station outside of Point Lay.

Table 8-PTL

Demographic Ratios for Point Lay, Alaska

	September 1980	July 1983	June 1988
Dependency Ratio			
Total Pop.	62.3	57.4	53.6
Inupiat Only	71.1	62.2	78.5 (76.1 ¹)
Non-Inupiat Only	12.5	33.3	20.0 (34.8 ²)
Child-Women Ratio			
Total Pop.	54.6	63.6	52.9
Inupiat Only	60.0	61.1	64.3 (62.1 ³)
Non-Inupiat Only	0.0	75.0	0.0 (16.7 ⁴)

¹Both figures classify "mixed" children as **Inupiat**. The second includes two **non-Inupiat** parents of "Mixed" children.

²Second figure includes four "mixed" children and three **Inupiat** parents Of "**Mixed**" children.

³Both figures include one "mixed" child classified as **Inupiat**. The second includes this child's **non-Inupiat** mother.

⁴Second figure includes one "mixed" child.

$$\text{Dependency Ratio} = \frac{(\# \text{ of people ages } 0 - 14) + (\# \text{ of people age } 65+)}{\# \text{ of people age } 15-64} \times 100$$

$$\text{Child-Woman Ratio} = \frac{\# \text{ of people less than age } 5}{\# \text{ of women ages } 15-44} \times 100$$

Source Calculated from Alaska Consultants 1981, Alaska Consultants et al. 1984 as modified by Galginaitis 1987, and Galginaitis 1988.

Table 9-PTL

Age Categories as Percentages of the **Inupiat** Population of Point Lay
for Certain Dates

	<u>9/80</u>	<u>7/83</u>	<u>9/87</u>	<u>12/87</u>	<u>6/88</u>
Inupiat Population	77	88	116 ¹	113 ²	121 ³
<u>Age Category</u>					
0-4	13.2	10.2	20.0	20.4	20.7
5-9	14.3	6.8	6.0	6.2	5.8
10-14	5.5	8.0	7 . 8	8.0	5.8
15-19	8.8	9.1	10.3	9.7	9.1
20-24	5.5	8.0	14.7	13.8	14.9
25-29	7.7	2.3	6.9	8.0	9.9
30-34	8.8	8.0	6.0	4.4	2.5
35-39	9.9	8.0	9.5	9.7	11.6
40-44	4.4	9.1	9.5	9.7	7.4
45-49	1.1	1.1	4.3	4.4	4.1
50-54	1.1	1.1	0.0	0.0	1.7
55-59	1.1	2.3	.9	.9	.8
60-64	1.1	2.3	1.7	1.8	.8
65-69	2.2	2.3	2.6	2.7	2.5
70-74	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.8
75-79	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
80-84	0.0	0.0	.9	.9	.8
Unknown	0.0	13.6	0.0	0.0	.8

¹Includes four individuals aged 0-4 of unknown sex.

²Includes five individuals aged 0-4 of unknown sex.

³Includes eight individuals aged 0-4 of unknown sex.

Source Alaska Consultants, Inc. 1980; Alaska Consultants et al. 1984; IAI unpublished field notes.

To a large extent, economic factors define the population structure of Point Lay in a quite complicated fashion. This information is presented in detail in the Point Lay Case Study. The salient fact about the relationship of the economy and population in Point Lay is that there are more jobs than there are people to fill them. Both **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** individuals are drawn to Point Lay for the employment there, and both can be **either** “transient” or “residential” (although **non-Inupiat** are seldom thought to want to live in Point Lay once they retire). This has important implications for the village’s population size and structure, ethnic relations, leadership, and other aspects of village social life which illuminate and sometimes contrast with social processes in other North Slope villages.

The main political influence on population size and structure in Point Lay is the initial NSB decision to subsidize the reformation of the village. All the “**traditional**” NSB villages receive subsidies without which they could not exist in their present form. The creation of village jobs through the construction of village infrastructure clearly also has political implications. **Priorities** are set among villages for the funds available and such decisions are not always made on a strict

cost-benefit basis. Point Lay has fared extremely **well** under these programs, aside from a lack of **NSB-built** housing traceable to local decisions not to accept such housing projects in the past. Point Lay has, or is in the process of acquiring, all the facilities that it desires. A consequence of this, combined with the relative lack of available housing, is that there has seldom been a lack of wage employment in Point Lay for those people willing to **work**. Point Lay is as close to a **fully-employed** village as exists on the North Slope and perhaps because of this has a predominately young population.

B. Household Size and Composition

1. Characteristics of Households

Certain other terms must be defined for the following discussion. "**Inupiat**" households will be used to refer to households where all adults are Alaskan Natives. There are two or three cases in Point Lay where **Inupiat** women are married to **non-Inupiat** (but Alaskan Native) men. For all intents and purposes, other village residents treat these as fully **Inupiat** households. Except in cases where it is known to make a difference, we will also not make this distinction. "Caucasian" households will also be termed "non-Native" households and are those where all adults are not Alaskan Natives. These adults may or may not actually be Caucasian, although currently in Point Lay they all are. "Mixed" households are those in which some adults are Alaskan Natives and others are not. In Point Lay, three of the four cases of "mixed" households are of **Inupiat** men married to Caucasian women. The other is the reverse. Few generalizations can be made about how the children from these unions are being raised, especially given the small number of cases, but they are quite suggestive in terms of the development of an individual's concept of ethnicity. The **non-Inupiat** member of each such **couple** is also quite important in Point Lay since, without exception, **all** display leadership capabilities or the willingness to express opinions and set directions for action. Because of these "**un-Inupiat**" traits, these individuals often assume or are thrust into positions of **local** responsibility. This will be discussed below and will be one of the topics for comparative analysis.

Households will also be discussed in terms of their composition. Five labels will be used to simplify this and later discussions. These five categories are based on the cases actually found in Point Lay, and not on a theoretical topology of family or household form. A "nuclear" family is one composed of a married couple and their children, and is the predominant form in Point Lay. A distinction is made between "young nuclear" and "old nuclear" families. The former are composed of young couples who have not started to have children or who have young (minor) children. The latter are **older** couples whose children are now **all** adults, although some may still be living with the parents. "Single-parent" households are composed of only one parent with **his/her** children. The other (absent) parent may be divorced, deceased, or not known. The adult in these households maybe young (teenager) to middle-aged (*40s*). "Single-person" households are composed of a single adult. "Complex" households are those which do not fit into these simple categories, and do not appear to have any explanatory power as a category of their own. However, they often serve as examples of adaptations of traditional household types in a modern context.

As can be seen from Tables 10-PTL through 16-PTL, there is a degree of fluidity of membership between and among **Inupiat** households, ranging from zero in certain cases to something close to

shared membership in the other extreme. This does not lessen the Point Lay concept of separate households, any more than the idea of a structure "defining" a household lessens the Inupiat cultural commitment to sharing between households. The net result is that in Point Lay a household is recognized as a separate habitation unit. However, some households are recognized to share or cooperate more often than others. In most cases, but not all, this sharing is based on kinship relations (whether "real" or "fictive"). Residents of Point Lay always affiliate an individual with the household in which he is physically residing. A household is never considered to be a satellite dependent of another.

Figure 4-PTL and Table 17-PTL are of interest because they show that the distribution of annual incomes among Inupiat and non-Inupiat is relatively equal. This is unusual for the villages on the North Slope where non-Inupiat tend to earn high incomes relative to Inupiat. This trend was not apparent in 1980 (see Figure 4-PTL) since there were no non-Inupiat in the sample, but this is the case today (see Table 17-PTL).

Table 17-PTL illustrates the uneven distribution of household income in Point Lay. One can see from the table that approximately one-third of non-Inupiat households are in the highest income bracket, \$60,000 or above. Only 1 out of 27 Inupiat households is in the same income bracket. The mode for Inupiat households is in the \$20,000 to \$40,000 income bracket. In this same bracket there are no non-Inupiat households.

2. Discussion

One can see little change in the household size of either Inupiat or non-Inupiat households in the data from the first five censuses shown above. Inupiat and "mixed" households are typically larger than non-Inupiat households. This is consistent with the fact that Caucasians usually constitute a temporary work force. Even when married couples are hired in the community, they have usually finished raising children or have not yet started doing so. This explains why there are so few Caucasian children in Point Lay.

Comparison of the composition of Inupiat and non-Inupiat households in 1980 is not very illuminating, given the small number of non-Inupiat households and their transient nature. Between 1984 and 1987, however, there was a notable increase in the number of single-parent Inupiat households from one to seven. This dramatic change is probably more indicative of the fluidity of households, as mentioned above, than it is of a trend toward non-nuclear single-parent households.

In reference to Tables 18-PTL, 19-PTL, and 20-PTL, it was expected that "complex" Inupiat households would be the largest in size. However, this was not found to be true in Point Lay. "Mixed" households were the largest, on the average, while Inupiat households tended to be small and nuclear in nature. In conclusion, it seems that non-Inupiat who come to Point Lay are either of two types. Some come alone or with a spouse to work as a temporary employee, such as a PSO or a school teacher, and do not make Point Lay their permanent home. The other type of non-Inupiat in Point Lay may or may not arrive with the intention of making Point Lay their home but, nevertheless, marries an Inupiat, bears children, and becomes an integrated member of the community.

Table 10-PTL

Age of Head of Household for
Alaska Natives*, Non-Natives** ***, and All Groups
Point Lay, June 1980

Household Size	<u>14-24</u>			<u>25-34</u>			<u>35-44</u>			<u>45-64</u>			65+			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Native	Non-Native	Total	Native	Non-Native	Total	Native	Non-Native	Total	Native	Non-Native	Total	Native	Non-Native	Total	Native	Non-Native	Total
1 person	1	0	1	0	1	1	2	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	4	1	5
2 persons	0	0	0	2	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	4
3 persons	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	4	0	4
4 persons	0	0	0	2	0	2	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	5	0	5
5 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	3
6 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
7 persons	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
8 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	1	0	1	7	1	8	10	0	10	3	1	4	2	0	2	23	2	25

- For purposea of the housing survey, the adult **Alaska** Native in combination Alaska Native/non-Native households was always designated head of household.
- * Figurea **exclude** one head of household (non-Native) for whom no age information was obtained.
- * Includes one unit used as group **quarters**.

Source Alaska Consultants 1981, **Tables** 111 and 112, pagina 113-14.

Table 11-PTL

Household Composition, Point Lay, Alaska - 7/S4

	<u>Inupiat</u>	<u>Caucasian</u>	<u>"Mixed"</u>
<u>Household Size</u>			
1	6	1	0
2	4	4	0
3	1	2	1
4	4	2	1
5	4	1	0
6	4	1	0
7	0	0	0
8	0	0	0
9	0	0	0
10	0	0	0
11	1	0	0
Totals	24	11	2
Average 3.67	3.09	3.5	
<u>Household Type</u>			
Young Nuclear	9	5	
Old Nuclear	1	1	
Single-Parent	1	0	
Single-Person	6	1	
Complex	7	4	
Totala	24	11	
Inupiat Complex are	grandfather + granddaughter nuclear family + nephew (?) single parent + child + ? three-generation household grandfather + grandchildren two male adults (both single) couple + six sons + three daughter-in-laws		
Non-Inupiat Complex:	two adult males (two cases) three adult males with one adult female adult female with children + grandchildren		

Table 12-PTL

Household Composition, Point Lay, Alaska - 09/87

<u>Household Size</u>	<u>Inupiat</u>	<u>Caucasian</u>	<u>"Mixed"</u>
1	3	3	0
2	10	3	0
3	2	2	1
4	6	0	2
5	6	0	1
6	4	0	0
7	1	0	0
Totals	32	8	4
	3.56	2.0	4

<u>Household Type</u>	<u>Inupiat</u>	<u>Caucasian</u>	<u>"Mixed"</u>
Young Nuclear	12	2	4
Old Nuclear	1	2	0
Single-Parent	7	0	0
Single-Person	3	2	0
Complex	9	2	0
Totals	32	8	4

Inupiat Complex are three adult **males**
 two adult males (two **cases**)
 grandfather + granddaughter
 grandfather + grandchildren + son + researcher
 nuclear family + younger brother
 young couple (no children) + brother of male
 couple with adopted children

Non-Inupiat Complex two adult **males** (school **teachers**)
 Cully Camp (a **single** person)

Table 13-PTL

Household Composition, Point Lay, Alaska - 12/87

	<u>Inupiat</u>	<u>Caucasian</u>	<u>"Mixed"</u>
<u>Household Size</u>			
1	3	3	0
2	9	3	0
3	3	3	1
4	6	1	1
5	8	0	2
6	2	1	0
Totals	31	11	4
Average.	3.42	2.55	4.25
<u>Type</u>			
Young Nuclear	15	4	4
Old Nuclear	1	1	0
Single-Parent	7	0	0
Single-Person	3	3	0
Complex	5	3	0
Totals	31	11	4

Inupiat Complex are three adult males
two adult **males**
grandfather + granddaughter
grandfather + unmarried son + grandchildren
couple with adopted children

Non-Inupiat Complex **Cully** Camp
two **adult males** (school teachers)

Table 14-PTL

Household Composition, Point Lay, Alaska - 6/88

	<u>Inupiat</u>	<u>Caucasian</u>	<u>"Mixed"</u>
1	4	6	0
2	9	1	0
3	3	4	1
4	5	0	2
5	10	0	0
6	2	0	1
Totals	33	11	4
Average	3.42	1.82	4.2s
<u>Household Type</u>			
Young Nuclear	19	2	4
Old Nuclear	1	1	0
Single-Parent	4	0	0
Single-Person	4	6	0
Complex	5	2	0
Totals	33	11	4
Inupiat Complex are	adult male + son + man's friend grandfather + granddaughter, grandfather + grandchildren mother + unmarried children + two adult males couple with adopted children		
Non-Inupiat Complex	Cully Camp couple with temporary foster child		

Table 15-PTL

Average Household Size by **Ethnicity**, Point Lay, Alaska

<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>09/80</u>	<u>07/84</u>	<u>09/87</u>	12/87	<u>06/88</u>
Inupiat	3.48	3.6	3.6	3.4	3.4
Caucasian	3.00	3.1	1.9	2.6	1.8
"Mixed"	•	3.5	4.0	4.3	4.3

• "Mixed" was not a category for this census. Such couples were counted as **Inupiat**.

Table 16-PTL

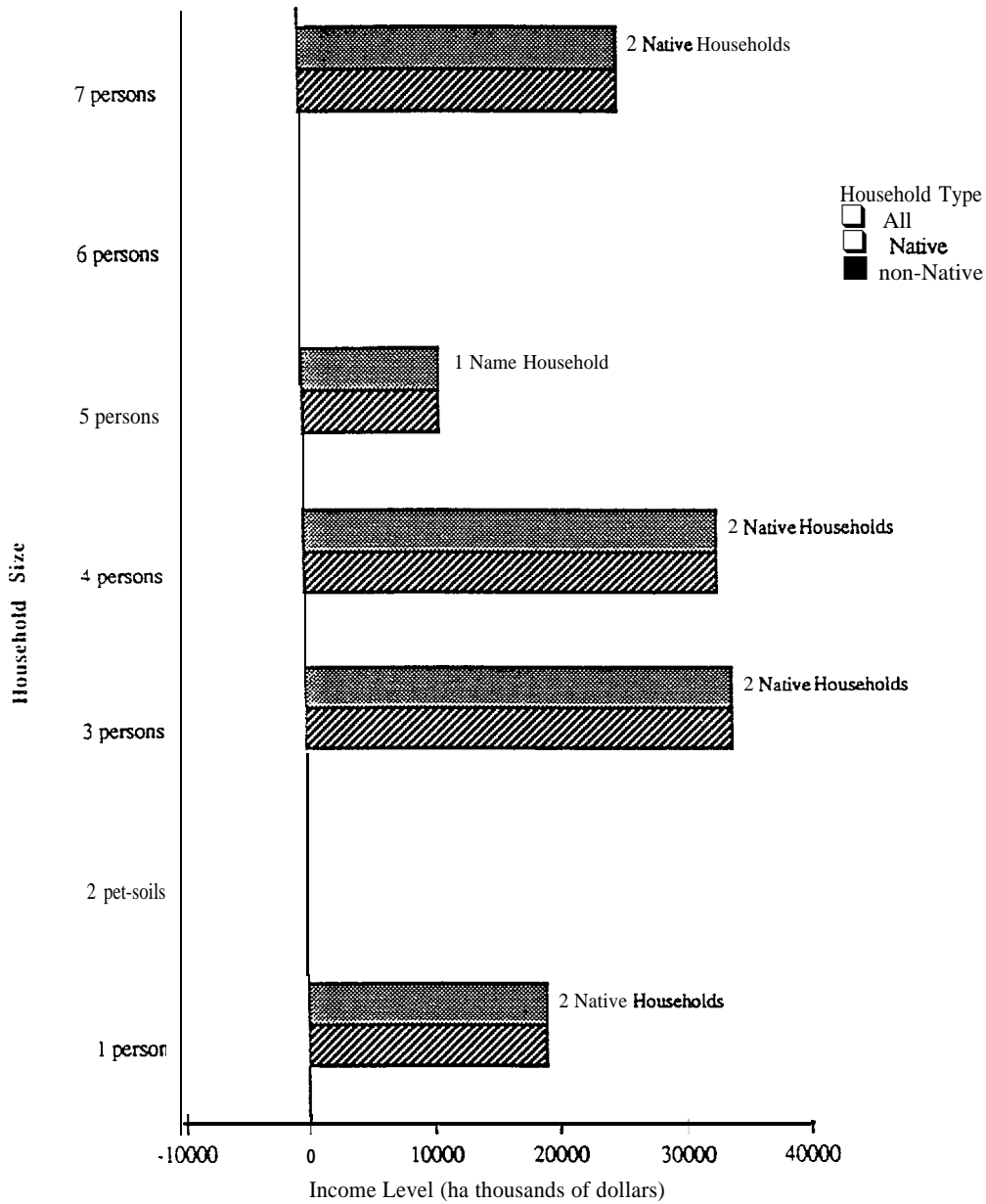
Household Size -1988
Point Lay

NUMBER OF PERSONS	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS			%
	NON- INUPIAT	INUPIAT	TOTAL	
1	6	1	7	15.2%
2	6	6	12	26.1%
3	2	1	3	6.5%
4	7	1	8	17.4%
5	12		12	26.1%
6	2		2	4.3%
7	2		2	4.3%
8			0	0.0%
9			0	0.0%
10			0	0.0%
11			0	0.0%
12			0	0.0%
TOTAL OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLD	37	9	46	100.0%
AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD SIZE	3.7	2.2	3.4	

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Figure 4-PTL

Average Household Income Distribution
Native and non-Native Households by Household Size
Point Lay, June 1980



Total Number of Household 9
 Mean Household Income:
 All: \$25,967
 Native: \$25,967
 Non-Native: \$0.00

● Includes one unit used as group quarters.
 ** Figures exclude 17 households (14 Alaska Native and 3 non-Native) for whom no income information was obtained.
 ●** For purposes of the housing survey, the adult Alaska Native in combination ASaska-Native./non-Native households was always designated head of household.

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey.
 Prepared for the North Slope Borough Public Works Department, Anchorage, September 1980

Table 17-PTL

Household Income and Spending -1988
Point Lay

HOUSEHOLD INCOME CATEGORY	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS			
	NON- INUPIAT	NON- INUPIAT	TOTAL	% TOTAL
UNDER \$20,000	7	3	10	29.4%
\$20,000 - \$40,000	11		11	32.4%
\$40,000 - \$60,000	8	2	10	29.4%
\$60,000 & ABOVE	1	2	3	8.8%
TOTAL	27	7	34	100.0%

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS 12

TOTAL OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS 4s

FOR ALL VILLAGE HOUSEHOLDS

	<u>MEDIAN</u>	<u>AVERAGE</u>
HOUSEHOLD INCOME	\$30,000	\$33,603
PROPORTION OF TOTAL HH INCOME SPENT IN VILLAGE (1)	50.0%	47.0%
MONTHLY HOUSING PAYMENT (2)	\$195	\$346
MONTHLY HEATING COSTS	\$210	\$230
MONTHLY ELECTRICITY COSTS	\$26	\$44

Notes: (1) For food, dining, and other household goods.
(2) Includes rent and mortgage.

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Table 18-PTL

Household Size Statistics, Point Lay, Alaska

September 1980

<u>Type</u>	<u>Total #</u>	<u>Average Size</u>	<u>Mode</u>	<u>Median</u>
Inupiat	23	3.48	4	3
Non-Inupiat	2	3.00		

July 19s4

<u>Type</u>	<u>Total #</u>	<u>Average Size</u>	<u>Mode</u>	<u>Median</u>
Inupiat	24	3.67	1	4
Caucasian	11	3.09	2	3
"Mixed"	2	3.5		
Total	37	3.5		

September 1987

<u>Type</u>	<u>Total #</u>	<u>Average Size</u>	<u>Mode</u>	<u>Median</u>
Inupiat	32	3.56	2	4
Caucasian	7	2.0	2	
"Mixed"	4	4		
Total	43	3.3		

December 1987

<u>Type</u>	<u>Total #</u>	<u>Average Size</u>	<u>Mode</u>	<u>Median</u>
Inupiat	31	3.42	2	4
Caucasian	11	2.55	2	
"Mixed"	4	4.25		
Total	46	3.3		

June 19S8

<u>Type</u>	<u>Total #</u>	<u>Average Size</u>	<u>Mode</u>	<u>Median</u>
Inupiat	33	3.42	5	4
Caucasian	11	1.82	1	1
"Mixed"	4	4.2s	4	
Total	48	3.1		

NSB **Census** of 1988 (Fall)¹

<u>Type</u>	<u>Total #</u>	<u>Average Size</u>	<u>Mode</u>	<u>Median</u>
Inupiat	37	3.73	5	4
Caucasian	9	2.22	2	1
"Mixed"	*	*	*	
Total	46	3.43		

¹NSB 1989, 1988 Census of Population and Economy (preliminary draft.) (Data from field observation unless otherwise noted.)
 * "Mixed" was not a census category. Such couples were counted as "Inupiat".

Table 19-PTL

Average **Inupiat** Household Size

<u>Household Type</u>	<u>7/84</u>	<u>9/87</u>	<u>12/87</u>	<u>6/88</u>
Young Nuclear	4.22	4.5	4.33	4.0
Complex	5.29	4.22	3.6	4.0
"Mixed"	3.5	4.0	4.3	4.3

Table 20-PTL

Age of Head of **Household**, Point Lay **Inupiat**

<u>Household Type*</u>	<u>7/84</u>	<u>9/87</u>	<u>12/87</u>	<u>6/88</u>
Young Nuclear	35.1	36.8	35.3	34.2
Single-Person	3s.3	39.3	36.0	44.0
Single-Parent	42.0	43.4	43.6	42.0
Complex	53.7	44.2	56.3	56.6

*Old Nuclear deleted as there was only one case for all **years**.

Another interesting point about household size and composition is revealed in Table 20-PTL. Among **Inupiat**, the age of the head of household for a young nuclear family was the same as that of a single-person household in 1954. But recently this trend has changed, with single-person households being headed by an individual about ten years older than that for a young nuclear household. This **implies** that a **fairly** good number of marriages occurred at a relatively late age, but that more recently age at first marriage has declined. It **is** suspected that this **is** the case, based on the genealogical information available from **Point Lay**, **which** deals with the recent historical past. Age differences of 20 years between spouses were not unusual, with older men marrying younger women. This **is** sometimes interpreted as the continuation of more traditional ways. informants report that an individual married when ready for the **responsibilities** of a family, and that women learned and were able to demonstrate this capability at a much earlier age than men were able to. One result was that a woman often married more than once, as it was not unusual for her to survive at least her first husband. This is **precisely** the experience of the two oldest women **in Point Lay**. In this regard **it** is interesting to note that the two male **Inupiat Point Layers** who have married Caucasian women have both **married** women younger than themselves. They are both men who did not have the advantage of ample wage opportunities when young and were perhaps handicapped **in** competition for younger **Inupiat** women **in** the villages.

C. Educational Status

It can be claimed that it was **non-Inupiat** contact that fostered the development of Point Lay as a permanent community. This requires a regional perspective, however, as the first school in the area was constructed at Icy Cape (a seasonal location used by people from both the **Wainwright** and Point Lay areas) in 1906. Closed **in** 1913, this **school** was reopened in 1925 and soon closed again. It was decided in 1929 to relocate this **school** on the spit near present-day Point Lay. The school **served** as the “magnet” that anchored the village of Point Lay and fostered its identity as a community. The **school** in Point Lay closed in 1958 as a result, some accounts claim, of an administrative decision. Most Point Lay informants, however, say that the school was closed because there were no (or very few) students for it. People began to move back to the spit in the spring of 1972, but the NSB evidently did not reopen the school until **February** 1974.

This school was established in the old school building on the spit in the “old” Point Lay. There was one teacher and a teacher’s aide, as well as locally hired school help. It was soon decided to relocate the village, and a new school was completed at the “New Side” site (**in** the delta of the **Kokolik** River) in 1976. This was a larger school with a larger staff (including a principal/teacher). When the village was again relocated in the early 1980s (construction started in 1980), a still larger school was built at the present site. The school at the “New Side” was eventually moved over to the present village site but was converted into housing, with other structures being used temporarily for **school** classes. The newest school was completed in 1983.

1. Organization and Operations

The school curriculum has undergone substantial change in recent years, with perhaps the most interesting question of late being an appropriate balance between formal Western education and formal instruction in traditional **Inupiat** culture. The present curriculum is a compromise of diametrically opposed opinions held by most of the professional educators on the North Slope, on the one hand, and by Point Lay residents in particular and the majority of the Native population on the North Slope in general, on the other. Professional educators on the North Slope believe the mission of the Point Lay school is education in the lower-48 mainstream sense, not to provide a forum for the transmission of **Inupiat** culture and, further, that **Inupiat** culture cannot be **preserved** by the school in any event if it is not first made vital in each student’s home. It is clear in Point Lay that the school staff is of the firm opinion that the mission of the school is to teach skills necessary in contemporary society, and perhaps values, but not **Inupiat** culture. The Native parents of Native students, on the other hand, generally want a greater role for **Inupiat** culture in the school than is being granted at present.

One result of this disagreement regarding the nature of the school curriculum **is** that, **paradoxically**, what is perhaps the most central and primary **institution in** the village is also, at **times**, one of the most marginal. All children, with a few exceptions, must attend school up to a certain age. For the majority, **this** precludes much **activity** of any other kind and certainly prevents learning subsistence skills **in** an intensive **participatory/observational** way. The primary activity of children is **going** to school. These youngest of village residents, **Inupiat** for the most part, **living** and going to school **within** an **Inupiat** community are taught a **curriculum** that is almost totally determined not by people **living in** the village but **in** Barrow, and to a great extent by non-Native professionals.

Much of the content of what is taught is seen by many as irrelevant **for life** in Point Lay. Many of the problems of the schools would appear to stem from this contradictory nature of the school.

The NSB'S ability to provide its own leadership and expertise **in** the future, as opposed to having to rely on experts and consultants, will depend in large part on the ability of schools and families to prepare younger **Inupiat** to fulfill those **roles**. The outlying villages, such as Point Lay and Point Hope, face the difficulty that the young are not exposed to borough institutions in the same way that the young in Barrow are, and this, combined with the fact that there are very few full-time paid leadership positions available, makes training for this difficult.

2. Current Educational Levels

The recent NSB census collected information on the formal educational attainment of **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** in Point Lay and obtained remarkably complete **information** (Table 21-PTL). Twenty eight point two percent (42 individuals) were still attending school in the village, and another 2% of high school age respondents (3 individuals) answered that they had finished high school. Another 12.1% (18 individuals) were too young for school. Thus, 42.3% of the population of Point Lay is high school age or younger. Alternatively, 57.7% of Point Lay's population is old enough to have graduated from high school. It is this population of eighty-six that we should then be concerned with in regard to educational achievement as an overall measure, and the different age groups past high school age, to discuss differential educational achievement.

Of these 86 individuals, twenty-two did not finish high school (25.6%) and eight were uncertain (9.3%). Fifty-six (65.1%) had graduated from high school and/or attended some sort of **post-secondary** educational program. There is a suggestive age variance in educational achievement, however, although it is at best tentative at this point. Although graduation rates for the age groups of Table 22-PTL are roughly equivalent, there is some evidence that recent high school graduates are not as well prepared as those of the past. This is not phrased in any abstract terms, but is more an observation that many current graduates have difficulty with reading and arithmetic, do not look for educational or employment opportunities outside of the village, and in general make little use of their high school experiences. Only 18.2% of those ages 18-25 are pursuing post-secondary education, whereas **41.2%** of the people ages 40-59 have done so. This may partially be a matter of age, as it can be expected that some individuals currently ages 18-25 will return to some sort of school in the future. This does, however, suggest that there may be serious educational problems within Point Lay, especially when analyzed in terms of percentage of high school graduates who continue on for more education. In that case, the figures for the three age groups of interest are 25.6%, 40.0%, and 56.0%. Those ages 18-25 are again **lowest** and those ages 40-59 are highest.

Non-Inupiat in Point Lay are concentrated into the 26-39 and 40-59 age groups and could be expected to "inflate" the average **level** of formal educational attainment for those age groups. The differences between the age groups may be very small (Table 21-PTL). At best, our correction in this matter is very approximate and suggests caution in the interpretation of the NSB census in this regard. Table 23-PTL presents data on **Inupiat** graduation rates for selected age groups.

Current statistics on the enrollment and recent number of graduates of the Point Lay School are displayed in Figures 5-PTL and 6-PTL. Figure 6-PTL needs to be updated to reflect the two

graduates in 1988, the two graduates in 1989, and the zero graduates projected for 1990 (there being no seniors, and only one junior who will be attending a special program out of Point Lay). The North Slope Borough School District (NSBSD) recognizes that the centralized statistics that the district keeps have certain inherent problems. Enrollment figures suffer from a number of complicating factors. Official dropout statistics are not kept because of the mobility of the population. One school's "dropout" is often another school's "dropin." If all such unofficial transfers occurred within the confines of the NSB, the central office should in principal be able to deal with it. As it happens, families move to Anchorage, Fairbanks, and other cities (and back) and there is little real chance for constructing dropout statistics. Sporadic attendance often makes enrollment figures deceptive. Younger grades demonstrate very regular attendance, but in the high school it is not uncommon in Point Lay for attendance to be significantly less than enrollment (as with dropout and graduation rates, no reliable figures are available, but one teacher estimated that his average class attendance was half of formal enrollment). The distinction between tardiness and absence is not always clear, and attendance after lunch is noticeably higher than before. Attendance and tardiness records are for the most part kept for budgetary and programmatic purposes (that is, state and federal funding) and are very difficult to interpret or to translate into reality as they actually relate to behavior.

3. Issues

Education in school for post-school employment skills is problematic in Point Lay. The Point Lay Case Study (IAI: in draft) presents information on the relationship between education and employment opportunities, and for purposes of this report those issues are best developed in a comparative discussion. This will be deferred until the centralized school system is described as a whole, as this is clearly a problem shared by all villages. Table 22-PTL will serve to keep these issues in mind until that discussion is reached.

The Point Lay School does exhibit certain features that should be remarked on. The staff, and especially the principal, recognize that as a small school they cannot offer the diversity that other schools can. They counter this as best they can by making sure that all seniors and as many other high school students as possible make at least one school-sponsored trip out of Point Lay each year. The current principal, who came as a teacher in 1986/87 and became **principal** in 1987/88, also encourages Point Lay students to take advantage of as many of the scholarship and other programs available as possible. This encouragement takes the form of screening the opportunities and then directing them to that student (or more rarely, those students) best able to qualify and take advantage of them, and then helping with the application. Several students have attended summer sessions at college while still in high school under one program, and others have held summer internships with the NSB. One gained early admission to the University of Alaska at Fairbanks (UAF). Another was accepted in an oil company training program for work in the summer and an Associates Degree program at Kenai Community College in Petroleum Technology. Many high **schoolers** have attended one leadership training session or another within Alaska, and a fair number have been to the program in Washington, D.C. For a village its size, Point Lay has a reputation for sending its students on a disproportionate number of trips and programs.

Table 21-PTL

Highest **Level** of Education Attained by Age Group
Inupiat Residenta Point **Lay** -1988

	<u>COLLEGE+</u>	<u>SOME COLLEGE</u>	<u>VO TECH GRAD</u>	<u>HIGH SCH OR GED</u>	<u>NOT FINISH HIGH SCH</u>	<u>STILL IN SCHOOL</u>	<u>NOT IN SCH YET</u>	<u>NOT ASCERTAIN</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
UNDER 4						1	18		19
4 - 8						17			17
9 - 15						14			14
16 - 17						6			6
18-25				9	8	4			21
26-39		3	1	8	6				18
40 - 59		2	2	1	2	6		1	23
W-65								1	1
66 +						4		1	5
TOTAL	0	5	3	29	24	42	18	3	124
%	0.0%	4.0%	2.4%	23.4%	19.4%	33.9%	14.5%	2.4%	100.0%
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS									9
TOTAL POPULATION (Inupiat)									133

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
 Census of Population and Economy, 1969.

Table **21-PTL** (continued)

Highest **Level** of Education Attained by Age Group
Non-Inupiat Residents Point Lay -1988

	<u>COLLEGE+</u>	<u>SOME COLLEGE</u>	<u>VO TECH GRAD</u>	<u>HIGH SCH OR GED</u>	<u>NOT FINISH HIGH SCH</u>	<u>STILL IN SCHOOL</u>	<u>NOT IN SCH YET</u>	<u>NOT ASCERTAIN</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
UNDER 4									0
4 - 8						2			2
9 - 15						2			2
16 - 17									0
18-25						1			1
26-39	2	2		4	1				9
40-59	4	6		1					11
60-85									0
66 +									0
TOTAL	6	8	0	5	2	4	0	0	25
%	24.0%	32.0%	0.0%	20.0%	8.0%	16.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
NUMSER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS									0
TOTAL POPULATION (Non-Inupiat)									25

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
 Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Table 22-PTL

Graduation Rates for Selected Age Groups¹

Age Group	Total	% Graduated	% Post-Sec.	% Not Graduated	Unknown
18-25	22	63.6	18.2	31.8	4.6
26-39	27	74.1	29.6	25.9	0.0
40-59	34	73.5	41.2	14.7	11.8
60-65	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
65+	5	0.0	0.0	60.0	40.0

¹Derived from Table 21-PTL, based on NSB census of 19ss. For each age group, % Graduated + % Not Graduated + Unknown = 100. % Post-Secondary is a subgroup of % Graduated, namely those individuals who graduated from high school and at some point attended a post-secondary educational program.

Table 23-PTL

Graduation Rates for Selected Age Groups, Inupiat¹

Age Group	Total	% Graduated	% Not Graduated	unknown
18-25	21	61.9	33.3	4.8
26-39	18	66.7	33.3	0.0
40-59	23	60.1	21.7	17.4
60-65	1	0.0	0.0	100.0
65+	5	0.0	60.0	40.0

¹Figures derived from subtracting non-Inupiat population figures from Table 22-PTL. All but one non-Inupiat known to have graduated from high school; post-secondary information not reliable but probably mainly concentrated among non-Inupiat. This information is very approximate and is provided for interpretative context only.

Figure 5-PTL

Point Lay **School** Enrollment
1980-1987

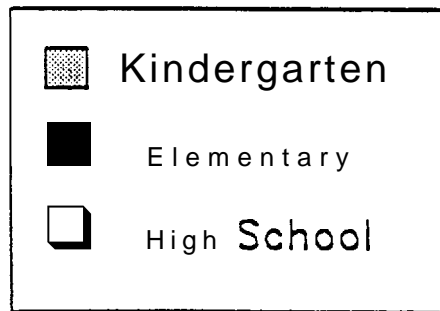
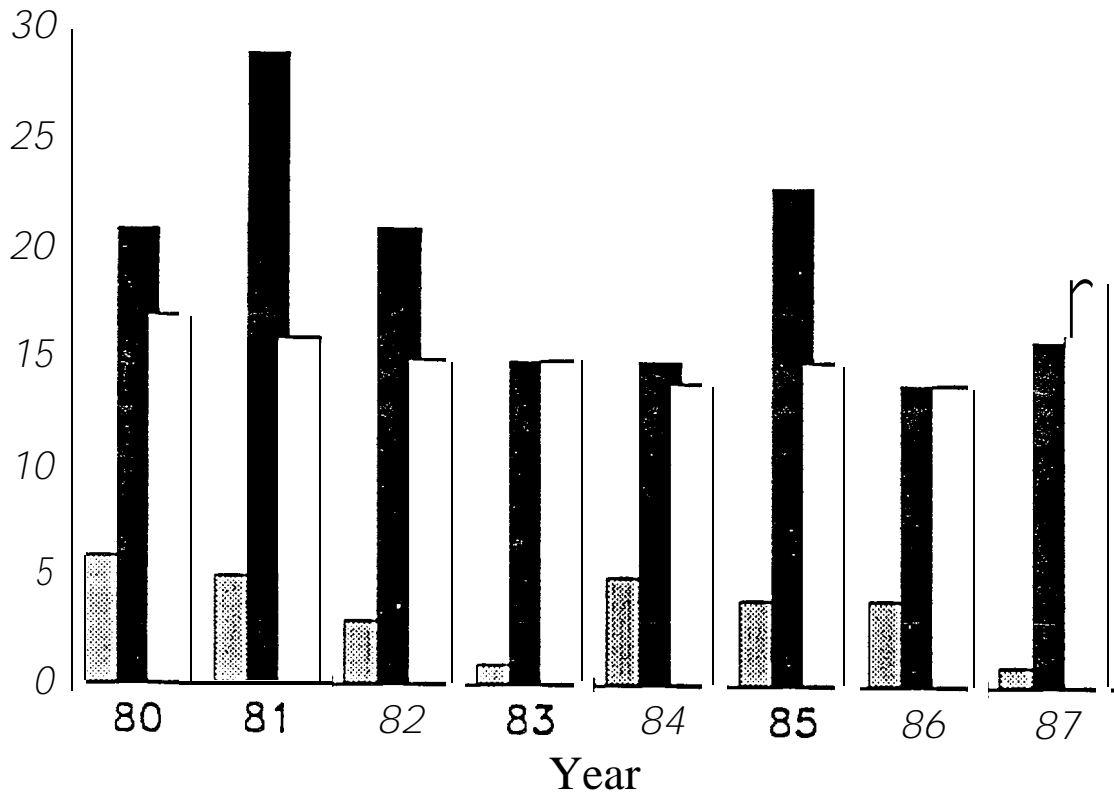
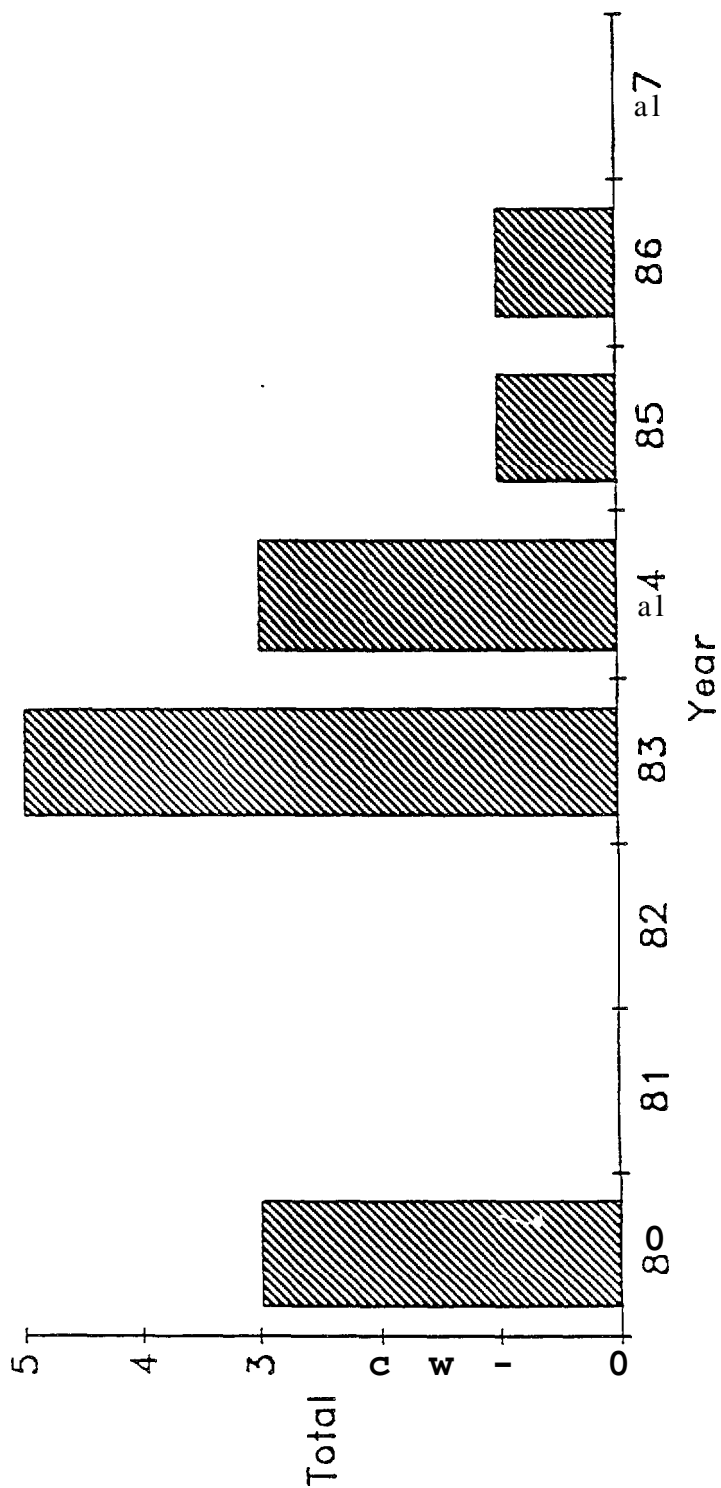


Figure 6-PTL

Point Lay High School Graduates
1980-1987



Recent graduates do not, however, have much of a record of success in continuing their formal education. Again, there are no good records kept of what graduates do after high school. Observations in Point Lay over the last several years can be combined with informant reports to make several summary comments. Few individuals go on to college, and the retention rate is low. This may be improving, as the most recent individual to start at UAF seems prepared and motivated to handle the program and the individual mentioned above for the Associates Degree/oil training program is certainly qualified to finish and has full parental support.

The key issue appears to be one of motivation. Previous Point Lay students who attended college (before these two) were sidetracked into parties (sometimes including substance abuse activities) and eventually dropped out. Graduates are more successful in vocational and technical programs, but again have not demonstrated an ability to complete these programs on a consistent basis. Most graduates ultimately stay in Point Lay and take a local job, or work at a succession of local seasonal jobs, or work sporadically as fill-ins for those with steady jobs. There is no **local** perception that a high school or technical education is required for local jobs, although a person with such qualifications is generally preferred over one who lacks them. Almost all jobs in the village can be and are learned “on the job,” however, and instances were given where a person with no special skills but in need of a job was hired over one who already had such training but was not perceived to need a job as much. Personality and work habits also play a part in this, but concrete information is difficult to obtain.

D. Marriage Patterns

1. Characteristics of Marriage

In Point Lay, the formal status of a marriage is not important. That is, people generally do not distinguish between formal marriage relationships and “living together” relationships. In addition, it was not deemed prudent to directly ask anyone about his or her marital status or for an evaluation of marriage versus living together. Given this lack of explicit community expression on this subject, our information is incomplete on this point. However, we are confident about the validity of our frequency statistics.

There are a number of stable couples in Point Lay who are known not to be formally married. **All** involve at least one **Inupiat** partner. There are two types of such couples. The first have endured for several years and most of these couples have produced children. The second are young couples who just recently started living together. It is not unusual for an **Inupiat couple** in Point Lay to live together in a separate household for quite a while before marrying. Some never marry, although in most cases they do, if only so that they can have their children baptized. In other villages it appears that such young married couples are also common, but that they are usually part of a larger household. Given this pattern in Point Lay and several other villages visited, it is probably unusual for a couple to be married before they start living together. The absence of truly local clergy may partially explain this.

It is nonetheless evident that people in Point Lay consider a union more permanent once a couple is formally married. A couple with children is considered more likely to remain together than a **couple** without children. A married couple with children is considered to be less likely to break

up than an unmarried couple with children. All married **Inupiat couples** had children and it was difficult for people to consider a case where this would not be true. Thus, it is difficult to assess which is the greater “stabilizing” factor for a couple having children or becoming formally married. It does seem to be the “normal” progression for the birth of at least one child to precede formal marriage.

In Point Lay it is commonly believed that marriage and the establishment of a family seizes to settle a man down. It is assumed that men are sexually predatory and women are passive (if willing) sexual partners. It is the married woman’s role to “tame” her man or to encourage him to grow up. Unmarried men in their twenties are for the most part seen as immature and are often described as big children. Expectations of unmarried young men are relatively **few**. Older unmarried men are judged by their accomplishments and competencies. Marriage is presumed to reduce the abuse of drugs, but actually occurs only in some cases. Married men are also given preference for job openings and are assumed to be more interested in steady wage positions than unmarried men.

Marriage has less immediately obvious effects on the behavior of females, perhaps because so many have given birth and been involved with the care of children before marriage. Certainly **Inupiat** females are expected to be socially mature at a much younger age than **Inupiat** men. While many **Inupiat** females work for wages, there is less of an expectation that they do so than for their husbands and the type of positions they occupy are quite different (see the economy and labor force section below). A woman is now most likely to marry a man her own age, but until recently it was not uncommon for a woman to marry a man up to fifteen years her senior. This age difference at marriage was apparently a carry-over from the past, when it was quite common. Men now in their forties are for the most part married to women in their thirties, and most men and women older than forty demonstrate this pattern somewhere in their marital history (they often have been **married** more than once due to death or divorce of spouse). Men in their thirties and younger more commonly marry women near their own age.

Not **all** young couples live together, of course, especially in the age groups that are just becoming sexually mature and active. Nearly every girl age fifteen and above in Point Lay has given birth to at least one child. This maybe partially due to the disproportionate number of males to females in these age groups, which puts pressure upon each of the young women to participate in sexual activities. These babies do not lead to the formation of stable unions and in many cases the father is not known. This is not an unknown pattern from previous times but may have been less prevalent when individuals were sent out to school until perhaps fifteen to twenty years ago. The period of time when Christianity was a strong force did seem to effect the number of **unmarried** teenage women. Today such births seem to be the rule rather than the exception. A summary of marital status by ethnicity can be seen in Table **24-PTL**. This table, derived from the 1988 NSB census, clearly has some defects. **While** 64.2% of the population has never **been** married, fully 44% of the population is age 19 or younger. In addition, only 11 **Inupiat** males and 15 **Inupiat** females are enumerated as married. A substantial portion of the 20% or so of the population which is over age 19 and never married is indeed part of a stable couple/family situation and is not adequately represented in Table **24-PTL**. Based on our relatively good knowledge of Point Lay, the next section attempts to contextualized the statistics of Table **24-PTL**.

The Stability of Unions in Point Lay

The frequency with which **Inupiat** couples in Point Lay break up is quite striking. The death of a partner is also not uncommon, especially for women who followed the pattern of marrying men ten to fifteen (or more) years their senior. The two older widows in Point Lay, both now remarried, followed this pattern. By far the more common cause for the breakup of relations is divorce or separation. Comparative information from earlier time periods is lacking, so there is no way to estimate if the rate of breakup is increasing or not. Indeed, little good information for any time period exists. A comparative discussion of 1984 and 1989 census data, informed by our reasonably detailed knowledge of most adult relationships, follows. This is by no means a definitive treatment and is intended only to capture the nature and scope of the stability of unions to aid in the interpretation of other sources of information. **Non-Inupiat** Alaskan Natives are included as **Inupiat** in the **Inupiat** discussion. Formal marriage and couples living together who are not married are both considered equivalent for this discussion for the reasons noted above. The **level** of detail provided is judged to be the optimal choice given the constraints of the report format and informant confidentiality. Following this discussion is an account of individual motivations for moving to or leaving Point Lay, set within the broader topic of migration.

Census of July 1984

Of the sixteen **Inupiat** couples living in Point Lay in 1984, nine had at least one member who had been previously married, Two of these had been terminated by the death of the spouse. The other seven had ended in divorce or separation. If the three couples living in the homes of others are eliminated so that only couples who are heads of households are considered, this ratio becomes nine of thirteen. These three couples were all quite young.

In 1984 there were ten **Inupiat** heads of households who were unmarried (Table 25-PTL). Of these individuals, three had experienced the death of spouses. One had remarried but the partners were living apart for reasons mostly beyond their control. Two were divorced or separated. Information for one was uncertain, and four had never been married. Of the ten single **Inupiat** of marriageable age who were not heads of households, two were divorced, information for another **two** was uncertain, and six had never been married.

The most salient observation is that over half of all **Inupiat** couples have at least one spouse who has been in a previous relationship. The same can be said of all single individuals who are heads of households. However, **only** about 1/4 of single individuals who are not heads of households had been in previous relationships. This appears to be related to age, but cannot be tested for this data set because too many of the ages are unknown.

Table 24-PTL

Marital Status by **Ethnicity**
Point **Lay** - 19ss

MARITAL CATEGORY	INUPIAT			NON-INUPIAT			TOTAL VILLAGE	% of TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL		
NOW MARRIED	11	15	26	7	6	13	39	41.5%
WIDOWED	2	1	3			0	3	3.2%
DIVORCED	5	2	7	2	2	4	11	11.7%
SEPARATED *			0			0	0	0.0%
NEVER MARRIED	25	12	37	3	1	4	41	43.6%
TOTAL	43	30	73	12	9	21	94	100.0%
%	45.7%	31.9%	77.7%	12.8%	9.6%	22.3%	100.0%	
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS							1	
TOTAL POPULATION (age 16+)							95	

Note: Figures include persons age 16 and above.

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
Census of Population and Economy, 1969

Table 25-PTL

Point Lay **Inupiat** Marital Status, 1984*

	Married couples	Single Head Of Household	Single Not Head of Household
Total N	16	10	10
Widow(er)	2	3	
Separated	7	2	2
Never Married		4	6
Unknown		1	2

* **Does** not include six **non-Inupiat** couples and **five** “Mixed” couples. Three married couples were not heads of household.

Census of 1989

Of the twenty-one **Inupiat** couples living in Point Lay in 1989, eleven had **at least** one partner who had a previous relationship. Of these eleven, three had ended in divorce or separation. An additional five unions had ended in separation even though they had children. The nature of these five unions was unclear and several may have been more **casual** in nature than permanent. Three of these eleven unions had been terminated by death. Of the ten couples whose members were not known to have had previous relationships, three were older couples and seven were relatively young couples. Two of the older couples and three of the younger couples were new to Point Lay. Thus, information on these couples is uncertain.

In 1989 there were fifteen **Inupiat** heads of households who were single (Table 26-PTL). Of these, four had spouses who had died. Another seven were divorced or separated. Information for one is uncertain, and two had never been married. One man is married and living in Point Lay apart from his wife while working a seasonal job (reported to be a regular pattern for him). Of the seventeen single **Inupiat** of marriageable age who were not heads of households, five were separated from unions which had resulted in children and twelve had never been married. None of these is known to have ever been part of a stable relationship.

Again, over half of all **Inupiat** couples have at least one spouse who has had a previous relationship resulting in a child. This is true for **Inupiat** single individuals who are heads of households as well. Single **Inupiat** of marriageable age who **are** not heads of households are much less likely to have had such a relationship. Age seems to contribute heavily to this difference.

Table 26-PTL

Point Lay Marital Status, 1989*

	Married couples	Single Head of Household	Single Not Head of Household
Total N	21	15	17
Widow(er)	3	4	
Separated	8	7	5
Never Married		2	12
Unknown		1	see text

* Does not include four non-Inupiat couples and three "Mixed" couples. One married couple not head of household.

The high rates of separation and divorce are attributed to several factors by informants. They say that often spouses become incompatible. What began as a good relationship develops into a less healthy one. Often alcohol or other drugs are cited as at least part of the underlying problem. Some people are also said to be incapable of maintaining a long-term relationship. Both are said almost exclusively about males. The stresses of modern wage employment, the need (and desire) for subsistence activities, and the complications of childrearing in such a complex social situation are also said to take their toll. This is especially evident in the problems which some interethnic marriages have experienced in Point Lay, and especially those between Inupiat men and non-Native women. Of the three known cases, two have ended in divorce. In neither case is there hostility between the ex-spouses. While it is difficult to establish why the breakups occurred, a very important factor was the difference in approach of each of the partners to life in the village. Values about such issues as degree of acceptable directedness, the relative positions of men and women, and the balance between time spent in Point Lay and outside of it seem to have fostered the break. Inupiat women who marry non-Native men seem to adopt (or have initially) a good part of that man's world view. They mix the "two worlds" and seldom plan to live in Point Lay forever. Inupiat men who marry non-Native women do not seem to have made the same compromises, at least not in Point Lay. This seems to put additional stress on these marriages. We have very little information on which to base any further discussion, however, and lack almost totally any information about other villages.

2. Changes in Marriage Patterns

Assessment of changes in marriage patterns is problematic due to the inadequacy of past records for Point Lay. Frequency of interethnic marriage and age at marriage in the recent past was discussed above from census materials but similar data do not exist for earlier periods. Little information exists on adoption within specific villages, so it is very difficult to discuss adoption for any specific village or on a comparative village basis. Divorce has been discussed to the extent possible above. Again, good statistics do not exist and even if they did, would probably misrepresent the actual behavior, as many unions exist outside of formal marriage.

The one change that has been evident in Point Lay is that men and women seem to be marrying at a younger age than before. In addition, spouses are closer in age than they used to be. Our information on this topic is more detailed for Point Lay than for other villages because of the Point Lay Case Study, but it appears to be a region-wide trend.

E. Migration Patterns

1. Characteristics of Migration

Introduction

Point Lay is a difficult community for which to discuss migration patterns over the long term, given its pattern of settlement and dispersal. Its existence as a permanent community has followed particular circumstances in the economic or political climate, the latest being the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 (ANCSA) and the formation of the North Slope Borough and its resettlement program. Individuals have left the Point Lay area for a number of reasons in the past, including the federal termination program, **military service**, educational and training opportunities, and employment. Subsistence activities (**fish** camp, whaling, and even the **regularity** of shorter hunts) also pattern population movement, especially in conjunction with wage activities. Still another group of people seem to float from village to village, having relatives in each, but not setting down roots (in the form of a household) in any.

Employment outside the village was and remains an important factor in increasing knowledge of the outside world. Point Lay, of course, scores almost **100%** on this count, since it is a “resettled” village. Where these people came from and what they were doing there may or may not be different from the “out-of-village experiences” of the residents of the four more permanent villages (Point Hope, Barrow, Wainwright, and Kaktovik, although the **last** two are themselves fairly recent as permanent villages). Unfortunately, the literature is not available to address this question in terms of all the NSB villages. See the Point Lay Case Study (IAI: in draft) for a more detailed examination of the experiences of Point Lay people and a discussion of the extent to which those experiences may be generalized to the NSB as a whole.

The desire to engage in subsistence harvesting activities was cited as a major reason for people returning and resettling Point Lay. Curiously, the average household (and individual) level of subsistence resource **harvesting** is lower in Point Lay than in its two neighbors, Wainwright and Point Hope. Subsistence activities were reported to be more frequent in the recent past, directly after the resettlement, then at present. The need to work for wages, both to earn money and to ensure that essential services are provided for the village, was cited as the reason for the relative decline in subsistence harvest activities. Informants spoke as if they hoped and expected this to be a temporary condition.

There have been at least three identifiable “waves” of **Inupiat** immigration to Point Lay. The first was when the village was refounded in 1972. The second, for lack of a better term, will be called that of the “**Kotzebue** people” and consists mainly of a group of siblings who have moved to Point Lay at various times and for different lengths of time. Several of this group have married people who lived in Point Lay from the first **Inupiat** “wave.” While related to certain Point Lay families

before coming to Point Lay, these people were not **very** closely related, and only to a small segment of the Point Lay population. The third “wave” will be called the “**Kivalina** people” and consists mostly of people from **Kivalina**. Unlike the “**Kotzebue** people,” they are fairly directly related to “first **wave**” Point Lay Inupiat, are not closely related **family** members themselves, and for the most part are young and unattached or have a **spouse/significant** other from somewhere other than Point Lay.

Founding Population

A detailed analysis of the effects of the “founders’ effects” of the Point Lay resettlement population (spring 1972- winter 1974) is not possible, since no records exist of exactly who these people were. A tentative list of such people was constructed in the field and checked with various informants, but is far too preliminary a form to disseminate. Certain generalizations about this population can still be made based on this information, **however**, as informants agreed much more on such general traits than on exactly who was present at what time. The population was young, consisting of middle-aged and younger couples with their children and single people (mostly **male**) fairly recently out of school. There were a few elders, but not very many --- perhaps about the same 5% of the general population as at present. The resettlement seems to have been sponsored and funded predominately by ASRC, but there is some question as to who actually did the planning for the resettlement. The village corporation was incorporated in Wainwright before the resettlement, but did not assume an active role in village **affairs** until 1982 or so (see below), so Cully Corporation certainly was not a major factor. In any event, the composition of this initial population now seems to be rather indistinct in informant memory as the first year was one of living in tents and/or structures still standing on the “old site” **on** the spit. People were moving in and out **all** during this year and the construction of housing did not actually start **until** the next year. At this time the influx of other people to help with the construction’ changed the composition of the population again and confused informant recollection beyond the point of realistically being able to establish order of arrival.

Inupiat Migration Since Resettlement

Most of the people who came to Point Lay to take advantage of the employment opportunities provided by the construction of the housing and infrastructure of the “new site” village (spring 1974) were **Inupiat**. There were a few invited **non-Inupiat** as well, apparently chosen by local Point Lay people. These few **non-Inupiat** have become long-term residents of Point Lay. In many cases the **Inupiat** who came also have settled in Point Lay, but are considered more permanent. Most seem to have **come** from Point Hope or Barrow. These people came to Point Lay mostly as individuals, although there were several families as well. Marriages between these people, as well as with some of the first group, has blurred the distinction between these two populations. The facilities on the “new site” was planned as owner/occupant constructed, and since the scope of the projects were within the means of the available labor force and those who wanted to move in, this goal was for the most part achieved.

The next construction phase involved moving the village from the “new site” in the **Kokolik** delta to the “hilltop” site near the DEW Line station (planned 1978-1979, construction begun 1980). This

involved moving all the existing buildings as well as constructing vastly larger **infrastructural** physical plants and an expanded housing supply (both in terms of number of units and size and complexity of units). This set of tasks was far more work than could be accomplished with the resident labor force, even had all the necessary skills existed within the village. A substantial part of the imported labor force was again **Inupiat**, but differed from the prior period in that most came only for the employment and left once the work was completed. Many again came from Point Hope, as the Tigara Corporation held many of the contracts from the NSB. There was also a substantial **non-Inupiat** labor force as well, as Tigara was in a joint venture with a company which supplied most of the skilled labor and craftsmen. These individuals were almost all young, single white males. The imported **Inupiat** work force also tended to be young single males, but there were some family units as well. While many of the individuals who came to work on the “new site” construction married into the village (both the few non-Inupiat involved and **Inupiat**), this was not the case for the “hilltop site” imported labor force. As far as can be determined, no **non-Inupiat** who came to Point Lay in this period married into the village or otherwise made a commitment to the community. A substantial number of **Inupiat** did do so, but proportionally fewer than during the earlier period. They also tended to be associated with non-NSB communities (Kotzebue, Noatak, or other Alaskan Native communities) rather than with Point Hope, Barrow, or Wainwright.

Non-Inupiat Migration Since Resettlement

During construction of the “new site” infrastructure there were two **non-Inupiat** who participated and still live in the village. One was already married to a Point Lay resident, but the other came as a single, unattached, person who eventually married and settled into the community. If there were other **non-Inupiat** who worked on construction during this period they have fallen out of the collective memory of the community. Before this construction actually started, the reestablishment of the school in Point Lay resulted in two young, single **non-Inupiat** women going to Point Lay. One eventually married an Inupiat and only recently left the village when that union dissolved. Other than this one woman, all **non-Inupiat** brought into Point Lay by the School District, Public Safety Department, or other NSB agency have been strictly transients with little interest in the community as such.

As stated in the previous section, there are no known cases of **non-Inupiat** members of the labor force brought in for construction on the “hilltop site” who married into the community or otherwise indicated a long-term commitment to the village.

2. Influences on Migration

Introduction

Opportunities for employment and marriage are the two most important influences on migration, as reported by a number of informants during fieldwork. For example, a significant number of **Inupiat** and non-Inupiat men who had originally come to Point Lay for **temporary** employment eventually married a woman they met there and have lived in Point Lay ever since. The extent to which this makes Point Lay their “permanent” home is not always clear, especially in the case of **non-Inupiat**. It is also normal for almost any family to be absent from the village for an

extended period of time at least once a year, so constant physical residence is not always the best definition of “permanent” residence in any event. It is significant that the opportunity to engage in subsistence **harvest** activities was cited as a major motivation only for the original founding population and has apparently been of less importance for the current population composition of the village than have wage labor opportunities and marriage. This should not be interpreted to mean that subsistence resource harvest activities are unimportant or even less important than before, however, as the situation is quite complex and multifaceted.

It is reported that the increase of wage labor opportunities decreases the time available for subsistence activities, and that villagers hope to return to a situation with a more even balance between the two (said to exist after the refounding of the village). Also, many of the young woman who married the men who migrated to Point Lay for wage labor were part of family units that were themselves at least partially attracted by the subsistence resources of the area. Marriages within this group did occur, but the ratio of females to males was so much greater than one that it was only with the in-migration of young **males** that new family formation could take place to any great degree. The reasons for this demographic imbalance are unclear and could have been merely chance. It is also possible that wage labor opportunities are a necessary condition to attract young males to a community in the present. In any event, the following is a general account of marriages by ethnicity in Point Lay at the time of fieldwork, May 1989, and how they affect the composition of the population. A more detailed treatment from 1984 to the present (with some earlier information) is available in the Point Lay Case Study.

Inupiat

In May 1989 there were twenty-one **Inupiat** couples, with twenty acting as heads of households. Of the twenty acting as heads of households, nine appear on the 1984 census, twelve on the 1987 census, and seventeen on the 1988 census. Thus, four marriages dissolved or the couples moved since 1988 and three new Point Lay marriages were formed in that period. For prior periods of time the dynamics become more complex. There are several logical groupings which should be discussed, given this breakdown: the total sample of marriages, those unions which have disappeared in a given time period, and those unions which appear for the first time.

Five of the **Inupiat** couples present in May 1989 had been married before the refounding of Point Lay (1972). All were in Point Lay in 1988, and four were there in 1984 as well, and form a convenient way to define a stable core for Point Lay through time. All are from the same genealogical generation. While it may seem strange to use them, rather than Elders, to define the core residents for Point Lay, this is the pragmatic basis upon which local informants seem to make these decisions. Point Lay has few resident Elders, and the few who live there have widely divergent histories. The core group of families can ideologically trace their connections to these Elders, and it may be those connections which were activated to legitimize those families who participated in the refounding of Point Lay.

The other sixteen **Inupiat** couples were married after Point Lay was resettled. Two of these marriages were between two Point Lay people, that is, individuals who had lived in Point Lay since shortly after 1972. Of the eight relationships between an **Inupiat** from Point Lay and one from outside, three existed in 1984, five in September 1987, and **all** eight in 1988. Four of these couples

can be classified as “imports.” That is, they came to Point Lay as a couple and have no direct historical or kinship connection to the present population (although they each have relatives of one sort or another in Point Lay). Two of these are young couples from **Kivalina** and Kotzebue who arrived after September 1987. The other two are somewhat more special. One consists of a single man from Point Hope who has been in and out of Point Lay for several years, depending on the availability of housing and work. When asked, he says that he is now a Point Lay person. However, Point Lay residents still perceive him as a Point Hope person. Until recently he had shared a living unit in rather transitory arrangements. He now has a house of his own which he shares with his girlfriend from outside of Point Lay (her exact origin community is not known). Because of his history of work and residence in the community, this couple is perceived as more likely to be permanent residents than the other two. No predictions have been made about the relative stabilities of these unions.

The last “import” couple is a special case. They are an older couple who has moved to Point Lay so the woman may fill a health aide position in the clinic. The couple came from Point Hope and knows most, if not **all**, the people of Point Lay. Thus, this woman could begin work almost immediately. Because they were absent from the village for much of the fieldwork (whaling, training), **full** information on this aspect of their move is unavailable.

The three “new” **Inupiat** couples in Point Lay in 1989 were rather diverse in their origins. Two were discussed above as “imports.” The third “new” Inupiat couple in 1989 consists of a man and the sister of his old girlfriend. He is originally from Kotzebue and has a history in Point Lay similar to that of the man from Point Hope discussed above. For this reason he is seen as more than a transient wage laborer. He and his girlfriend are currently sharing a house with her brother (a house owned by her family, as far as people in Point Lay know, but exactly in whose name is unclear).

The last couple to be discussed is quite complex and not altogether clear. This union involves a young woman who was not part of the original resettlement group. She is from Point Hope and appears in the 1984 Point Lay census as married to a young man. This man died in December 1985, but not before the woman had children. By 1987 this woman had established a relationship with a man from Point Hope. This was still relatively new in June 1987, so people were not quite sure if the union was stable and whether the couple meant to stay in Point Lay or not. As of May 1989 they were still together in Point Lay, caring for the children of the previous union, and expecting a child of their own shortly. They have visited Point Hope in the meantime, especially for whaling and **Nalukataq**, but have apparently made Point Lay their home. A question still remains, however, since this man works at temporary construction tasks and has not yet exhibited an ability to consistently support a family. The woman works on occasion, but cannot hold a job on a regular basis because of her young children and the trouble finding a dependable babysitter.

The reasons **Inupiat** households have for leaving Point Lay are many, and can be either long-term or short-term. Again, detail is provided in the Point Lay Case Study. Here only a few very **general** statements will be made. Couples beyond middle-age appear to be very stable. If they leave Point Lay it is usually for travel or an employment/training/educational opportunity elsewhere. Younger couples can be quite unstable, however, especially if there has been no formal marriage. Thus, of the four unions present in Point Lay in June 1988 and not in May 1989, one had moved to

Oklahoma for a training program and three had broken up. All involved relatively young individuals.

Non-Inupiat

Non-Inupiat couples living in Point Lay in May 1989 numbered four, the same as for June 1988, but the composition was different. The one resident **non-Inupiat** couple not employed at the school or by the Public Safety Department had moved to Washington state. One school couple began to live separately because the wife left her job at the school and was looking after the couples “real” home in the lower-48. The families of the two Public Safety Officers (**PSOs**) arrived between these two dates and are counted as the two new **non-Inupiat** households. The PSOs had been in Point Lay for some time as single individuals. School had just ended, so there were no new teachers in the village. At least three new teachers are expected for the 1989/90 school year, since three of the five certified staff at the Point Lay school left the slope.

Non-Inupiat single heads of households in Point Lay for May 1989 consisted of two school teachers sharing a NSB house, another teacher who was divorced and living with her **fifteen-year-old** daughter, the head of the school physical plant (the man whose wife was now living out of the village), the researcher, a woman who had gone to high school with several of the village Native residents and was invited to the village to find employment, and a divorced woman who has lived in Point Lay since 1984. This woman was living at the **Cully Camp**, since she was temporarily in charge of running it. One of her sons was also living in Point Lay in his own household, but at the time of this census was in Anchorage at the hospital. There was also a camp run by the contractor working on the Utilities and School District Warehouse Combined Facility (**USDW**) building project that housed mostly **single non-Inupiat** men. For part of the time the foreman’s wife was present as cook. There were no **non-Inupiat** singles not heads of households except for the one **school** teacher who was sharing a house with a dependent child.

Mired

In May 1989, there were three “mixed” couples. Two had been present in June 1988. The third was a **couple** who had returned from Anchorage where they had been for a little over a year. This couple has long standing in the village, as they appear on the 1984 census, and were considered residents even in their absence. The **non-Inupiat** male of the couple was one of the first outsiders invited to come and help build the new houses in the village. He married a daughter of one of the “original” couples and they have lived in Point Lay (except for the unavoidable time in Anchorage) ever since. One “mixed” couple which had broken up had been a part of Point Lay since shortly after it was refounded. The **Inupiat** man remains in Point Lay, while his wife went to Anchorage and has since remarried. This has significantly affected the functioning of the village in the short term. The long-term consequences (if any) are impossible to assess before the passage of time.

Population and Employment

Employment opportunities have had a profound influence on migration to Point Lay and the composition of the population. In terms of the present population of the village, a significant percentage of heads of households came to Point Lay because of the chance to work. Of the twenty-five current **Inupiat** and “mixed” unions, seven are composed of a “child of the village” and a person who came looking for work. All except for one of these imports is male.

Of the fifteen current single **Inupiat** heads of households, nine came as part of the resettlement population. One was single then and remains single. Three came married as part of the resettlement population and are presently living alone. Five came as part of the resettlement population, married a person who came to Point Lay during this period of time looking for work, and are now separated from that person (male, in **all** cases except one, and no longer living in Point Lay). Three outsiders were attracted during this period of work and remained unattached (but also tend to float in and out of the village). The other three are special cases about which complete information is missing (one moved to Point Lay after a personal tragedy in Barrow, another is married but tends to come to work seasonally in Point Lay, and the third oscillates between Point Lay, Kotzebue, and Anchorage). Thus, most of the current population of the village derives from the original resettlement population or those attracted during the days of peak construction.

3. Community History

For our purposes, the history of the population of Point Lay can be divided into several main periods. These can be termed the aboriginal, transitional, consolidation and dispersal, the DEW Line era, and the contemporary eras. These will be briefly summarized through the contemporary era. Readers interested in more detail are referred to the Point Lay Case Study.

Aboriginal Era: Inferences about the aboriginal social structure and culture of the people in and around Point Lay must be based mainly on archaeological evidence from the Point Hope area to the south, and the **Wainwright** and Barrow area to the north. This, at any rate, is the current anthropological position and agrees in general with the position of **Burch** (1972). The division of aboriginal populations into distinct units that are treated as almost corporate entities distorts and misrepresents much of the fluidity known to exist (and indeed, is still evident) in **Inupiat** social organization. At any rate, there is no body of evidence to suggest how the aboriginal population in and around Point Lay would have differed from that of its neighbors to the south and north (assuming for the sake of argument that they were separate populations). A discussion of such differences would be speculation based on various theoretical premises at best, and pure fancy at worst. This is not the place for such speculation and there is little to be gained by reproducing descriptive discussions that exist elsewhere in the literature (**Burch** 1975a, **Burch** 1980, **Burch** 1981, **Damas** 1984, **Ford** 1959, **Neakok et al.** 1985, **Murdoch** 1892, **Nelson** 1899).

Transitional **Era**: This time span is the most problematical to summarize, because of the degree of change which occurred and the diverse nature of the agents of change. Thus, we will divide it

into two periods for the purposes of summation. The first period of the transitional era is from first contact until about 1880, and encompasses contact with explorers and **pre-steam** commercial whaling. The two major agents of change were disease and the reduction of traditional subsistence resources. Population dislocations and movement were the main effects. Actual contact between **Inupiat** and outsiders was not all that great.

The second period of the traditional era extends **from** approximately 1880 to 1927. This period includes the rise and decline of steam and shore whaling in the Arctic (a process complete by 1910 or so) and ends with the first permanent settlement at Point Lay, marked by the building of a school there. Major population dislocations, the **full** introduction of a wage economy (if not necessarily a cash economy), the introduction and adoption **of** substitute food items, and the **full** adoption of firearms in the hunt drastically changed the ways **Inupiat** went about making their livings. Disease continued to have a great effect and Christianity, with the establishment of missions and often of schools associated with them, became a major force for cultural change. Reindeer were also introduced during this period, but whether for the benefit of the **Inupiat** or **for** others (the missions and other non-Natives) is still not entirely clear. Small populations are mentioned as living at both Icy Cape and Point Lay during most of this period, consolidated into Point Lay at its end.

It is important to note that the land use patterns of this era (and other early eras) form the basis for present use patterns, successful land claims that delineate contemporary political units and private ownership, and ongoing claims and assertions of sovereignty and other Native rights.

The importance of reindeer herding must not be underestimated. It apparently provided some broad-based employment, and its structure was quite different from that of commercial whaling. With reindeer, the **Inupiaq** were the direct overseers/managers of the resource, and had to travel the land with the herds. They were the herders and primary harvesters, although the nature of outside oversight is not clear. Shipping was done on ships such as *The Bear*, and on at least one occasion no reindeer meat was picked up because the **Inupiat** in charge had not met the scheduled **slaughter/delivery** date. It is clear that a good amount of the marketing and bookkeeping was handled by **non-Inupiat** and that not all herds sold as much meat as others (**Neakok** et al. 1985). At least initially, however, only **Inupiat** owned reindeer and it was they who were to benefit from the industry. Commercial whaling never employed **Inupiat** as anything other than wage employees, whether it was aboard ocean-going ships or as **members** of shore stations. Clearly, **Inupiat** often perceived it to be to their advantage to participate in this endeavor, but even in the latter context, where the commercial industry adopted **Inupiat** methods of crew organization, the enterprise was clearly defined by its non-Native market orientation. **Inupiat** participated as a way to earn money and to gain access to those parts of the whale of little commercial value. They had no intrinsic stake in the industry as **such**. This activity also consolidated the **Inupiat** population into settled communities around the better whaling sites or places where ships could winter over. Whaling and reindeer activity did coexist during the early decades of the century, but the continued importance of reindeer once whaling declined as an industry probably best explains its salience in the life experiences of the Elders of today. Younger people of course remember **little** or nothing of these activities, as reindeer herding ended as a commercial activity on the North Slope in the 1930s.

Consolidation and Dispersal Era: The third period extends from approximately 1927 to 1958. The end date is the year informants give as the year by which most people had left Point Lay, and when the school closed. In February 1923, the Naval Petroleum Reserve (later designated Naval Petroleum Reserve Number Four) was set aside by executive order of President Harding. Prior to the late 1920s, Point Lay was a seasonally used habitation site. In the late 1920s people from several sites in and around Point Lay (apparently mostly to the south) aggregated into a community on the spit. When the **school** and store **from** Icy Cape were moved to Point Lay, so did most of the Icy Cape population. The population directly after the move of the school was the highest **in** Point Lay history (roughly equal to present-day Point Lay), and it gradually shrunk thereafter. The highest documented population figure is for the census taken in 1939 (117 people), which is also the **last** date for whaling to have occurred out of Point Lay. This is also the date usually given by informants for the last gasp of the reindeer herding industry. It is said that people gradually left the area, looking for work or a way to make a living. There were few wage jobs in the area, of course. World War **II** had little direct effect on the community as such. The school managed to keep open until about 1958, but when it closed the community had little chance to maintain itself. Whereas those desiring a high **school** education had to leave the area before, now even the youngest students had to go to boarding school. Consequently, everyone except for one family left the area. Eventually, due to the requirement that their children be sent out to school, all that remained of this family was the parental couple (after graduation, their children only returned to visit, as there were still few jobs and even fewer amenities in the area). People from other communities passed through after 1958, either on hunting trips or while traveling between communities on visits, but few stayed for any great length of time.

The DEW Line Era: This period spans the years from about 1958 to 1971. By 1964, only one couple resided near Point Lay. The male head of household for this family had wage employment with the local DEW Line station. Except for a year (or part of a year) when he exchanged positions with a DEW Line worker at the Wainwright station, they were constant residents in Point Lay (**Neakok** et al. 1985). There were no other wage opportunities available in the area, so in a very real sense the DEW Line station was the center of Point Lay for this time. The construction of the DEW Line station began in 1954, when there were still a reasonable number of people living in Point Lay, and informants place at least part of the blame for Point Lay's loss of population on this facility. The most immediate effect cited is the increased access to and consumption of alcohol. The construction of the DEW Line provided the jobs to earn the money to buy the alcohol. The **non-Inupiat** personnel at the DEW Line with little to do other than work, eat, and sleep reportedly brought in a great deal of alcohol for the local population to purchase. There were also some good memories of the DEW Line station, such as the movies they had every so often. Still, the memory that is most often mentioned by present day residents of Point Lay is of watching their parents go to the DEW Line bar and getting **drunk**, and then having to help them home. The frequency with which this is mentioned speaks to the power of the memory and the recognition of the great destructive potential of alcohol. This is no doubt one reason why individuals in Point Lay are quite attuned to the problems of alcohol abuse.

In any event, after the school was closed in 1958 or the **early** 1960s, only one couple remained in the Point Lay area. **Inupiat** from other villages did periodically use the Point Lay area for hunting and so on, but apparently on no regular basis. The houses on the spit were still attributed to specific owners, so that property rights were maintained and people did retain an identity with the

site. The DEW Line site is of course still in operation but the relationship between the facility and the village is quite different from what it was in the 1950s.

Contemporary Era: This period dates from approximately 1971 to the present. The key event of this period for Point Lay was the reestablishment of the village of Point Lay by a reasonably large number of permanent residents. The immediate factors which made this possible were the passage of the **ANCSA** and the incorporation of the NSB. This is the time when **oil** development was emerging after a long period of exploration, Land Claims issues were at the fore, and institutional and organizational changes were occurring with the North Slope Borough.

Those **people** who **first** came back to Point Lay to resettle it were predominately from Barrow and Wainwright. Those who were not from Barrow or Wainwright still used these villages as their North Slope identity. They may have been living in Anchorage or the lower-48, but still maintained family connections to the North Slope that were activated upon the passage of the **ANCSA**. There were at least a few married couples, most no older than in their **40s**. What is most salient about Point Lay's population at that time, as reported by non-Native informants, is the number of unmarried young men and the number of children. It is these people who now make up the core of Point Lay's population. (Although **it** is presumed that some of them moved to other places, a very large percentage of Point Lay's present population came to Point Lay in the early 1970s either as young single men or as children of a larger family unit).

With the beginning of the construction of ten housing units, the school, and other infrastructure at the "new site" in the **Kokolik** River delta, another group of people made their appearance. At this point, at least one family from Point Hope came to help with the construction. Several unmarried men from Point Hope and **Kotzebue** may also have arrived in this group, but this is not **clear**. At **least** two **non-Inupiat** men were invited to come work on the housing. No uninvited non-Natives worked on the building on the "new site." The non-Natives were invited because of the skills they were presumed to possess and because of personal characteristics. This was a time of disorganized activity, rather than central planning, in general. The **Inupiat** who came **all** had some kinship or land use connection to legitimize their presence. The single men who came were similarly related. After the houses were built most of these people settled in Point Lay. This may be **how** the first of the sibling group from **Kotzebue** now extensively married into Point Lay first arrived.

The period of construction and labor migration to Point Lay continued through the relocation and construction of Point Lay at its present "Hilltop" site, ending essentially when the new school was finished in 1983. There was, however, a change in the characteristics of the people who came in to work. This was due to a number of factors. First, there simply was more to do. Buildings were moved from the **Kokolik** River site, new (and bigger) houses were constructed, and the **school** and other public service buildings were put up. Second, the management of the projects was much more formal. Primary management responsibility lay with **Tigara** Corporation, the village corporation of Point Hope (they were co-venturing with a non-Native corporation, probably Wick Construction). These two factors combined to ensure that more imported laborers were needed, that more of them than before would be non-Native, and that most of the imported **Inupiat** would be from Point Hope (which **would** facilitate hiring from the Kotzebue/Noatak area). Many people

came to work in Point Lay in this period of time and it is described as a wide-open town where anything could be obtained. For most of this period there was no PSO stationed in the village.

Those people who came to Point Lay during this period and have since become **members** of the community are almost all men. Each arrived unattached and met his partner in Point Lay (except for one non-Native who was invited precisely because of his relationship to a Point Lay woman). Nearly all had kinship relations with someone in Point Lay even before the establishment of a union.

Residents of Point Lay do not **explicitly** demarcate the three periods consisting of resettlement, construction of the two community sites, and the time since the completion of the new school. However, they do group people together on the basis of when and why they arrived in Point Lay, who they are related and/or married to, whether they arrived as a couple or an individual, and prior village experience. These local perceptions are not independent criteria. The first group is essentially the “founding fathers” of the village. The second group is made up of individuals (usually related to or invited by the first group) who came to Point Lay in search of **work**, married “local people, and stayed. The third group is mostly outsiders (even if they have kin relations in the village) who have come to Point Lay already married and who are predominately economically motivated. This perception is complimented by the observation that these newest immigrants are relatively inactive, even by Point Lay standards, in subsistence resource harvest **pursuits**. The last two groups also overlap considerably in time, although they are quite distinctive cognitively. While it is simplest to think of this in terms of length of contact (those outsiders who have the longest history of work in Point Lay are those closest to being taken in as members), this is only partly true. Kin relationships and marriage are also quite important.

SECTION II: ECONOMY

A. Historical Overview

A brief historical overview of the economy in Point Lay has been provided in the discussions above. There have been significant periods of **time** when there was no year-round community of Point Lay and it is the pattern of population consolidation and **dispersal** (and the factors for each) that are of the most significance. **Little** detailed information is **available**, so that this general orientation **is** probably best **suited** to the purposes of this report and provides a good **contextualization** for current economic information, which **is** much more detailed.

B. Public Sector Organization and Employment

One can see from Table **27-PTL** that 75% of all employment **is within** the **public** sector, particularly the NSB, which employs 73.4% of the **public** sector. This pattern **is** common on the North Slope. In addition, a sexual breakdown of industry groups shows that men are employed at proportionally **higher** rates in government and **municipal** service jobs than women. **Women** are employed at equal rates, for both **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat**, only in the NSB School District.

Also not surprising is the **ethnic distribution** of jobs in Point Lay. One can see from Table **28-PTL**, "Occupation Composition of Employment by Sex and **Ethnicity, Point Lay -1988**" that **non-Inupiat** predominate in those occupational groups that require education and provide a relatively high salary (executive, administrator, manager, teacher). **The** service sector, which employs four out of the sixteen **non-Inupiat** in Point Lay, may be an exception to the above statement, as two of **these** individuals have regular "line" jobs. They are also individuals with relatively **little** formal education, however, and have a longer term commitment to **living in Point Lay** than the average **non-Inupiat** individual (one **is** married to an **Inupiat**, while the other had **lived in Point Lay** for several years before he and his wife recently moved to the state of Washington).

C. Private Sector Organization and Employment

In Point Lay, there is virtually no true private sector employment. **This is** also the case in the other North Slope villages. Many of the industry groups categorized as belonging to the private sector are actually indirectly publicly subsidized by the regional government, the NSB. For example, construction jobs may be contracted through a private firm although the ultimate source for the work **is** the NSB. Please refer to **Tables 27-PTL** and **28-PTL** below for specific figures.

The following section will describe employment in Point Lay by sex and **ethnicity** in relation to residential household composition. The data comes from **fieldwork** done for the **Point Lay Case Study**.

Table 27-PTL

Industry Composition of Employment by Sex and **Ethnicity**
Point Lay -1988

INDUSTRY GROUP	INUPIAT			NON-INUPIAT			TOTAL VILLAGE	% OF TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL		
<i>PRIVATE SECTOR</i>								
FISHERIES			0			0	0	
MINING			0			0	0	
CONSTRUCTION			0	1		1	1	
TRANSP/COMM/PUBLIC UTIL			0			0	0	
TRADE	t		1			0	1	
FINANCE/INSUR/REAL EST			0			0	0	
BUSINESS/REPAIR SERV			0			0	0	
ENTERTMT/REC/TOURIST SERV			0			0	0	
HEALTH, SOCIAL, & EDUC SERV			0			0	0	
SELF-EMPLOYED		1	1			0	1	
NATIVE CORP & AFFILIATE	6	4	10		i	1	11	
OTHER	1		1	1		1	2	
SUBTOTAL	8	5	13	2	1	3	16	25.0%
<i>NSS GOVERNMENT</i>								
HEALTH	1	6	7			0	7	
PUBLIC SAFETY			0	2		2	2	
MUNICIPAL SERV	11	1	12	2		2	14	
FIRE DEPT			0			0	0	
SEARCH & RESCUE			0			0	0	
HOUSING	2		2			0	2	
WILDLIFE MGT	1		1			0	1	
RELI & MJP	4	3	7			0	7	
LAW OFFICE			0			0	0	
ADMIN & FINANCE			0			0	0	
FUNNING			0			0	0	
INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT			0			0	0	
HIGHER EDUCATION CENTER			0			0	0	
MAYOR'S OFFICE & ASSEMBLY		1	1		1	1	2	
OTHER NSS			0			0	0	
SUBTOTAL	19	11	30	4	1	5	35	54.7%
NSB SCHOOL DISTRICT	2	2	4	4	4	8	12	18.8%
NSB SUBTOTAL	21	13	34	8	5	13	47	73.4%
OTHER LOCAL GOV'T			0			0	0	0.0%
STATE GOV'T			0			0	0	0.0%
FEDERAL GOV'T		1	1			0	1	1.6%
ARMED FORCES			0			0	0	0.0%
SUBTOTAL ALL GOV'T	21	14	35	8	5	13	4a	75.0%
GRAND TOTAL	29	19	46	10	6	16	64	100.0%
%X TOTAL	45.3%	29.7%	75.0%	15.6%	9.4%	25.0%	100.0%	

Notes:

(1) Figures equal to number of persons employed, including part-time, temporary, and full-time employment.

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1939.

Table 28-PTL

Occupation Composition of Employment by Sex and **Ethnicity**
Point Lay - 1988

<u>OCCUPATION GROUPS</u>	INUPIAT			NON-INUPIAT			TOTAL	% OF
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	VILLAGE	TOTAL
EXEC. ADMIN. MGR.	3	4	7	2	1	3	10	15.4%
PROFESSIONAL			0			0	0	0.0%
TEACHER		1	1	2	2	4	5	7.7%
TEACHER AIDE			0		1	1	1	1.5%
TECHNICIAN		4	4			0	4	6.2%
ADMIN. SUPPORT	3	2	5		2	2	7	10.8%
SERVICE	3	7	10	4		4	14	21.5%
OPERATOR/MECHANIC	11		11	1		1	12	18.5%
PILOT			0			0	0	0.0%
LABORER	5		5	1		1	6	9.2%
CRAFTSMAN	3		3			0	3	4.6%
ARTISAN		1	1			0	1	1.5%
ARMED FORCES			0			0	0	0.0%
TRAPPER/HUNTER	1		1			0	1	1.5%
OTHER	1		1			0	1	1.5%
TOTAL EMPLOYED	30	19	49	10	6	16	65	100.0%
% OF TOTAL	46.2%	29.2%	75.4%	15.4%	9.2%	24.5%	100.0%	
LABOR FORCE	31	20	51	10	6	16	67	
% OF TOTAL	46.3%	29.9%	76.1%	14.9%	9.0%	23.9%	100.0%	
TOTAL UNEMPLOYED	1	1	2	0	0	0	2	
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE	3.2%	5.0%	3.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.0%	
TOTAL UNDER-EMPLOYED	4	5	9	1	3	4	13	
UNDER-EMPLOYMENT RATE	12.9%	25.0%	17.5%	10.0%	50.0%	25.0%	19.4%	

- Notes: (1) Total employed includes part-time, temporary, as well as full-time employment,
 (2) The occupation category "OTHER" includes underemployed persons otherwise not accounted for. Underemployment refers to persons that were unemployed because they could not find a job during part of the year.
 (3) Unemployed refers to persons out of work because they could not find a job for the entire twelve-month period.
 (4) Labor force = employed + underemployed + unemployed.
 (5) Unemployment rate. persons unemployed divided by the labor force.

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

1. Point Lay Caucasian Employment -- Males

In December 1987 there were nineteen Caucasian males enumerated in Point Lay (Table 29-PTL). Although none could be really classified as long-term residents, there are eleven who may be considered "long-term transient." Some have been in Point Lay for eight years or longer and one for less than a year, but all share the characteristic that they are employed year-round, either by the NSB or as a special case (the missionary and his son). They are all in Point Lay for an indefinite period of time. The six "short-term transient" Caucasian males came to Point Lay as part of a job task that is usually, at most, several months in duration, and upon completion plan to leave the village. Part of the reason these people are seen as short-term transients is that the jobs they are working on are relatively short-term. In point of fact, such a "short-termer" could conceivably remain in Point Lay a considerable length of time by working various short-term jobs in succession. That person's residence would still be tied to the availability of short-term work, however, which is not guaranteed to any extent. "Long-termers," in contrast, all have jobs in the service sector which have continuity from year to year. The remaining two Caucasian males are a special category of "short-termers." One is the researcher and the second was a researcher from ADF&G. Neither stays in Point Lay for extended periods of time, but each has a fairly long relationship with people in the village and intends to maintain this into the indefinite future. For purposes of an employment discussion, however, they are best excluded so that the sample for December 1987 is seventeen.

One of the salient facts about being a male and Caucasian in Point Lay is that one is employed. Only one Caucasian male does not work, a mentally-impaired 17-year-old boy. The real difference between the "short-termers" and the "long-termers" is that the first group stays in Point Lay only as long as the task requires, while the second is part of the day-to-day service sector and so is more residential. "Short-termers" consist of three sorts of men -- NSB employees on specific missions (repair clinic facilities, talk to villagers about NSB business, etc.), or contractors and employees of contractors working on a specific project, or researchers whose stay is determined by the scope of the research. There always seems to be a "short-term" contingent present in the village, but the roster is in constant flux. By contrast, the "long-termers" roster is relatively stable (school teachers stay at least a year unless there are real problems, Public Safety Officers are at least in theory stable for a year at the minimum, and those in service jobs have no fixed term). It is interesting to note that school teachers and PSOS can be transferred at any time by supervisor in Barrow. They may also request transfers, but these requests need not be acted on. In contrast, given adequate job performance, those working in the service sector make their own decisions about staying or leaving. For the most part, if an individual decides to leave such a job, it is not to take a similar job in another village. Rather, it is either to leave the village for another region of Alaska or the lower-48 or to take a different sort of job within the village.

Table 29-PTL

Employable Caucasian Adults, Age 16 and Over, Point Lay, Alaska - 12/87
 Arranged by **Ethnicity, Sex,** and Age

<u>Employment</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>Job Code</u>
NSB Itinerant Health Nurse	??	F	?	NSBHS
Fill-in	26	F	c	MIsc
	27	F	c	
NSB School District (aide)	32	F	c	NSBSD
	33	F	c	
Cook at Cully Camp (paid by UPCO)	35	F	c	CAMP COOK
NSB School District (sec. and aide)	37	F	c	
NSB School District (janitorial)	44	F	c	NSBSD
NSB School District (teacher)	47	F	c	
	50	F	c	
	56	F	c	
NSB Maintenance	37	M	c	NSB BRW
NSB School District (teacher)	31	M	c	NSBSD
	17	M	c	
Kunnichuk Project Foreman	26	M	c	MJP KUN
NSB Utilities	29	M	c	NSB UTIL
P s o	31	M	c	NSB PSO
Kunnichuks	32	M	c	MJP KUN
Seasonal	32	M	c	MISC
Private Contractor/Consultant	32	M	c	MJP KUN
Coal Stove Installer	33	M	c	CS
NSB School District (teacher)	33	M	c	NSBSD
NSB Public Works	36	M	c	NSB PW
NSB School District (teacher)	36	M	c	NSBSD
Impact Assessment	36	M	c	IAI
Alaska Fish & Game	41	M	c	F&G
NSB School District (head of plant)	45	M	c	NSBSD
NSB School District (principal)	47	M	c	NSBSD
Preacher	53	M	c	CHURCH
NSB Utilities	53	M	c	NSB UTIL

The one case known to the researcher is of a man with a permanent service job who quit when temporary construction projects started to go work there. He and his family planned to leave Point Lay when the temporary work was over, and he wanted to be able to draw unemployment during his relocation. This would not have been possible if he had simply resigned from his permanent job. The temporary job also paid better than the permanent job and had attractive work conditions. In effect, it is as if this man has redefined himself as a "short-termer." In point of fact, this is exactly the sort of job he held when he first came to Point Lay, and it was his transition to permanent employment for the NSB that solidified his position in Point Lay. By reversing the process he seems to be resuming, or preparing to resume, his status as an outsider. That is, in the final analysis, what his decision to leave the village seems to be about, in any event. The village perception that outsiders are interested in Point Lay mainly for short-term opportunities and economic gain is also enhanced and reinforced by this process.

Of the eleven "long-termers" perhaps four are perceived by the villagers as "residents," even though it is recognized that they will probably (almost certainly) leave Point Lay once their working days are over. Of the four under consideration, two are married to **Inupiat** women and hold service jobs. A third holds a service job but is married to a non-Native woman. The fourth works for the school but in a capacity which requires him to be in Point Lay for the summer when all other school personnel are out of the village and is married to a non-Native who until recently also worked at the school. Of the two Caucasian men married to **Inupiat** women, one takes few roles in the village outside of his work and the **Fire Department**. The other "long-termers" are all such people as teachers and PSOS, whose time in the village is clearly going to be limited.

The DEW Line station in Point Lay employs a number of **non-Inupiat** males, and occasionally **non-Inupiat** females, who rotate through the facility on a very short-term basis. These individuals do not interact with community residents, or even typically enter the community other than to pick up mail. **Inupiat** residents of Point Lay do not socialize with the **regular** workers at the station or otherwise visit the station to any **significant** degree.

2. Point Lay Caucasian Employment -- Females

Caucasian women display a somewhat different employment pattern than Caucasian males. The short-term work **possibilities in Point Lay** are almost all **in** male-oriented areas -- primarily construction. Few women break **into this niche** unless there is a severe **labor** shortage. The normal state of affairs seems to be for Caucasian women to work full-time and **permanently** (service jobs or teaching) or not to work for wages at **all**.

There were ten Caucasian women enumerated for December 1987 (Table 29-PTL above). Four worked for the school. One worked as the **Cully Camp cook**, two had no permanent jobs but filled in at others (when someone took a break or temporary positions), and three did not work for wages.

Table 30-PTL

Employable Male **Inupiat** Adults, Age 16 and Over, Point Lay, Alaska - 12/87
 Arranged by **Ethnicity, Sex,** and Age

<u>Employment</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>Job Code</u>
	16	M	I	
	17	M	I	
	21	M	I	
Seasonal	21	M	I	Misc
Kunnichuks & Coal Stoves	18	M	M	MJP KUN CS
Kunnichuks + Misc.	21	M	I	MJP KUN
NSB Maintenance + Kunnichuks	22	M	I	MJP KUN HM
NSB Utilities	22	M	I	NSB UTIL
Kunnichuks + fill-in	22	M	I	MJP KUN
Seasonal	22	M	I	MJP KUN
NSB Public Works	23	M	I	NSB PW
	23	M	I	
NSB School District (rec. aide)	24	M	I	NSBSD
NSB Utilities (clerk)	28	M	I	NSB UTIL
Kunnichuks + Coal Stoves	28	M	I	MJP KUN CS
Kunnichuks	28	M	I	MJP KUN
Kunnichuks (coal mine)	29	M	I	MJP KUN CW
NSB Public Works	33	M	I	NSB PW
NSB Utilities (night watchman)	33	M	I	NSB UTIL
Cully Fuel	33	M	I	CULLY FUEL
NSB Utilities	34	M	I	NSB UTIL
NSB Public Works	35	M	I	NSB PW
NSB Public Works	36	M	I	NSB PW
NSB School District (maintenance)	37	M	I	NSBSD
NSB Utilities	37	M	I	NSB UTIL
	38	M	I	
	38	M	I	
Coal Mine Coordinator	42	M	I	COAL
NSB Housing Maintenance	43	M	I	MJP HM
	43	M	I	
Cully Officer	43	M	I	
NSB Utilities	44	M	I	NSB UTIL
Cully Corp President	46	M	I	CULLY CORP
NSB School District maintenance	46	M	I	NSBSD
NSB Utilities	49	M	I	NSB UTIL
Retired	55	M	I	RETIRED
NSB Utilities	60	M	I	NSB UTIL
Retired	64	M	I	RETIRED
Retired - never worked for wages	65	M	I	RETIRED
Retired	82	M	I	RETIRED

Table 31-PTL

Jobs held by **Inupiat** Males, Point Lay, Alaska
December 1987

<u>Permanent Full-Time</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Part-time or Seasonal</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Not Employed Ages</u>
NSB Utilities	22	3 Types of Jobs:	16	
NSB Utilities	28	Construction	21	17
NSB Utilities	33	Coal Mine Project	21	21
NSB Utilities	34	Misc.(Community)	2 2	23
NSB Utilities	37		22	38
NSB Utilities	44		22	38
NSB Utilities	49		28	43
NSB Utilities	60		28	43
NSB Public Works	23		29	
NSB Public Works	33		42	
NSB Public Works	35			
NSB Public Works	36			
NSB School District	24			
NSB School District	37			
NSB School District	46			
Cully Corporation	46			
Cully Fuel	33			
Average Age	36.8		26.1	26.6

The only female “short-termer,” as the term is used in the discussion of male Caucasian employment, came to Point Lay in the company of one such male. All other female Caucasians were “long-termers” (there were additional short-term visits by female Caucasian NSB personnel, but none were noted for the time of this census in December). Just as there were two Caucasian men married to Inupiat women, and they seemed to be accepted by the community more than the others, so the two Caucasian females married to Inupiat men are perceived by other villagers as long-term and perhaps permanent residents. In fact, villagers assume that it is more likely that these male Inupiat-female Caucasian couples will remain in the village than the male Caucasian-female Inupiat ones. There was a fair amount of surprise and concern when one of these unions did recently dissolve and the non-Inupiat woman left Point Lay. Some of this is no doubt due to the genuine feeling that this woman was at least in some respects a permanent part of Point Lay. Probably no other non-Inupiat was as closely integrated into the community as she, which demonstrates that in all likelihood no non-Inupiat can reasonably expect to become a full member of the village. That, at least, is the opinion of those non-Inupiat who have married into the village and lived there the longest time.

3. Point Lay Im-mist Employment -- Males

In December 1987 a higher percentage of Inupiat women than Inupiat men were working at part-time or temporary jobs. There were 39 Inupiat males over the age of 15 in December 1987 (Tables 30-PTL and 31-PTL). Of these, four were old enough to retire. Of the 35 remaining, only seven or possibly eight (20.0 or 22.9%) had no sort of wage income. This is an employment rate of at least 77.1910, compared to one of 73.1% for adult Inupiat women. Permanent, full-time jobs account for 18 (66.6%) of these jobs, or 51.4% of the total male labor force (compared to 33.3% for women). This breakdown is not surprising since the short-term construction projects were relatively small and working conditions were not very pleasant. Thus, only nine men had such temporary jobs in December. Permanent full-time jobs are 47.4% of the total “female jobs” in the village, and employ 33.3 % of the adult female Inupiat work force.

The average age of part-time and/or seasonal Inupiat male wage earners is much lower than that of permanent, full-time employees (26.1 as compared to 36.8). The mean age of adult men not employed was 26.6 years. The range of values for age for part-time male Inupiat workers is quite restricted. The distribution is all in the range of twenty-one to twenty-nine, except for one man of age forty-two. The not-employed group is bimodal, with four men in the range sixteen to twenty-three and four in the range thirty-eight to forty-three. Clearly, these two groups display different characteristics. These data are consistent with the local perception that jobs are given preferentially to those who most need them. The criteria most often given as important are: (1) being a resident of the village (the longer the better), (2) being the head of a household, (3) the size of one’s household, (4) the lack of other income, and (5) personal reliability and dependability. Other, and not explicitly expressed, criteria are being male and Inupiat. This is especially true for the permanent, full-time jobs. The household provider is clearly seen as a male role in Point Lay, in the wage context as well as the subsistence one.

4. Point Lay Inupiat Employment -- Females

There are twenty-nine adult female **Inupiat** in Point Lay (Table **32-PTL**). Two are of retirement age (sixty-eight and sixty-nine), and so can be excluded. Of the twenty-seven remaining, nineteen (73.1%) have some form of employment. Of these nineteen, fourteen could be full-time, permanent jobs although only nine of them were. Thus, ten Inupiat women have part-time jobs. Since none are seasonal in nature, all can be considered “permanent.” Temporary positions have a high turnover rate and once a woman leaves one, there is a good chance that she will reenter the labor force soon. There are simply not enough people in Point Lay for this not to be the case. Even the full-time jobs have a high rate of turnover, at least on the basis of our observations

There seem to be few significant age differences between the women who work full-time, those who work part-time, and those who do not work at all (Table **33-PTL**). The average size of a residential household for those employed full-time (nine cases) is 4.33 persons, for those employed part-time (ten cases) is 3.6 persons, and for those not employed (seven cases -- the two Elders are excluded because of age and one other woman because of absence from the village) is 3.83 persons. All three groups contain families with very young children. The not-working group is younger overall than the other two groups -- an average age of 26.43 with a range of 18 to 46, compared to average ages of 34.66 and 32.27, with ranges of 22 to 46 and 19 to 44, for the two employed groups. It thus appears that the unemployed **Inupiat** women’s group is made up of young **unmarried** women (2), young women just starting to have children (4 -- two of them with male partners in their own household, two as single parents in the household of a parent), young women well on their way to bearing a large number of children (2), and a single middle-aged woman of 46 who is widowed, has mostly grown children, and an independent income. If she is excluded from the group, the average age for this group goes down to 23.17. Being young and having several young children thus seems to hinder wage employment for Inupiat women in Point Lay.

There is an obvious lack of babysitters in the village, and the families with several young children are especially hard pressed to find someone willing and able to provide child care. Those people with more relations in Point Lay generally have an easier time of finding people to babysit. Peer groups and friendship patterns are also likely to be important. Of course much depends upon the activity requiring a babysitter. Daytime and early evening social activities are usually with one’s relatives and friends and can include quite a few individuals, including children. Subsistence resource harvesting activities are likely to be less encompassing. Bingo, card parties, and other late night social activities generally exclude children. Short-term babysitting differs from longer-term commitments, and payment has also become a factor.

5. Point Lay -- Male and Female Inupiat Employment Compared

Inupiat men more commonly hold full-time permanent jobs than do **Inupiat** women, largely due to the sort of job opportunities available in the village, most of which are defined as “men’s work.” In addition, there is the cultural norm that men are the natural providers for the household and do the “hardest” work while women are the keepers of the household. Certainly, the characteristics of jobs held by each sex support this contention (Table **34-PTL**).

Table 32-PTL

Employable Female **Inupiat Adults, Age 16 and Over**, Point by, Mash- 12/87
 Arranged by **Ethnicity, Sex, and Age**

<u>Employment</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>Job Code</u>
NSB Health Aide	19	F	I	NSB CHA
School Store - minimal	16	F	I	Ss
	18	F	I	
	21	F	I	
NSB Health Aide	22	F	I	NSB CHA
	23	F	I	
Cully Corp. Secretary	24	F	I	CULLY CORP
	24	F	I	
Cully Corp. Secretary	25	F	I	CULLY CORP
Misc. pickup work	26	F	I	MIsc
	26	F	I	
	26	F	I	
Misc. pick-up	27	F	I	MISCS
School Cook	32	F	I	NSBSD
NSB House Cleaner (some)	35	F	I	MJP HC
Native Store Clerk	35	F	I	STORE
	36	F	I	
NSB Clinic (cleaner?)	38	F	I	NSB CLINIC
NSB Village Coordinator	38	F	I	NSB VC
actually gone to Barrow	40	F	I	STORE MGR
Cape Smythe Agent & NSB aide	42	F	I	NSBSD AIR
NSB House Cleaner (some)	43	F	I	MJP HC
NSB House Cleaner (some)	43	F	I	MJP HC
NSB Health Aide	44	F	I	NSB CHA
School Cook	44	F	I	NSBSD
	46	F	I	
Post Office Manager	46	F	I	POST OFC
Retired - never worked for wages	68	F	I	RETIRED
Retired (?)	69	F	I	RETIRED

Table 33-PTL

Jobs Held by **Inupiat** Women, Point Lay, Alaska - 12/87

<u>Job Description</u>	<u>Age of Woman</u>	<u>“Full-time” or “Part-time”</u>
Certified Health Aide	22	Full-time
Cully Corp.	24	Full-time
Cully Corp.	25	Full-time
Store Clerk	35	Full-time
Clinic Cleaner	38	Full-time
Village Coordinator	38	Full-time
Store Manager	40	Full-time
certified Health Aide	44	Full-time
Post Office Clerk	46	Full-time
School Store	16	Very Part-time
Certified Health Aide	19	Part-time”
Misc.	26	Part-time
Misc.	27	Part-time
NSB School (cleaner)	32	Part-time
Elders’ House Cleaner	35	Part-time
NSB School (teacher)	42	Part-time
Elders’ House Cleaner	43	Part-time
Elders’ House Cleaner	43	Part-time
NSB School (cook)	44	Part-time

Table **34-PTL**

Employment Classifications, **Point** Lay, Alaska

Male Full-Time

NSB Utilities
NSB Public Works
NSB **School** Maintenance
Cully Fuel (delivery)
Cully Corporation (president)
NSB Housing (maintenance)
Recreation Supervision

Male Part-time

Construction
Coal Stove Installation
Coal Mining
Recreation **Supervision**

Female Full-Time

NSB Health Aides
Native Store Manager and **Clerk**
NSB School Cook
Cully Fuel (records)
Cully Corporation (office work)
Post Office Clerk
NSB Village Coordinator

Female Part-time

House Cleaning
Babysitting
NSB Health Aide
Recreation Supervision

Furthermore, the pattern of women working virtually **year-round**, whether it is full-time or part-time employment, and doing the same sort of work for full-time and part-time jobs, seems quite different from the male pattern. Males who work full-time are employed primarily in the local service sector. Those who work part-time are actually seasonal workers who, for the most part, do different sorts of things and work full-time for a limited period of time. No men have permanent part-time jobs and few men exhibit the pattern fairly common among women of turning a full-time position into a part-time one. The apparent predominance of male full-time employment is thought to be partially an artifact of the time of year. December was not a peak of construction or other **temporary** project activity. There were not that many job opportunities for the men without permanent jobs. The pattern for women does not show nearly as much variation, although some women work on some of the summer projects. A good deal of the temporary summer labor is provided from people outside of Point Lay, but some full-time permanent male employees quit their permanent jobs to work on construction for the summer.

D. Economic Issues and Concerns

Point Lay is one of the villages that is the quintessential representation of the emergence of a regional economy in the North Slope Borough. Point Lay was resettled by the borough and the entire village was moved twice after resettlement. Virtually the entire economy of the village is dependent upon government subsidies of one form or another, whether it be for housing, employment, or other revenues. The regional economy was the precipitating force behind the founding of the contemporary community of Point Lay, and it is the force that sustains the community in its present form. Examination of the employment affiliation in Point Lay for adult **male** and female **Inupiat** shows that most employment is directly or indirectly subsidized by the regional government, the North Slope Borough.

1. Effect of Wage Economy on Other Institutions

The wage economy in Point Lay has had profound effects upon village institutions, but few that are unique to Point Lay. Rather, most can be seen as typical of other North Slope villages. Thus, the increased access to wage jobs and improved housing have reduced the average size of households and apparently made the “nuclear family” a much more common preference than before. The recognition of the differences between the past, both distant and immediate, and the foreseeable future, both in terms of opportunities and required skills, has forced changes in socialization in both the home and the school. The articulation of wage activity and subsistence resource harvest pursuits is complex and constantly in flux. It is difficult to summarize these discussions abstractly. They are developed for Point Lay elsewhere in this chapter, and in a comparative way in the final section of the report.

Informants, especially older informants, were also quite positive that the more **pervasive** the cash and **wage** economy has become, the more problems have developed in the villages with crime, deviance, and general anti-social behavior. Money and greed are often discussed as equivalent, and tied to a decrease in the extent to which sharing is behaviorally demonstrated. Most people agree that sharing was much more prevalent in the Point Lay of the 1970s than today, and commonly

attribute it to the fact that so few people worked in the earlier period that even the cash resource had to be shared. Money is now seen as a private resource that cannot just be given away, perhaps because it can be so readily converted into whatever a person wished. With more “traditional” resources, a surplus was often no real benefit, as only so much could be used during a given time and the rest had to be either stored or given away. Conversion **of** one resource into another, other than in a social exchange process, was difficult if not impossible. Thus, it is clear that the wage economy has affected the institution and values of sharing on the North Slope. It is difficult to be more specific, however, as this has been in process since contact and such sharing is one of the most **difficult** behavioral areas to investigate, even in the most open of societies.

2. Role of Subsistence in the Market Economy

Subsistence activities in Point Lay have become capital-intensive and dependent upon cash obtained through employment, much as they have elsewhere in the **NSB**. Most of these are **CIP**- or similar NSB-generated jobs. Employment also affects the range of subsistence activity. Alaska Consultants et al. (1984), for instance, note that the proximity to the village of good fishing locations allows Point Lay residents who are employed to check their nets after **work**, minimizing any conflicts between subsistence activities and employment. However, few Point Lay residents avail themselves of opportunities to fish. In Point Lay, hunters often hunt before or after work, especially in the summer. Even in the winter when trips on the land are restricted to two or three hours duration, there are individuals in both villages who will go out hunting every day. Some are employed full-time. Even among full-time wage earners, as might be expected, employment status appears to have little influence on weekend hunting activities.

Once the projects are completed, however, individuals are often left with a great deal of free time and too little income to make the most efficient use of this time in subsistence harvesting activities. To a large extent, this is handled through a very widespread sharing network in Point Lay. For the most part, almost anyone can obtain what he needs to be productive, provided he is willing to share the proceeds of what he produces in turn. In other communities, such a sharing network has been one way to deal with the reduction in wage positions which occurs every winter when summer construction jobs are over, and is somewhat of a **model** for the not-too-distant future, when in general there will be fewer jobs on the North **Slope**. Although at this time the unique full-employment situation in Point Lay obviates the need for such a sharing **network**, we can **only** expect that as universal employment becomes increasingly unlikely, a similar system will develop in Point Lay.

The difficulties in combining wage-earning and subsistence pursuits extends to group-based activities as well as to individuals' activities. Whaling crew leaders, now at least partially dependent upon individuals whom they have employed as crew members, find it **difficult** to have the necessary preparations done for whaling in a timely manner. As one Point Hope captain phrased it, “[**You**] can't depend on guys who work [for wages].” Paraphrasing his complaint: when they get home from work they do not want to work on whaling chores as they are tired or have **family** responsibilities, or it is not that long **until** dark anyway. Weekends are often devoted to things other than preparation for future subsistence pursuits -- often immediate subsistence pursuits. Perhaps one of the most important traits of a whaling captain is his ability to **defer** the rewards of an immediately available activity so that he can prepare for a future activity that is potentially much

more rewarding. Of course, the captain has more at stake in whaling than the average crew member.

Although Point Lay is not currently a whaling site, of course, the pattern of behavior that characterizes whaling remains in other activities that require a large number of people to organize and execute. All the community feasts observed were rather low-key and informal, except for the ones held at the school that the school staff had a strong hand in planning. Eskimo games in Point Lay were, in fact, canceled on one evening due to lack of participants. On the first day that **beluga** were spotted and men wanted to go out, only two boats could be mustered. The fact remains that mobilizing task groups has become, if not more complicated than before, certainly no easier and it certainly involves factors that it did not before possess.

Whaling is one of the two kinds of institutionalized subsistence activity when a wage earner can readily take subsistence leave, especially if he works for the NSB, which the great majority of wage earners do. Those individuals who do not work for the NSB can generally work something out with their employers. Despite this, it is generally difficult to get whaling crew members who are employed from other villages. Fish camp is the other major subsistence activity that people appear able to take time off for as well. School teachers comprise an exception, for although they work for the NSB, they are required to be present for all school days (barring illness). This is one reason given for the slowness with which Inupiat teachers have been trained and hired, since many **Inupiat** do not want to take a job that does not allow them potentially to participate fully in subsistence activities.

There is also a more general problem with subsistence leave. As flexible as the policy is, it is restricted to two weeks. If an individual were to combine it with annual leave, he would have from four to six weeks. This is certainly adequate for the current whaling season, especially since the imposition of the quota and the increase in the number of active crews. Once the crews go out on the ice and whales start to run, it is a rare season (**or** one with very bad conditions) that lasts beyond two weeks. Barrow in 1985 had four whales within the first two days. Point Hope filled their quota within a week. Thus, crew members from other villages can wait until they know the crew is ready to go out onto the ice to join them.

The difficulty with this is that whaling is not a bounded activity. One is never quite certain when whaling **will** start. This means that *crew* members from outside of the village **will** not be able to help in the preparations for whaling. The school presents a special problem as well, as young boys are **very useful** as "boyers" (essentially whale camp "go-fers"). This is the "traditional" learning role in the whale camp, but is sometimes restricted by required attendance at school. The problem is more or **less** severe, depending on what is happening at the time at the school. In 1988, in Point Hope, the start of whaling season coincided with the time during which the basic skills testing was taking place. Most parents made the decision that their children should not miss these essential tests (of course, this was the **official** school position as **well**). **In Point** Lay, with a smaller student population, some students did choose to **miss** these tests. The two villages are very different in their relations to the school and school district, however -- partly as a matter of size.

The school district has attempted to deal with this problem by instituting a series of different "subsistence leave" policies similar to the NSB work-leave policy. These have not been very successful (being in most cases too implicated for students and parents to fully comprehend). The

latest and simplest policy is that a student is allowed so many “absent” days if he wishes to graduate. The reason for the absence is in most cases irrelevant. This is a change from a previous policy, when subsistence leave was recognized as a special need, but had to be taken as a continuous **block** of time. For whaling, if a student took his leave and then the lead closed, he essentially “wasted” his leave. Now leave can be taken a day at a time, with a written excuse, but there is no separate leave defined as “subsistence” leave. There are a certain number of days a student must attend school to pass, or to put it another way, only a certain number of excused absences that a student can afford. If a student takes them for subsistence activities, he cannot use them for other purposes. Adults see this as an advance on one hand (freedom to split the days up) and a reversion on the other (the school no longer seems to recognize subsistence activities as especially important endeavors). There is also now potential conflict among the participants in the system in regard to the intended purpose of this policy and the actual behavior that it fosters. Students often wish to take these days one at a time for “goof-off” days or to avoid certain tasks at school. Teachers see intermittent absences as disruptive to the continued progress of their students; parents want their children to learn how to harvest subsistence resources.

Subsistence activities are also shaped by geography. The shallow lagoon restricts the size of boats and outboard motors available for harvesting seals and **beluga** whales, while the physical location also eliminates the possibility of a bowhead **whale** hunt close to the community. The community’s small size also precludes the conducting of a bowhead whale hunt at present. Residents are therefore forced to travel to other communities if they wish to engage **in** such activity. If the need for wage employment requires temporary work outside Point Lay, however, the range of subsistence activity and involvement of Point Lay residents in bowhead whale hunting may change. Finally, patterns of subsistence activity are affected by weather conditions and the availability of resources. However, this is not currently well-documented. The recent subsistence harvest in Point Lay is discussed in a later section, based on Sverre **Pedersen’s** work (for the Point Lay Case Study) in the village.

The capital-intensive nature of subsistence harvest activities also creates some problems. There seems to be a chronic problem with being able to afford gas in both Point Hope and Point Lay. In addition, the gasoline supply is **very** irregular in Point Lay. The most active hunters in Point Lay stockpile drums of gas when they have available cash, and so are usually those to whom those in need **first** go. Machine expenses in the two **villages** are rather high. **In** Point Lay there is enough cash flow that there are enough new machines -- freeing up used ones for sale -- that nearly anyone who has a real use for one can get **one**. This is not so true about three-wheelers, as they are not nearly so useful out on the tundra. This does not seem to be as true in Point Hope, where there are more people for each available wage position. Point Hope also has a higher **three-wheeler/snowmachine** ratio than does Point Lay, as three-wheelers are more useful in Point Hope than in Point Lay. Gas is not so much an expense problem in Point Lay as it is one of availability. There is no bulk storage other than a dangerous (and, in theory, temporary) rubber bladder near the air strip. In addition, Point Lay has a history of receiving **gas** which burns hot and otherwise harms motors. When gas is available, there is always a way for a person who needs it to buy it or borrow it. Machines are harder to borrow for long distance use -- usually those willingly lent are exactly the ones a person would prefer not to take.

In both Point Lay and Point Hope women are more involved with the processing (and the parceling out) of subsistence resources than with the procurement of them. In Point Lay women were

sometimes **observed** to go for short walks in the immediate vicinity of the village with a rifle or shotgun, on the off-chance that they would see some small game while also getting some exercise. This was, however, always a social occasion as well. Women were not seen to go out further to hunt. Some women did go upriver to **fish** camp in the fall, but this activity was still predominately male.

Finally, even though whaling at Point Lay and Icy Cape apparently no longer takes place, it is reported that a few Point Lay men go elsewhere to whale (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:289). Large amounts of whale meat are reported to be shared with Point Lay (Wainwright **52%**, Barrow 26%, Point Hope 24% -- Alaska Consultants and S. Braund and Associates **1984:298**) and this was observed to indeed be the case. A great amount of whale was sent from Barrow during the Search and Rescue (**SAR**) operation in Point Lay of October and November (discussed below). Whale from both **Wainwright** and Point Hope was shared after the most recent whaling season, as Point Lay men were on crews in both villages. At the very least this reveals significant sharing links with those three villages, and this seems to **follow** kinship connections. Wainwright seems to be most important, followed by Point Hope and then Barrow. However, Barrow as a larger village with more resources may be in a better position to share in situations of need, such as the SAR.

Alaska Consultants et al. (**1984:260-263**) indicate that it is the use of machines which facilitate rapid transportation that make a reasonable accommodation of wage employment with the harvest of subsistence resources possible. Access to such machines, thus, is vital. Differential access implies differential resource use and potential social differentiation. In Point Lay, as was discussed above, kinship networks are most commonly used as a means of obtaining access to modern technology for subsistence pursuits. However, friendship and hunting partner relationships also sometimes come into play. It is observed that hunting partners most often are similarly skilled individuals with similar resources.

For the most part, those items individuals need for subsistence harvest activities are privately (individually) owned. In Point Lay it is difficult to think of an exception. What varies from one thing to another is the extent to which everyone who ever needs such an object owns one and the ease with which the object in question can be borrowed should it be necessary to do so. One aspect of the "ease of borrowing" question is who the potential possible lenders are.

Expensive items such as snow machines and ATVS are perhaps the most difficult items to borrow. There is almost a directly inverse relationship between the frequency with which an individual goes out to harvest subsistence resources and his willingness to lend out his snowmachine or ATV. Good subsistence hunters tend to maintain their machines regularly and **well**, to have newer machines in general, and do not lend them out. This is not considered to be a sign of stinginess or an unwillingness to share. Rather, it is the realization that when one's life depends upon the reliability of one's equipment you do not lend it out. The same is true of firearms, where it is rare for a hunter to loan out a rifle.

The most serious and most respected subsistence hunters in Point Lay do not use their subsistence activity machines for any other **purpose**. Because ATVS are rarely used from Point Lay for extensive subsistence harvest trips, an ATV may double as a subsistence and local-use vehicle. **Snowmachines** are taken on some very long trips, however, and it is recognized that it is best not to subject such machines to the wear-and-tear of **local** gravel roads, stop-and-go travel, and other

less than optimal conditions. Boats are never taken out unless there is some possibility of subsistence harvest activity occurring.

Because the best hunters in **Point** Lay tend to buy new machines every two years or so, they sometimes have more than one operable machine. If **this** is the case, they will on occasion lend the older machine out. The more common event is for them to **simply** sell **the** old machine to a **hunter** without a machine -- often at a price well below **its** real **value**. The best hunters thus have the best and most reliable equipment, and also **in** a real sense help those less able to afford the capital **costs** of new equipment to **still** be able to own a vehicle. This **gives** the best hunters an advantage in maintaining **their** reputation as the best hunters, and also contributes to **their** reputations for generosity and socially approved behavior. The used machines of these hunters are recognized to be unusually good buys, because of the care that such men are known to take of them.

There is one other pattern for the sale of used machines (operable and not). If an individual or household really needs a machine they will usually be able to buy a "junkie" -- a machine that is running or sort of running that can be **fixed** up so that it can be used on at least short subsistence hunting **trips**. It is recognized that using such a machine to go out entails a much higher risk of breakdown than a trip with a newer machine, and few men will go out alone on such a machine.

It is nonetheless done sometimes. These machines also tend to be sold repeatedly. Their buyers (and subsequent sellers) tend to be more marginal subsistence resource harvesters, in the sense that they go out less frequently than owners of newer machines. If such individuals begin to go out more frequently, they will buy a better machine (to reduce breakdowns, among other things). As a marginal subsistence producer, however, an owner of such a used machine will use it for local transportation as well as subsistence use. He **will** also use it as a resource to be sold when **he** needs ready cash. Some machines have been bought and sold among the same **circle** of buyers and sellers several times -- often for exactly the same cash amount.

The ultimate fate of a true junkie is for local in-village transportation. When a machine can no longer be trusted to not break down it is not taken out of the village. Given the disinclination to walk when one can ride, however, these junkies **still** have a useful purpose. When even this is beyond a vehicle, it is pieced out to repair other vehicles, with the immobile hulk being kept as a store of spare parts.

Other subsistence equipment is easier to borrow. Some is never borrowed, however, because its ownership is so widespread. Things such as fishing gear, clothing, and other items **would** fall in this category. Other items, which one perhaps would expect to be commonly owned, are borrowed fairly often. The biggest such item is a sled. Smaller items are tarps, axes, cook stoves, **toques** (used to chop **fishing holes** through ice), rope, backpacks, flashlights, and so on. These smaller items seem to be lent on the basis that their absence is not likely to be life-threatening to the lender -- or at any rate, he will be able to obtain a replacement before he goes out if need be. Durable items like axes, stoves, and **toques** are almost always returned. Ropes and tarps are perceived as items whose useful life is limited -- they wear out (especially under the conditions they are used in the Arctic). This being the case, they are not always returned.

3. Trends in Employment

Trends in employment are necessarily tied to the population because the population determines, in part, the composition of the labor force. Population, labor force, and employment for Point Lay are shown in Figure 7-PTL for the years 1980 and 1988. Also, these variables are projected to the year 1994. The figures for 1980 and 1988 show that village population nearly doubled from 91 to 158. The labor force (employed and unemployed persons age 16 to 64 that were willing and eligible to work) also expanded, though not as rapidly, **from** 43 to 66 persons.

Total village employment increased sharply from 26 to 64 persons between 1980 and 1988. This employment increase was sufficient to **outpace** labor force expansion. As a result, the rate of unemployment (the number of persons unemployed divided by the labor force) in Point Lay **fell** markedly from **40%** in 1980 to **3%** in 1988.

The following tables describe the composition of employment for Point Lay for 1980. Table 35-PTL testifies to the claim that the **NSB** has been the predominant economic backbone of Point Lay, with local government employing the majority of employed individuals. Table 36-PTL shows that most employed individuals were between the ages of 25 and 39 for both **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat**. The consistency between the two ethnic groups holds in 1988 as well. Point Lay is somewhat unique in this respect.

This shift toward full employment is explained in part by a significant increase in direct NSB government employment. Between 1980 and 1988, NSB government employment more than doubled from 19 to 47 persons. These figures understate NSB government contributions to village employment because they do not include employment expansion in the private sector brought about by NSB-funded projects and programs. Private sector employment and indirect NSB government employment are depicted in the bar labeled "Total Employment."

In spite of the substantial decline in the rate of overall unemployment, a fairly high level of underemployment (**20%**) was observed in 1988. "Underemployment" refers to the count of persons that worked part of the year but would have worked more if additional jobs had been available. In sum, the data for 1980 and 1988 indicate a fairly strong local wage economy. Although the underemployment rate was high in 1988, nearly everyone that wanted to work was able to do so for at least part of the year. This suggests that in 1988 jobs were widely distributed across the village labor force.

Table 35-PTL

Composition of Employment by Race and Sex^{1,2}
Point Lay - June 1980

<u>Employment Sector</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Mining	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Contract Construction	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
Transportation, Communication, and Public Utilities	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trade	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Finance , Insurance, and Real Estate	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Services	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Government									
Federal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
State	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Local	9	6	15	8	1	9	17	7	24
Construction	(0)	(1)	(1)	(4)	(0)	(4)	(4)	(1)	(5)
Non-Construction	(9)	(5)	(14)	(4)	(1)	(5)	(13)	(6)	(19)
TOTAL	10	6	16	9	1	10	19	7	26

¹Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.
² **Employment figures exclude 30 Alaska Natives (14 males and 16 females) and 3 non-Nativea (2 males and 1 female) aged 16 and over for whom no employment information was provided or who claimed to be unemployed.**

Source: Alaska **Consultants** 1981, Table 49, page 51.

Table 36-PTL

Composition of Employment by **Age**, Race, and **Sex**¹
Point Lay - **June** 1980

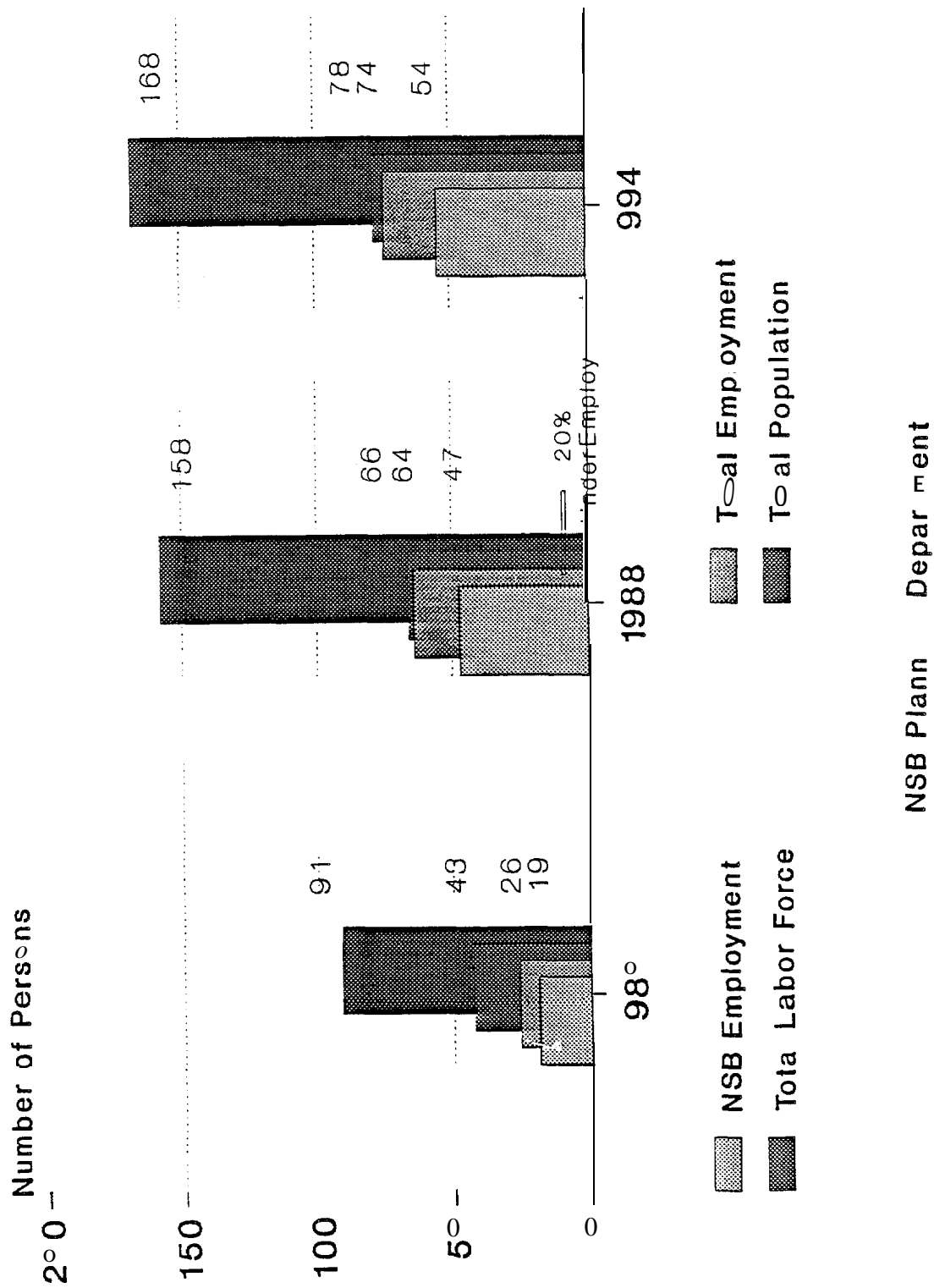
<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15-19	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
20 - 24	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
25 - 29	2	2	4	2	0	2	4	2	6
30 - 34	1	1	2	1	0	1	2	1	3
35-39	4	1	5	0	1	1	4	2	6
40-44	3	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	3
45-49	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
50-54	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
55-59	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
60-64	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
65-69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70-74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75 and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Age unknown	0	0	0	5	0	5	5	0	5
TOTAL	10	6	16	9	1	10	19	7	26

¹ Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Source Alaska Consultants 1981, Table 50, page 52.

Figure 7-PTL

Population, Labor Force, and Employment
 Point Lay: 1980, 1988, and 1994 (Projected)



An employment trend projection which includes projected levels of population, labor force, and employment for 1994 is also illustrated in Figure 7-PTL. The assumptions used to make these projections are:

- o Village population would grow at an average annual rate of 1% per year;
- o Village labor force would change according to natural shifts in the age distribution of village population;
- o The rate of village unemployment would be held at 5%; and
- o The ratio of NSB government employment to total village employment in 1988 would prevail in 1994.

Application of these assumptions leads to increases in all categories. Village population would increase to 168 in 1994. The village labor force would grow at a faster rate than population and increase from 66 to 78. In order to hold unemployment to 5%, total employment would increase from 64 to 74. NSB government employment required to support this level of total employment would increase by seven from 47 to 54 persons.

Labor force expansion is the critical element in this projection. The number of young persons entering the labor force will more than offset retirees and other labor force departures over the next six years. Village total employment must increase to support this labor force. This, in turn, would require the NSB government to step up local employment opportunities either directly, or through programs that enhance private sector development.

4. Issues

Perhaps the main economic "issue" being dealt with in Point Lay is the development of a coal mine near the village. What will be referred to as "the coal mine project" consists in fact of a number of projects funded by various agencies since July 1984. The purpose was to first assess and then to demonstrate the feasibility of developing a coal mine in the western arctic to provide an alternative energy supply to oil. **Subcomponent** projects include installation of coal stoves in some village, and the establishment of a coal delivery system to those villages.

The site of the mine is about forty miles south of Point Lay. The mining area, known as the Deadfall **Syncline**, is about six miles inland from the **Chukchi** Sea, in the foothills. Plans are to connect it to **Omalik** Lagoon by a road. Coal would be stockpiled near the lagoon, which would be dredged to accommodate suitable size barges, and the coal would be **shipped** during the short period of open water, at least for the duration of the demonstration project. Should a year-round operation be developed, a road to the Red Dog Mine, another seventy miles to the south, would be considered.

The coal mine project has encountered a number of problems from its inception. It is located between Point Lay and Point Hope, and in an effort to gain local support for it there is selective local hire oriented towards those villages and Wainwright (the next closest village). As the most

proximate village, Point Lay, was allocated fifty percent of the available jobs. For various reasons, including an already relatively high employment rate, disapproval of the coal mine project in Point Lay, and perceived relatively poor working conditions, the Point Lay proportion of the work force has seldom been as high as the allocated 50% and additional labor is recruited from other villages. Each of the involved villages also has a person hired as the coal mine project coordinator for that village. **The** Point Lay coordinator has the added responsibilities of arranging for most of the logistics out at the mining site. These coordinating positions have been subject to a high rate of turnover in the past.

The residents of Point Lay have never fully embraced the project. The coal mine is on land selected by ASRC (both surface and subsurface), but the Point Lay IRA Council feels that it is within the traditional land use area of Point Lay. Thus, the Point Lay IRA thinks that it is on their land and that ASRC should have consulted with them before proceeding with the project. The mine site is near a significant fishing location for Point Lay people (**Kuchiak**) and they **are** worried about the potential effect of development and barge activity on their **beluga** whale harvest. Since **beluga** are the single most important subsistence resource **harvested** (at least **in** terms of weight) and this harvest occurs in a very restricted time period (typically lasting only several days to a week), any disruption of this harvest could have very significant effects. Point Lay is one of the few locations where **beluga** are consistently taken on the North Slope, and they are widely shared. Thus, this is a regional as well as a village resource.

Besides the labor supply problems, the coal mine project has suffered from general logistical problems as well. Some of these can be traced to the need for local village hire, but others may be more due to the limited scale of the demonstration project and the need for on-the-fly management decisions. The relatively **small** size of the project has meant that there are no economies of **scale** in operation and, in fact, the opposite may well be true. The project has been over budget for most, if not all, years since it started. The geographical area encompassed for the stove installation and coal delivery components of the project are so widespread that it is difficult to coordinate the labor force for the mine during the mining operations with the management of village operations (stove installation and monitoring of coal burning).

Projects Operations

Operations in 1986/87 can perhaps be taken as somewhat typical of other years. Actual mining operations had been estimated to require 46 days, but actually required 81. The "overrun" was in the initial camp preparation stage and the exploration/excavation stage. Bagging and stockpiling the coal went faster than had been anticipated. There were a total of 24 workers (at various times), with 10 from Point Lay, 8 from Point Hope, and 6 from **Wainwright**. The average days worked per worker was 27 with the longest period being 82 days and the shortest 5 days. **The** average number of hours worked per day was a little under 11. The goal of the project was to mine about 100 tons of coal. Cost information is incomplete for this project, but at a minimum is given as \$115,938 (**ASCE** 1988). This does not include the costs of mining and installation supervision or project management support. Informants report that the project was significantly over budget. Much of this was blamed on the logistical problems of setting up the camp and beginning the operation. No information on the utilization of the coal mined in this period is available.

Operations in calendar year 1987 were scaled up to a goal of 275 tons of coal from the Deadfall **Syncline** mine and a demonstration project at the **Atqasuk** coal mine site similar to the 1986/87 project at the Deadfall **Syncline** site. Five **Atqasuk** residents were employed on the latter at a project cost (again minimum estimate, excluding the above costs) of \$152,060 (ASCE 1988). The expanded Deadfall **Syncline** project employed a total of 46 people (17 from Point **Lay**, 12 from Point Hope, 15 from Wainwright, and 2 from Barrow). Again, there was differential turnover, but no information is available. No more than 20 workers would have been in camp at any one time. The minimum cost of this part of the project, excluding the same costs, was \$953,646 (ASCE 1988). Since the estimated operations and maintenance expenses for a 50,000 short tons/year operation is \$2,000,000 (annual cost of \$4,600,000 once capital costs are figured in [ASCE 1986]), it can be seen that the demonstration project was definitely not a success in economic terms. Again there were logistical problems. Some stoves were installed in homes after the mining operations were concluded, but there was some difficulty with the timely delivery of the stoves and their installation. It also appears that at least some of the coal mined was inappropriate for the stoves and did not burn well.

No formal summaries are available for the coal mine project for years after 1987, but observation information from field data collected for the Point Lay Case Study indicate that similar dynamics were at work. Information in this regard relates primarily to Point Lay, of course, but since Point Lay was the staging area for the coal mine project as a whole, the other involved villages will be mentioned as well. Local wage employment in Point Lay may well have increased in 1988 due to the Mayor's Job Program. Information for earlier years is not available, but at any rate, in 1988 the coal mine had an extremely hard time retaining workers from Point Lay. Most preferred to work within the village. The problem became so extreme that workers from other villages had to be flown in. The labor pool was opened to all villages and people were hired from **Nuiqsut** and **Atqasuk** as well as Barrow and the other involved villages. The Point Lay coal mine coordinator position turned over at least twice. At the coal mine site there was a great deal of machinery failure and again some logistical problems in starting the operation up.

It is quite evident that one of the primary purposes of the coal mine project was to create some jobs for locals. It is also quite evident that in the three closest villages that these jobs are not highly desired. The coal stoves that were installed are supposed to be monitored as to use and records kept of how well they work but, so far as is known, none of the coal mine coordinators ever instituted such a monitoring program. As this is instrumental in any assessment of the usefulness of coal as a home heating fuel, this aspect of the program appears to be problematic. Most of the coal stoves were installed as second heating units in buildings with existing oil heaters. In most cases the individual (or the store) still heats primarily with oil. Most people do not want to shovel coal and take care of the ashes, especially when diesel requires much less work from them to maintain a steady heating capability. Although people in Point Lay have heated with coal in the past, and at least one house presently uses the coal stove as their primary source of heat, it has not yet been demonstrated that Point Lay residents will actually switch to coal heating if given the option. Since the stoves and the supplies of coal were free and are still not being used to any great extent, it may appear that this is not likely to happen. Part of the problem may again be logistical, however, as there is no place for users to store the coal they have to use. After it gets covered with snow it is inaccessible and there are no coal bins to maintain easy access to it. These

are being developed, as this aspect of the project was apparently overlooked. It can be expected that an assessment of the feasibility of heating NSB homes **by** coal will be available fairly soon.

Point Lay Subsistence and the Coal Mine

There seem to be **two** key issues in Point Lay regarding the coal mine project. The first is the availability of truly local jobs in the village. These are greatly preferred to work outside of the village and have recently been readily available. The second is the political/ideological/cultural issue of subsistence and local control. As mentioned above, most Point Lay **Inupiat** consider the land around the coal mine site as traditional Point Lay land. Near the storage/shipping facilities is a site that has been used for intensive **fishing** operations in the past, but which is now sometimes avoided due to the mining operation. This has been a favorite place to camp, with entire families (or groups of families) going together. Point Lay residents also maintain that some years they start their **beluga** drives as far south as **Omalik** Lagoon and that industrial/mining activity in this area may well affect that activity by making the **beluga** more sensitive or causing them to swim farther **offshore**, so that it would be difficult to drive them within the lagoon into the shallow water. People are especially concerned that a dock may be built out from the shore that would actually intercept **beluga**. Studies conducted by the coal mine project are reported to answer these questions and to describe what observational information there is on **beluga** migration through the area. Evidently there are usually several “pulses” of **beluga** and it is not anticipated that mine activity will affect them in any way. These reports are not commonly available, however, and few if any Point Lay residents have seen them.

Point Lay residents are also quite clearly using the **coal** mine project as another issue in defining their relationship with the **NSB** and the **ASRC**. The **NSB** is the ultimate source for much of the money in the coal mine project, although it is funneled through **ASRC**. Both are regional entities, of course, which influence a wide range of activity on the North **Slope**. Point Lay people feel in general that they have little say in what these entities do and point to the coal mine project as one example. Local residents maintain that they were not consulted during the planning stages of the project and that if they had been that they would have requested that it not be done. **ASRC** does have formal title to the land, but Point Lay considers the Point Lay IRA Council as the legitimate trustee of the land. The **NSB** is perceived locally as the agent behind the scenes which provides the money and pulls the strings. Locally the feeling is very strong that this should have been an project with a good deal of **local** direction, but few attempts were made to achieve this end.

Long Term Consequences

The long term consequences of the **coal** mine project are as yet unclear. The project has provided a good number of jobs for the local villages, although increasingly these work forces are losing interest and people from other villages are being hired. Coal may be a **viable** village fuel, but this has yet to be demonstrated. Peoples’ use habits would have to change and they would have to adopt a new (and somewhat more regular and demanding) set of behaviors associated with the use of **coal**. If the mine were to be developed to produce 50,000 to 100,000 tons of coal a year, there is a possibility that a road would be constructed to the Red Dog mine seventy miles to the **south**. The effects of this on Point Lay would have to be assessed. The village would still be another forty

miles to the north of such a road terminus, but that is a relatively short **snowmachine** ride. This could facilitate the shipping in of groceries and other durable goods, assuming that some storage facilities were constructed at the coal mine site. Clearly the situation would not be like that of **Nuiqsut**, where an ice road connects the village directly with Deadhorse in the winter. The potential for substantial savings on certain items would be possible, however, given the necessary logistical planning.

SECTION III: FORMAL INSTITUTIONS

Point Lay is unique on the North Slope with respect to the conscious efforts of the community to control the number of institutions in the community and the **level** of conflict between institutions. Point Lay has chosen not to incorporate under state law, and is the only community on the slope to have taken this route. The community has also chosen to effectively make the local for-profit corporation subservient to the IRA council, thereby eliminating any potential conflicts between the two entities. In several respects, the community has chosen not to accept **ANCSA**, in that several principals of the act are not subscribed to by village residents, particularly the premise that land is something that may be owned by one group of **Inupiat** at the exclusion of others.

It remains nonetheless true that Point Lay residents are as enmeshed in bureaucratic entanglements as those of other North Slope villages. The provisions of **ANCSA** must be at least implicitly recognized by Point Lay residents because of their need to interact with the NSB and state on so many matters, and both of those entities fully support the provisions of **ANCSA**. Thus, pragmatically speaking, the situation in Point Lay is fully as complex as in any other village and may be more so. Village politicians have to keep the official Point Lay policy of expansive land claims and sovereignty in mind at the same time as they need to work out practical day-to-day compromises with the NSB and other agencies. This is discussed below in the section on leadership and politics, but is quite complex and the interested reader is referred to the Point Lay Case Study for a fuller treatment.

A. Government

1. Organization and Scope of Operations

Point Lay was founded explicitly as an **Inupiat** community, based on the constitution of the Native Village of Point Lay adopted in 1946 under the Indian Reorganization Act (**IRA**), as extended to Alaska. **Inupiat** residents conceive of the IRA and Point Lay as one and the same, and have resisted incorporating as a city for fear of setting up competing formal organizations. Residents realize that it was to a great extent **ANCSA** that allowed the resettlement of Point Lay, but are for the most part wary of the land provisions of that act. The Point Lay view is that the Point Lay IRA has jurisdiction over the total land (and sea) use area of Point Lay people, which they usually define as encompassing all territory within a fifty-mile radius of Point Lay. Informants claim that the **Cully** Corporation, although formed before the village was reformed, was not activated until the early 1980s because local people did not want to appear to accept the land provisions of **ANCSA**. This explains why, now that the **Cully** Corporation is active, the IRA is still considered the only policy-making authority in the village. The history of the **Cully** Corporation is traced below to make this articulation clearer.

Because the IRA is the **formal** governing body of Point Lay, non-Natives in the village have no representation at the village level. However, the permanent non-Natives in Point Lay have never taken issue with their exclusion from the IRA political process. Most find that they can take as active an informal role in such processes as they desire to, and in the past it is reported that one **non-Inupiat** even served as the informal mayor of Point Lay (head of the IRA Council). This is

not likely to happen again, but non-Inupiat still perform many essential public tasks. Transient non-Inupiat have no concern with local affairs unless their jobs are at issue, which is rare.

The Point Lay IRA Council consists of seven board members, all of whom must be American Natives. They elect their own officers from among themselves. In most cases the president is the person who received the most votes in the most recent election. Members are elected in a general village election in which all American Natives are eligible to vote. The Point Lay IRA does not restrict participation to Inupiat only, and in fact it is reported that in the past non-Inupiat who were considered residents were allowed to vote (their influence would have been minimal in any event). Elected members are unpaid, but if travel is required individuals are reimbursed per diem. Such travel is often in connection with the NSB or some other entity which then picks up this expense. Generally, serving on the council is not seen as a major inconvenience except for the position of mayor. As in most organizations in Point Lay, the nominal head is expected to provide a great deal of the motive energy for the organization. On the other hand, the nominal leader cannot make decisions or take action on his own. Thus, the general mechanism for action requires that the mayor consult with fellow council members, either informally or by ensuring that they attend a meeting, so that a consensus can be reached. Only in rare cases will a vote be taken when a unanimous consensus has not been reached first.

Mayors tend to serve for only one year at a time, although they may remain on the council and serve as mayor every second or third year. The same men have tended to repeat as mayor in the past, but there has been an explicit effort in the recent past to increase the number of individuals willing to serve as mayor. This pattern is attributable to “burnout” caused by the many responsibilities placed upon the mayor and the relatively few individuals who can adequately perform the tasks of the job. There is no IRA Council office, with the closest thing to it being the office of the NSB Village Coordinator.

2. overlaps in Authority and Conflicts Among Institutions

The most obvious overlap in Point Lay is that between the Cully Corporation and the IRA Native Council. Although they formally represent two different groups of people, functionally they are operated as a single entity. Any issue that affects both is first dealt with by the IRA Council. The Cully Corporation then takes its lead from those deliberations. Since several of the Cully Corporation board members serve on the IRA Council this coordination is not difficult to achieve.

3. Government Institutions and ANCSA Colorations

In Point Lay a unique situation exists concerning the overlap of the IRA council membership and that of the Cully Corporation, the local Native Corporation. Because membership on the IRA council consists mostly of individuals who are also board members of the Cully Corporation (and necessarily shareholders of land around Point Lay), the political process in Point Lay typically results in coinciding opinions and unanimous votes on issues before the council or the corporation board. This is not the case in the other villages on the North Slope where each political institution represents competing interests. These reasons for the anomalous situation in Point Lay are discussed below, following an introduction to the Cully Corporation.

B. Native Corporations

The **Cully** Corporation board consists of six elected members who are unpaid, plus a president who receives a salary. In addition, one of the officers works in the corporation office as a **secretary/general** office person. The board members are elected at an annual shareholders meeting, which is not always a formal affair. The main function ascribed to **Cully** Corporation by the **local** population is to provide income through employment to **Inupiat** residents of Point Lay. There is little interest in the generation of a profit for shareholders, many of whom after all are not residents. The income seen to be available to individuals through wages is so much greater than any potential profit distributed as dividends that the officers of **Cully** Corporation have stopped trying to make profitability a major goal. The real aim of **Cully** Corporation is to stay in business and to keep people working in the village. This is frustrating to many of the transient non-Inupiat associated with these projects, as it runs directly counter to their training and inclination (and sometimes self-interest).

In Point Lay, the **Cully** Corporation is not nearly as independent an entity as local for-profit Native corporations in some of the other villages on the North Slope. Point Lay is governed by an IRA council and is the only unincorporated village in the North Slope Borough. The fact that Point Lay is not incorporated as a city under state law is the result of an early conscious decision by residents not to set up potentially redundant and competing institutions. Not only does Point Lay wish to avoid conflict between an IRA and a city council, there is also concern and planning to avoid conflict between the **Cully** Corporation and the IRA council.

The **Cully** Corporation was incorporated shortly before the village was actually resettled. The papers were signed by people in **Wainwright**. The actual business of the corporation was handled by **ASRC** until at least 1976 and more probably 1982 or so. **ASRC** was the entity that backed the construction of the first houses in Point Lay, for which the residents were grateful, but they were also wary of **ASRC's** motives. Point Lay people did not want to accept the land settlement proposed by **ANCSA**, by which they lost jurisdiction over the wide expanse of land claimed (at least for use, if not for ownership or development) by the Point Lay IRA. They did not want to even appear to accept a limited land base for the village supplemented by holdings controlled by **ASRC**. As one informant put it, that would **allow** **ASRC** to tell Point Lay people where they could or **could** not hunt. It also created other potential conflicts of interest, as **ASRC** was formed to explicitly meet the requirements of **ANCSA** which Point Lay wished to avoid. Point Lay people also realized that they **would** likely have a different orientation to development than would **ASRC** officials. This has certainly turned out to be the case with the coal mine being developed south of Point Lay under **ASRC** sponsorship. Most Point Lay people seem to perceive it as detrimental to their subsistence harvest pursuits, and especially **beluga**.

The **Cully** Corporation was reportedly involved in the first wave of houses built in Point Lay (perhaps buying them from **ASRC** or assuming payments to **ASRC** on behalf of the first owners). In any event, this enterprise ended unhappily for the corporation and some informants say that it was "ripped off" by outside contractors. It is unclear what role the corporation played in the operation of the store at this time, but it is clear that the store was losing a good deal of money. Eventually the store was reorganized under its old cooperative form and the corporation lapsed into **inactivity** until the early 1980s.

The main business of the **Cully Corporation** is the village fuel business and supplying labor for the various construction projects in the village. At times **Cully Corporation** formally contracts on these projects. For others the arrangement is more informal. In any even, **Cully Corporation** as a corporation receives little from such projects. Rarely have they been run at a profit. In most cases as much money is spent on local wages as possible and additional money requested. The fuel **business** is essentially a subsidy provided by the NSB. Barrow, because of the nearby natural gas fields, has very inexpensive heating costs. To equalize this for the outer villages, the NSB buys enough diesel heating oil each year to provide heat for all residences in all the outer villages. The NSB gives this free of charge to the village corporation in each village with the provision that the corporation can only impose a charge for delivery of the fuel. Thus, the villagers receive cheaper fuel and the village corporations are given a revenue source/subsidy. A similar situation seems to have resulted in the latest compromise on the operation of a camp for transient **non-Inupiat** construction workers in Point Lay. **Cully Corporation** was given a camp to run by the NSB with the proviso that they hire a competent contractor to run it and that they charge no more than \$100/night. The NSB itself had to invest \$70,000 to buy the camp from a private contractor. The end result is that **Cully Corporation** will receive a guaranteed payment (subsidy) essentially provided by the NSB, for which they provide little in the way of real services.

The village corporation defers to the IRA Council on as many issues as it can. Most if not all **Inupiat** residents of **Point Lay** think that the Alaska **Native Claims** Settlement Act is fatally flawed and do not want to accept any of **its** provisions relating to land. The community has, however, at least accepted the form of the village corporation. Approximately half of the residents of Point Lay are not shareholders in the village corporation. This could potentially **raise** a conflict of interest between the IRA Council, representing all **Natives in** the village, and the village corporation. However, because of the agreement that the IRA **Council** is paramount such, conflict is avoided. When **land** must be transferred with a **clear** title to the NSB for example, **it** is the **position** of Point Lay that only the IRA **Council** need act. When the NSB lawyers hold that they need action by the village **corporation**, both entities approve the transfer. So far **all** such transfers have been for no compensation -- a statement by Point Layers that to accept compensation would be to set the precedent of accepting the terms of the **ANCSA**. No compensation at least maintains the view of the land as belonging to the **Inupiat** people as a whole, and not for the gain of one group of them more than another.

The boards of the IRA Council and the village corporation have displayed a remarkable degree of overlap since the creation of the corporation. If there is a quorum for a meeting for one of the boards, there is also one for the other board. Meetings are scheduled in close succession of one another, but there is no overlap. The IRA Council meeting is always held first, as their decision is always followed by the corporation in matters that they both have a voice on. This is interesting, given that the constituencies of the two **entities** are not the same. All Alaskan Natives can vote **in Point Lay** IRA elections as long as they are residents of **Point Lay**. On the other hand, only **Cully Corporation** shareholders can vote for corporation board members. Less than 50% of current adult **Inupiat** residents of **Point Lay** are **Cully Corporation** shareholders, yet no non-shareholders are members of the IRA **Council**. With this organization, all Native Alaskans are represented in the political process.

Recruitment of nominees for other government positions takes place in a similar fashion. The school advisory council, which represents the village and their desires to the borough, is elected by

village residents, and then elects its own **officers**. Again, elections are not a matter of tension in the community, there generally being only enough people expressing interest in the positions as there are positions available. Those who are elected and then do not attend meetings are replaced. Unfortunately, this is something that is not infrequent for many of the elective positions in the community. Elections are generally held at the same time as the IRA Council elections and the Health Board elections (at a general meeting of all village residents).

The **IRA**, perhaps influenced to a large degree by the environment of total employment in the community, is on record as unanimously opposing oil development. Besides being active in economic issues in the community, the IRA is also involved in housing in the village. The Point Lay IRA Council owned five housing units in December 1987 (and acquired a sixth **later** one) which were available on a first come-first serve basis, tempered somewhat by need. These are apartment units in the school from the “new site.” After the new school was completed, this structure was remodeled into living units. No rent is charged and they tend to be used as “starter” units for new families. Household expenses are reduced utilities, food, clothing, and incidentals. It is no accident that three of the newest families in Point Lay are in such housing. It is obvious, however, that most people much prefer to have a separate dwelling of their own.

Because Point Lay is governed by an **IRA**, the community effectively has a one-to-one relationship with the federal government which supersedes that with the state government. On paper at least, Point Lay would appear to have a problematic relationship with the North Slope Borough, as many of the structures of the borough are structured to interface with an incorporated community at the village level. In actuality, however, the borough treats Point Lay as if it were an incorporated community and makes no special allowance for the existence of the **IRA**. This is clearly a position of convenience and self-interest for the NSB. The NSB can then continue to treat all the villages in the same way, with the same programs, and act as the dominate partner in almost all matters.

In terms of relationships to other entities, the **Cully** Corporation (and the IRA) are concerned with the creation/maintenance/illusion of consensus. This is a complex process, expressed in Point Lay in the idiom of kinship and no simple prescription can be given for its examination. The initial description of this political structure is relatively straightforward and includes the following institutions:

- o the **IRA** Council, which works with as well as against the **Inupiat** Community of the Arctic Slope (**ICAS**) and NSB;
- o the **Cully** Corporation, which works with and against the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation (**ASRC**) and NSB;
- o the School Advisory Council (SAC);
- o the village Elders;
- o the senior men (informal peer group of decision-makers/advisors);

- o the school **staff**; and
- o NSB **functionaries** and representatives of the NSB mayor.

C. Health and **Social** Services

There are few social services available to community members in the village. Most programs require clients to travel to Barrow, with the exception of periodic outreach programs. Those social **services** that are available on a regional basis are described in the region chapter of this document, and will not be recapitulated here. Similarly, the general description of health services available in Point Lay, and all other North Slope villages, is to be found in the regional discussion.

In 1983, the new clinic in Point Lay was completed. This facility is host to health care services provided in the village on an ongoing basis. This building is identical to the clinics in the other NSB villages, with the exception of Point Hope (which has an older facility) and Barrow (which has a much larger facility). Primary services are provided by the NSB Health and Social Services Agency through the Community Health Aide Program. These services are supplemented by periodic visits to the village by doctors, dentists, nurses, and other health care professionals. When needed, Point Lay residents have access to Public Health Service hospital facilities in Barrow, **Kotzebue**, or Anchorage. According to Alaska Consultants (1983:304) the average daily patient load was 2 in 1982. For 1987 the official records show about 4.2 visits per day, and for 1988 3.2 visits per day. Field observations during 1988 and 1989 demonstrated that the caseload was anything but regular. There were periods with very little activity and other periods when there was a constant stream of patients for the clinic. There was almost always someone visiting the clinic when it was open, especially since the institution of good prenatal care programs, but these individuals were not always counted as patients if the object of the visit was primarily social.

The Point Lay emergency medical system is integrated with the Fire Department and Search and Rescue. The most common activity of the Fire Department and Search and Rescue (**SAR**), in fact, is not really a part of either organization, but seems to be behaviorally categorized as such by people in Point Lay. This is in response to medical emergencies, in most cases involving the use of the ambulance and sometimes requiring that arrangements be made to medevac one or more people. There are several possible reasons this type of activity is lumped in with the others. First, the ambulance is sometimes kept in the fire hall as space for it in the Health Clinic Building is not always available. Second, most of the people trained to drive the ambulance are Fire Department members. Third, people with first aid training tend to be Fire Department members or to be associated with SAR activities. The health aides are of course always present during these medical calls, but if the ambulance is required someone from the Fire Department is invariably involved. Often these people have been **health** aides in the past. It should also be noted that distinctions between functions of different entities in Point Lay are somewhat misleading. There are individuals who are involved with providing voluntary **services** to the community, and who are at the same time members of a number of different organizations, so that several different organization may be represented by a single individual, and further, this individual may be able to mobilize the resources of several groups.

Health services in Point Lay are overseen by the Health Board, the members of which are chosen in a community-wide election. They are supposed to oversee the health clinic and the work of the Health Aides. Members are not paid, although if there is some need for them to travel on health board business, they will receive a per diem. Clinic **staffing** varies somewhat from formal categories, but should always consist of two health aides, a building house keeper, and a social services aide. At times only one health aide will be on duty, but in most cases the preference seems to be for two to be available. After normal working hours and on weekends the clinic is open for emergencies only and the **health** aides have to be contacted **at** their homes.

D. Religion

L History of Churches

Historically, the Episcopal mission at Point Hope has had an outstation at Point Lay (VanStone 1964:25). When asked, most **adult** residents of Point Lay will affirm that they belong to the Episcopalian church. A fair number of the young adults claim to have been “saved” or “born again,” but usually do not mention specific denominational affiliations. Most teenagers are not concerned with the question in any way, and **until** recently children were also not affected by the **claims** of religion (the Baptists now conduct a Sunday school every week). On the whole, even those individuals who mention a specific denomination as “their” church actually treat all churches alike. When talking about religion they express this by saying that after all, there is only one God and that He should be the same for all of us. This, along with some other factors, is probably why the Baptist church in Point Lay has not as yet attracted any sort of **Inupiat** congregation. Part of the Baptist doctrine is that all other religions are fake and few **Inupiat** seem to believe that they can be this judgmental.

2. Contemporary Churches

The Episcopalian Church

Formally, there are two churches in Point Lay, although only the Baptist church has a place of worship. The Episcopal church has been in the Point Lay area the longest, as periodic trips were made to Point Lay by missionaries from Point Hope. However, a building fund exists and a name has been chosen (St. **Albans**) for an Episcopalian church in Point Lay. The claim can be made that the community building is at least partially an Episcopalian church, as there is a pulpit (with hymnals and Books of Common Prayer) stored in a corner of the building and that is where the occasional **service** in Point Lay is held. The Alaskan Epiphany **claims** that a parish or mission of the same type as exists in Point Hope exists in Point Lay, while Barrow merely has an Episcopalian congregation. This information appears dated, as the Point Hope and Barrow congregations are much more active than the Point Lay one. The Barrow congregation is primarily non-Native. Three Episcopalian services were attended in Point Lay over the course of fieldwork. Two full services were initiated and conducted by outside functionaries, and one abbreviated service was held by locals on Christmas day (1987). This seems typical, as services are not held in Point Lay very often, and are usually led by church functionaries from outside the village.

The Baptist Church

The Baptist church is relatively recent in Point Lay. It began with the Baptist missionary from **Wainwright** flying to Point Lay to hold Thursday night services several years ago. More recently, a small church with living quarters was constructed and a resident Baptist missionary recruited. He and his family had spent a year ministering in the Canadian north and were from the same part of the lower-48 as the Wainwright missionary. They have been in Point Lay since 1987.

Before the arrival of the present missionary, the Wainwright missionary tried to fly to Point Lay once a week to represent the Baptist Church. The congregation consisted of only one non-Native couple. A few **Inupiat** may have on occasion attended services, but the missionary saw far more villagers by visiting them in their homes than he did in church. With the arrival of the resident missionary in early October 1987, the same general pattern is still evident. However, the new resident missionary does not visit people in the same way as the itinerant missionary from **Wainwright** had done. Hence, most interaction between the missionary and other people is through ordinary social discourse or on those few occasions when people seek the **missionary's** help. This is partly a result of the different personalities of the two missionaries and partly because of his status as a permanent resident. The overall **result** remains the same, however. -The Baptist church is only marginally influential in Point Lay.

Baptist services were originally held twice a **week**, with one being termed a study session. This was reduced to a single **service** a week after the **non-Inupiat** couple who were regular attenders moved out of state. Singing hymns is quite important for setting the tone of these **services**, and for involving such people as are present in the service. The key part of each service is the sermon (or the study). Most of the time the only people in attendance from Point Lay were a single non-Native couple and their young daughter. On occasion a Public Safety Officer would be there. On one occasion an **Inupiat** woman attended, and on another two young **Inupiat** males from out of town came (they were helping in the SAR and were explicitly looking for something to do that they had not already done). Thus, for the most part, the Baptist church in Point Lay is a non-Native institution and shows no signs of changing. The missionary's criticism of "singspirations" and other religious meetings in the village is that they are all singing and no message.

The doctrine of the Point Lay Baptist church is that the Bible is literally true. The oratorical style is strong and fierce. The message given to people is that Jesus is coming again soon and that Armageddon is upon us. In theory their doctrine is that all one need do to be saved is believe in Jesus as one's savior. Along with this, of course, it is implied that one read the Bible and believe it. The question of how people who are saved can have different ideas on religion is not addressed, other than to say that the Baptist way is right and that all other views are from the Devil. The contradiction is thus that what appears to be a very simple and rather **unrestrictive** doctrine is in actuality quite limiting. Catholics, and more to the point here Episcopalians, are explicitly attacked for "non-Biblical" practices such as communion. This of course does not help the missionary when he is talking to people who for the most part identify with the Episcopalian church.

The one major change that the resident missionary has instituted is Sunday school. This is taught by the **missionary's** wife and was begun by the one steady female church member (**non-Inupiat**) before she and her family moved. The Sunday school was started by this church member once the church building was completed but before the resident missionary came to Point Lay. The Sunday

school is attended only by children, who range in age from the very young to 15 or 16. Attendance is irregular. Some children attend more regularly than others, but in all cases the children decide whether they attend or not, as no parent in the village ever suggests that their children go to Sunday school. Rather, the reverse **is** often the case. The child has to convince the parent that the child should be allowed to attend. Such permission is usually granted, since there is evidently little fear that the Sunday School teachings will be counter to any that the parents hold as fundamental.

In this regard it must be stated that the Sunday school does teach in a much more ecumenical way than do the church services (although the missionary would certainly not want to be considered ecumenical]. This is probably due to the age of the people attending, as they are certainly not ready to learn and discuss finer points of doctrine. Primary emphasis is put on the study of the Bible and Jesus as savior. Few, if any, parents would object to this. Given the lack of many other diversions in Point Lay, Sunday school is then seen by both parents and children as a worthwhile and entertaining activity.

There is, of course, at least minimal **Inupiat** support for the Baptist church **in Point Lay**. **The** lot upon which the Baptist church stands was donated by a resident of the village (as reported by the missionary and congregation members). The dedication service for the church was very **well** attended, although since then **Inupiat** attendance has been minimal. The material for the church was, for the most part, donated. Most came from the surplus from local projects. The actual construction work was done primarily by the missionary and the male non-Native member. Permission to build the church was given formally by the village council.

The resident missionary is ambivalent about his situation in Point Lay. **On** the one hand he wishes to "save" the **people** of the village but simultaneously he views them as hypocritical sinners who do not **really** want to come to the Lord. As **such**, the financial basis for maintaining his existence in Point Lay is weak. Consequently, his desire to **be** a full-time pastor is in jeopardy. Little support comes from the rest of the community even though people recognize that the missionary has much to offer in terms of secular skills and knowledge. For example, when people need items welded (**snowmachine** undercarriages and so on) they will ask the preacher for help because he has expertise in this area. Similarly, the preacher was asked to teach a wood shop class in the **school** because of his skill in using tools. The school also hired him to oversee the wood shop two nights a week so any adult could come and use the tools. Initially the preacher resisted these advances, believing that he was in Point Lay to minister and that these diversions would use up his energy and promote people to interact with him in a secular rather than a ministering way.

After a year or so in Point Lay, the preacher has apparently mellowed on this point or has adapted to some of the realities of the situation. He and his wife now essentially split a position at the school, each working half a day and caring for their son ~~the~~ other half. She works as an ECE teacher and he as a shop instructor. This provides a minimal financial basis for his ministry so that he is not totally dependent upon support from lower-4\$ church contributors. The preacher also realized that the school and evening shop sessions also provide him with a context within which he can **still** minister and teach, although not in the same way as from a pulpit. Villagers have responded to this direction that the preacher has taken and now more than ever recognize that he possesses knowledge and skill that is of great benefit to the community. During (and after) the bad

storm of the winter of 1988 it was the preacher who climbed the poles and restored electricity in Point Lay.

In addition to the Episcopalian and Baptist churches in Point Lay, there are informal religious **services**. The community term for these is "singspirations" and they involve the gathering of a group of people who sing hymns. **Singspirations** have occurred following a Search and Rescue mission and at Thanksgiving.

E. Infrastructure

1. Overview

Water service is the responsibility of the NSB Public Utilities Department. Water is first processed at the water treatment plant, constructed in 1983, *with* an attached 1,000,000 gallon water storage tank. During *the* summer, lake water is pumped to the village and the storage tanks are filled. When the weather turns cold, pumping is stopped and the tank meets village demands. All **buildings in Point Lay** are supplied with water by means of a water **delivery** truck **which** transfers water from the storage tank to the buildings.

Sewage collection is also the responsibility of the **Utilities** Department. According to Alaska Consultants et al. (1984:311-312), the system that was operating at that time was not adequate from the viewpoint of **public** health. **This** was because, with the exception of the wastes from the school, all sewage **in** the village was collected **in "honeybuckets"** and deposited in containers outside of the buildings. Approximately monthly these containers were taken to a **site** within the village. When the tundra was frozen, the waste was taken to an unimproved dump **site**. **Since** that time an improved dump **site** has been **built**. A treatment **facility** had been **built** for the school's waste but arrangements for **its** long term disposal were never finalized. Used water from sinks and tubs in buildings was and still is dumped directly onto the tundra underneath or adjacent to village structures. Solid waste is no longer taken to the DEW Line station dump site as that site was closed for health reasons.

Since 1984, a new dump has been put in place. Most sewage is still deposited in the dump, however, and pickup is still rather irregular, as it is understandably one of the least desired jobs in the village. The dump has a number of 55-gallon drums filled with unknown solvent and petroleum wastes as well, many of which are assumed to be hazardous in nature. This is recognized as a serious problem but no **real** steps towards a resolution have been made as yet.

The Utilities Department is also responsible for the production and distribution of power in the village of Point Lay. All power in the village is produced by diesel engine generators. Alaska Consultants 1984 reports that in 1982 Point Lay had three generators with a total capacity of 400 KW (90, 155, and 155). This is the current capacity as well (**Balangue** 1989: personal communication). The NSB is the owner of most of the diesel storage facilities in Point Lay. There are plans for more diesel storage to be built and for higher capacity generators to be installed during the summer of 1989.

The *Arctic Slope Telephone Association Chop (ASTAC)* provides telephone service to Point Lay. This non-profit corporation was originally organized using money from the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation. The building housing the telephone **switchgear** is owned by the NSB. **Alascom** provides satellite service for long distance calling. Point Lay has one representative **on** the ASTAC Board of Directors, which meets four times a year. By his own description, this is a “rubber stamp” board. The biggest complaint about the telephone service is the lack of a steady local person qualified to do hookup and repair work. **Cost** for repair (and of the **service itself**) is also a problem.

Point Lay is the smallest village and frequently perceives itself as **left** out of certain programs because of this small size. **The** village air strip shared with the DEW-Line facility, because the NSB did not want to invest the money to develop a totally new strip. Instead, they improved the existing DEW-Line strip in exchange for shared use. There is no terminal facility in Point Lay, but given the experience of other villages that such structures are not typically **useful, local** residents have not objected to this. The main complaint has been that there **is** no public transportation in Point Lay. Residents feel that a bus is needed, especially to provide transportation for seniors. The few trucks that exist in Point Lay are either NSB trucks, and usually busy, or privately owned by individuals who do not have the time to give rides to people. The usual procedure when a senior does need a ride is to fit it into the NSB work schedule so that one of the NSB trucks can be **used**. This is usually not very efficient. Point Lay residents have asked for several years to have the air terminal **CIP** project scrapped in exchange for a city bus.

There are no taxis in Point Lay, but there are two private trucks. Since there are no roads outside of Point Lay, they can be used only within the village. These are recognized as luxury items. One is owned by the owner of a private store, and is used to haul freight. The other is **owned** by an elderly couple who can afford a truck and who no longer wish to fight the Point Lay weather to move around the village.

Point Lay has more comprehensive recreational facilities than other small North Slope villages. The community building is used for meetings, games, dances, and feasts. The school and its gymnasium are used for recreational activities. When the kitchen (for school lunches and some special holiday feasts), toilet and shower (for school and recreation), and shop facilities are taken into account it is evident that the **school** serves the needs of the village as a whole and not just the school children. Dances, games, and feasts are held in the **school** as **well** as in the community building. The choice of site is determined by the anticipated need for space and the availability of the school. At times, even though the school may be preferred as a site, there is no school person able or willing to take responsibility. There is also a play area adjacent to the school for children’s recreation. This **deck**, with its associated jungle gym and other equipment, is used hard and often. A building across from the new school, originally built as an enclosed play structure, has been converted into a maintenance shop for the school.

2. Issues

Point Lay, as the site of the most recent extended period of ethnographic fieldwork on the North **Slope**, has the most detail available in terms of the issues of infrastructure development. As the Point Lay Case Study (IAI, in press) makes clear, Point Lay may not be altogether typical of the

other villages, but is perhaps the most extreme case for an entire variety of issues. Nonetheless, Point Lay is completely typical of the other villages in its almost total reliance on the NSB for all **infrastructural** development and the provision of public services. Factors which make certain aspects of this dependence different in Point Lay than from in the other villages will be indicated in the discussion below.

There have been several CIP projects which have recently been completed in Point Lay. These include a **washateria** (a laundry, public **restroom/shower** facility), an expansion to the power plant, an expansion to the public **works** building, the completion of the USDW building, a new tank farm, and a PSO **office/holding** facility. The recently completed **CIP** projects are among the last, if not the last, scheduled for Point Lay. Future work will be under the RELI program or explicitly justified on a community needs basis. Some RELI projects are now **underway**, mainly driveway work and house modifications. In this regard Point Lay is typical of all of the other villages, which have seen the virtual disappearance of the **CIP** program in **recent** years. Only in Barrow are there **still** sizeable **CIP** projects, and even in Barrow the size and number of projects has been scaled down.

The object of the **CIP** program was to provide comparable services and facilities to all village residents.' This has been accomplished for the most part in Point Lay. The process seems to have taken longer, with each project taking more time, than in other villages. For the most part this seems to be attributable to Point Lay being an unincorporated city. In this respect it is unique on the North Slope.

Ideology and Infrastructure

The difficulty that non-incorporation poses is that the NSB adopted the position that it would not construct **CIP** projects **unless** the NSB could first gain legal title to the land upon which the project was placed. Under certain conditions a long-term lease was acceptable, but the purpose was to ensure that the NSB could retain control and ensure maintenance of the facility. In the other villages of the North Slope, this has meant that the NSB has had to deal with the city councils for the transfer of land title. Under the terms of **ANCSA**, surface title to most land in and around the village was conveyed to the village corporation, which in turn eventually conveyed portions of the surface estate of the village to the city council. Since most or all NSB **CIP** projects take place within city limits, the city council is then the entity which must transfer the land to the NSB. In most cases the land is sold outright. Point Lay has no city council, however, being governed by an IRA council. The residents of Point Lay consider the IRA council as governing all local matters, including local title to land ("local" being defined by Point Lay residents as within a fifty mile radius of the village). Under **ANCSA**, the terms of which govern the NSB'S actions, the village corporation is the entity holding legal title to the land in and around Point Lay. This is at least in part an ideological argument, discussed elsewhere in this report. The operative result is that the NSB must essentially deal with two entities before beginning any **CIP** project in Point Lay, since the entity recognized by the NSB as having jurisdiction, the village corporation, always defers to the judgement of the IRA council in these matters.

The net result is that land issues in Point Lay take a good deal of time to resolve, even though the IRA council and the village corporation board of directors overlap to a very large degree. Regular

meetings are scheduled, but because of the frequent special meetings that arise outside of the village (in Barrow, Anchorage, and even occasionally out of state), these are often canceled. Even special meetings scheduled to deal with a specific piece of business may be canceled at the last minute due to the absence of a key villager. Often **NSB** officials have flown to Point Lay specifically for such a meeting, only to **find** that they cannot resolve the issue at that time. Such delays also occur **in** the other villages, but not with the regularity and not as long in duration as in Point Lay. Intertwined with this land ownership issue are other issues of the terms of transfer.

Most Point Lay residents consider ANCSA flawed, unfair, and void (at least in the Point Lay area). They thus do not want to appear to behaviorally accept the provisions of ANCSA while vocally denying doing so. They realize that accepting **CIP** projects on the NSB'S terms, even with the process of a double approval (from the IRA council and then the village corporation), tends to undermine their ideological position. They have thus established the precedent that they give the land to the NSB for **CIP** projects and will not accept payment for it. The land around Point Lay is to Point Lay residents an inalienable (and individually **unownable**) asset. This view is held even though some Point Lay individuals have filed claims for Native allotments (which establish individual ownership rights), many Point Lay residents own land individually in other parts of the state, and more than a few village corporation shareholders say that they may very well be willing to sell some of their shares, given the opportunity. Clearly, actual behavior and ideological views are in this instance connected in complex ways.

Local Hire

The recent decline in the **NSB CIP** program is for the most part directly attributable to financial constraints and the weakening of oil revenues. A secondary consideration was the reevaluation of the **CIP** program in terms of the benefits that it provided in relation to the cost it imposed. More simply put, too few local residents were employed on the large-scale CIP projects, so that the local communities gained physical facilities but often saw most of the jobs (and wages associated with those jobs) go outside of the community. The recent refocus of NSB effort into the RELI program and more labor intensive, less skilled, tasks reflects the NSB decision to reemphasize expensive capital projects. A major **goal** had become the creation of **local jobs in** the villages, since most village economies on the North Slope are relatively weak and almost totally dependent upon the NSB. This has become even more true with the completion of most capital projects and a **switch-over** to an "operations and maintenance" mode of operation. This entire constellation of issues is most often referred to locally as the issue of "local hire" has had several different major components. Most local residents often reduce it to the simplest terms, however, which is whether **local** villagers are being employed or outsiders are being employed ("taking the jobs away from the villagers").

The expansion of the Public Works building and the construction of the **USDW** building are the latest CIP projects to be completed in Point Lay, and both experienced severe problems with "local hire," at least as locally perceived. This is more fully examined in another section in this chapter, and the interested reader is also referred to the comparable section in the **Nuiqsut** chapter ("Village Relations With Outside Contractors") where **CIP** projects and essentially the same joint venture partners are discussed. The result in Point Lay was that because of various problems the USDW

building was well over budget and was not completed until two years after the scheduled date. This is the most extreme case known on the North Slope, but indicates the potential degree of the “local hire” question.

More recently, the “local hire” issue in **Nuiqsut** has revolved around how many jobs can be created locally by the RELI program, how long they will last, and who should be hired (how the jobs should be allocated). While the applications process favors those with the best qualifications or experience, most Point Lay residents instead favor a system where those most in need of an income (and hence a job) are given first chance at these positions. The feeling is that they can receive **on-the-job** training in a way similar to the way that many individuals learned skills on earlier NSB CIP projects. The problem which then arises is that the work is not done as quickly as it is scheduled, there are again budget overruns, and project managers (typically **non-Inupiat** individuals) are frustrated. The **result** has been that in most cases the village corporations have become the contracting agents for the **RELI** work to be done within the village and local **Inupiat** are hired to manage the local projects, under the guidance of a (**non-Inupiat**) NSB regional RELI **supervisor**.

F. Fire Protection

In Point Lay, as in **all** the North Slope villages outside of Barrow, the Search and Rescue organization and the Fire Department are combined to some extent. Point Lay is an extreme example of overlap, where membership in one nearly always entails membership in the other. This is, at least in part, the pragmatic result of small population size and limited physical (facility) resources. The fire hall is the only building large enough to store the Search and Rescue equipment and to serve as a base of operations in the event of a need for a search. This creates no problems in Point Lay but is quite a headache for administrators in Barrow (see the regional discussion).

Membership in the Fire Department and in Search and Rescue is open to any adult of the community. In actuality, only adult men show up for meetings and seem to formally “belong” (only on the rarest of occasions will a female be present at a regular monthly meeting). Membership lists are not rigidly maintained in any event, and apparently are kept mainly as a requirement set by the NSB (perhaps for insurance and accountability reasons, as such lists also include names of officers). The only practical use these membership lists serve in Point Lay is to indicate who is a member of the Fire Department. Only those individuals trained to use the fire equipment are allowed to use it. Equipment for Search and Rescue, on the other hand, is for the most part items used in everyday Point Lay life (and in many cases is that of the searcher in any event) so that it is assumed that any adult knows how to use it. Thus, participation in a Search and Rescue operation does not at all depend on **formal** membership in the SAR organization.

It is extremely difficult to talk about membership **in** either the **Fire** Department or Search and Rescue, because **in Point** Lay anyone can attend the meetings and, in an emergency, assistance is accepted from any volunteer. **This** is especially true for Search and Rescue. The **Point Lay Fire** Department is somewhat more formal in regard to membership. **This** reflects at least **in** part the concern for accountability for equipment provided to members such as fire call radios, fire boots and slickers, and the high-cost equipment kept in the fire hall, The Fire Department **also** distributes a patch and badge to all members. Search and Rescue has no such marking device. The

patch and badge are only given to an individual after he has been asked to join the Fire Department, and this is usually only after he has demonstrated a willingness to work for the department.

However, it is also clear that not all those willing to become involved in a SAR operation are willing to be part of the Fire Department. Nearly all **Inupiat** adults accept an obligation to participate in at least a support capacity in SAR activities. The **Fire** Department, however, receives much **less** support. Those people who only participate in SAR are not considered members of the **Fire** Department, for the most part, and do not have a patch or badge. There is no great community pressure for people to participate in the Fire Department, although **it** is clear that people know who does and who does not, and comments will sometimes be made about those who do not. Usually they are in a context where someone **wants** to make a negative comment about someone else but does not want to address the real reason for the desire to make such a comment. Thus, **in itself**, nonparticipation **in** the **Fire** Department is not a community offense.

Regular meetings are scheduled for every other Tuesday evening. These are billed as Fire Department meetings and are used to check out the equipment (make sure the trucks are operating and have full tanks of water and fuel) and train people how to operate the equipment. However, meetings can be much less frequent than biweekly. The meetings that are held are due to the initiative of one of the **non-Inupiat** officers or one of the younger **Inupiat** members. In addition, the meetings that were observed during fieldwork did not involve training and attendance was usually quite low. The activity of the department seems to reflect the degree of interest in the community and the officers that happen to be in the village at any given time. Most meetings are confined to checking out the vehicles, driving them around the village, and cleaning the fire hall.

As noted in the section on health, the most common activity of the Fire Department or SAR is not really a part of either organization, but seems to **be** behaviorally categorized as such by people in Point Lay. This is the response to medical emergencies, in most cases involving the use of the ambulance and sometimes requiring that arrangements be made to medevac one or more people.

The Fire Department is perceived in Point Lay as a rather typical village organization. That is to say, it is generally inactive **unless** there is at least one person who wishes to devote quite a bit of time and energy to seeing that it is otherwise. **As** mentioned above, most meetings are held either because someone actively canvasses members to attend or because an emergency has arisen. Village informants report that the Fire Department seems to have a sort of life rhythm that corresponds with its activity level. Whoever is acting as chief (and this need not be the “official” chief) is the person who sees that things get done, and who checks out the fire hall when the siren sounds. Typically, attendance at meetings and such is high during the early tenure of a new leader. **Gradually** this falls off and the leader must assume more and more responsibility.

G. Search and Rescue

The general organization of SAR has been discussed above in relation to the volunteer Fire Department. The specifics of search organization can be found in the description of a specific search in the Point Lay Case Study (**IAI**: in draft). This case provides a good basis upon which

to discuss leadership in Point Lay, and on the North Slope in general, but is too detailed to replicate here. We will try to achieve a more general level of discussion.

Search and Rescue seems to have been a “traditional” function of all adult males in a village. Whenever necessary, as many men would undertake a search as was deemed sufficient. Normatively, all men would be willing to go out but behaviorally there was significant variation. After World War II and the establishment of the National Guard presence in Alaska, SAR functions seem to have been incorporated into the training and readiness aspects of the National Guard. There was, at any rate, an informal arrangement whereby the National Guard supported SAR operations. With the establishment of the NSB, a formal local agency was set up.

SAR now operates first as a village search, using the local village volunteer SAR. The NSB SAR becomes involved when a village decides the task is beyond local resources. The NSB SAR provides air support, search coordination, and serves as a clearinghouse to have other villages volunteer SARs help. Many search expenses are paid by the NSB SAR, once it is called in. Efforts are made to have the village SAR organization serve as the lead group, generally for two reasons: (1) local people know the area to be searched better than most outside volunteers, and (2) this insures that local people do not feel “taken over” by the NSB SAR organization.

Search and Rescue meetings are held only when there is the need to organize and conduct a search. Everyone in the village is encouraged to come and help. Men are expected to serve as searchers, and women are extremely important, as they are responsible for most of the cooking, cleaning, and supply operations. This sexual division of labor was quite evident in the search witnessed during fieldwork.

Search and Rescue skills are built on subsistence skills, and Point Lay is limited in the number of subsistence specialists. There are “perhaps three or four really active harvesters in Point Lay. The majority of local males can be classified as moderate subsistence harvesters. For our purposes it is enough to note that there are few very active harvesters, a fairly large medium group and an equally large (but not entirely Native) low-or-no activity group. This categorization is an emit one, made by the community members themselves. Additional support for this view came from the need for Point Lay to import “trackers” during the SAR operation, because no one in the village possessed the skill necessary for the search, given the age of the trail.

This very limited number of individuals in the community who are active subsistence hunters comprise the very limited number of individuals who are recognized to truly “know the land.” This has significant implications for the efficacy of the Search and Rescue organization. This was evident in one major Search and Rescue operation that occurred during fieldwork.

The prestige associated with being a Search and Rescue member in Point Lay is less obvious than it is in some of the other communities of the North Slope. This may well be because of the small size of Point Lay. Essentially 100% participation could be accommodated on any search, so that there is little basis for the differentiation of participants and non-participants. In larger NSB villages where there may be more people willing to participate than there is equipment available or logistical expertise to organize, competition to be able to participate (and differential status) may well result.

H. Public Safety

1. History

Several years after its resettlement, Point Lay still did not have a **Public Safety Officer (PSO)** assigned to it on a regular basis. The stationing of a PSO in the community was the direct **result** of difficulties experienced in the community. **The** direct precipitating event was a triple homicide. Villagers attribute this and most other problems to outsiders although the visible problematic behavior involved **Inupiat**. During one of the phases of **construction** of the community (the **latest** move) difficulties arose among imported construction workers. The imported work force, both **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat**, seemed to be the focus of most problems. Perhaps the most obvious was the exacerbation of tensions created by the management of the construction from Point Hope (and the subsequent use of a predominately Point Hope labor force). Added to this was the Point Lay perception that the non-locals were responsible for importing various illegal substances which were fostering a great deal of disruptive behavior and siphoning off a good portion of the money earned by Point Lay people. Some of the workers from Point Hope reportedly did not get along well with **non-Inupiat**, and the fact that white workers and Point Hope workers were thrown together, in a third community where neither group was compelled to be on their best behavior, created an extremely volatile situation.

These are the factors most people felt culminated in the murders of three young **Inupiat** by a fourth inebriated **Inupiat** in 1980 during or after a party. People had been uncomfortable with this individual's conduct for some time, but one principle **Inupiat value is** to be non-directive, so that few measures aimed at intervention were **taken**. There was no **PSO** in the village, as it was deemed that Point Lay at that time was too **small** to warrant one. After the incident a permanent **PSO** was placed in Point Lay. From the description of the events, this incident could easily have been even more tragic than it was. Since that time the decision has been made that all villages should have at **least** two permanent **PSOs**. Point Lay, like most of the other outer villages, very rarely has its full complement of two officers and in fact has experienced a very rapid turnover in its assigned PSOs since late 1987. This is evidently tied to departmental staffing problems as well as to the particular circumstances of Point Lay itself.

2. Organization and Operations

Public Safety Officers are employees of the North Slope Borough who rotate through the villages **of the** borough. **While** department **policy** has varied **in the past, it is** now standard procedure that when a **Public Safety Officer (PSO)** is **hired**, he works in Barrow for one year, is rotated to a **village** where he works for two years, and then **is** rotated back to Barrow for a year to begin a new cycle. **The** job of a PSO in **Point Lay** is a difficult one, like **it is in** other North Slope villages, partially because it appears to be so easy. Most of a **PSO's time is** occupied with routine work, **make-work**, or recreation. Official Public Safety business occupies only a small part of a PSO'S time. **However**, a village PSO is on 24-hour call and must often **handle** those **Public Safety** matters **which** do come up without any backup. **Social isolation** is a **major** difficulty, particularly because officers are called upon to interact with individuals **in** law enforcement situations who are not pleased with the course of the interaction. Socialization with other officers is **limited, because** at any one time a maximum of two officers are **in** the village. Officers are called upon constantly to

make decisions that weigh the letter of the law, the spirit of the law, the policies and procedures of the NSB Department of Public Safety, the pragmatic of social processes in the community, and the needs of the local population. In most cases, the community perceives the PSO as underworked because of the day-to-day perception that the PSO has no real schedule to keep or specific tasks to perform. In the recent past this was no doubt fostered by the attitude of the then PSO, who tended to have as little to do with villagers as possible. The present PSOS (or at least one of them) seems well on his way to establishing a much better working relationship with the people of the community.

Point Lay Public Safety statistics for the years 1980-1982 are summarized in Table 37-PTL. We have also analyzed the service call records from Point Lay for the years 1981-1987. This shall be the main body of data discussed below. Comparable information unfortunately only exists for Point Hope, as time limitations made it impossible to perform this analysis for other communities. Thus, community comparisons will for the most part have to rely on the relatively old Alaska Consultants information.

Description and Rationale for Categories

The service reports from the Department of Public Safety consist of brief descriptions of each service call made. The descriptions were written by the Public Safety Officer who was on duty at the time of the call and include information about what occurred and whether or not alcohol was involved in the incident. Unfortunately, inconsistent reporting of alcohol involvement by different officers may influence the overall findings and, based on discussions in the communities, it is most likely that this reporting bias may cause our findings to be slightly conservative in this respect.

In order to facilitate the interpretation of the data, the written descriptions of service calls were categorized in four ways: (1) mischief; (2) crimes against persons; (3) crimes against property; and (4) other. This, or a similar categorization, is necessary if a picture of the functioning of the Department of Public Safety and issues of social control in the communities is to emerge.

Crimes in the "mischief" category are those that cause no direct harm to persons or property. Examples are: reckless driving, loitering, drunk disturbance, possession (of drugs or alcohol) for sale, public disturbance, and curfew violation. Crimes "against persons" include incidents that directly harm, or show intent to harm, another person. These are: misconduct with a weapon, contributing to the delinquency of a minor, assault, rape/sexual assault, harassment, juvenile harassment, fighting, family problems, family disputes, child abuse, and domestic violence. Crimes "against property" include incidents that directly harm or show intent to harm property. Examples of these are: breaking and entering, vandalism, criminal trespassing, and theft. The final category of "other" is composed of those calls that may not directly involve the breaking of the law or, if a law is technically broken, the persons involved are neither arrested nor charged. Examples of these are: an informational call, a medical call, a dog/animal control problem, unspecified assistance, unsecured building, fire, search and rescue, natural death, car accident, or false alarm. Obviously, these service calls may be categorized in a number of different ways. The categories used were selected due to the desire to examine the social dimension of the crime involved.

After categorizing all of the service calls between 1981-1987, totals of each type of incident were calculated for each year. In addition, the involvement of alcohol in each category was tabulated for each year as either "involving alcohol," "not involving alcohol," or "involvement of alcohol not specified." In those cases where crimes involving either persons or property are combined **with a** drunk disturbance or other mischief, the incident is categorized in one of the two former categories -- that is, as the more serious type of crime. Any incident that involved both **a** crime against a person and crime against property is categorized as both.

Discussion

When examining trends of change in the communities, it is important to note that the absolute number of **calls** and crimes in Point Lay is quite small. This has the effect of making year-to-year differences of only a few calls in any particular category show up as **a large** percentage difference. This should be borne in mind, together with the fact that reporting differences between officers in the community would be similarly magnified.

*Public Safety Utilization in Point Lay -- Service **Calls** by Call Type*

In looking at the Figures 8-PTL and 9-PTL one notices a general increase in all types of crime from 1981 to 1985, with a sharp decline thereafter. Throughout the entire time period mischief crimes occur most frequently, with the exception of the final year of the period when they occur only slightly less frequently than other types of crime. Crimes against persons are equal to, or outnumber, crimes against property four of the seven years for which data are available and are only slightly less numerous for two of the other years. It is also very important that the sharp drop-off in crimes reported **in 1986** and the **low** volume of crimes reported **in 1987** are coincident with a high turnover of PSOS in the village. During this time span, the community did not have a steady PSO, but rather a series of officers on "**TDY**" (Temporary Duty assignment) status. TDY officers are, obviously, less **well** known to village residents, and there is a generally acknowledged hesitancy to report incidents to a little-known officer. Additionally, the situation is complicated by the TDY officer's lack of knowledge of the community. Not understanding the dynamics of the community, or knowing the individual residents, results in **officers** being **less** adept at recognizing problem situations. Some TDY officers are less **likely** to file paperwork than officers at their regular stations, because there is little chance of that individual officer being able to follow-up on the incident. TDY officers' job performance is unlikely to be judged by statistics, which is not the case with permanently stationed officers. For permanently stationed officers, statistics **imply** a certain **level** of activity in the community, and are considered by supervisors as evidence that the officer is doing his job. Thus, other things being equal, it is likely that only the more serious or obvious cases **will** be acted upon by a TDY officer as compared to an officer **permanently** assigned to a village.

There are other, darker explanations for why service calls and crimes have gone down in Point Lay. In the vernacular of village informants, "Those people aren't here anymore." What is meant here is that since 1980 there have been at least five deaths not attributable to natural causes, one unofficial "blue ticket" (eviction **of** a problem-causing individual from the village), and a number of people sent away to jail (currently, at least four Point Lay men incarcerated for crimes committed

in Point Lay). Removal of particular individuals from a North Slope village and a subsequent decline in Public Safety difficulties is not unique to Point Lay. The same reasoning was given by a PSO source for a recent downturn in activity in Nuiqsut (Galginaitis 1989: unpublished fieldnotes). Certainly, the removal of certain perpetrators from the village has a calming effect on those who remain.

It is also important to note that “other” calls, that is, *calls* that are for the most part not crime-related, make up a large component of total service calls received. This is indicative of the use of Public Safety Officers by the community in other than direct law enforcement situations. For example, PSOS are sometimes called by a reporting person when a relative has been drinking and their whereabouts is unknown, or their whereabouts is known but it is not their own residence. In these cases the reporting person typically requests that the person who has been drinking be transported back to his residence for his own safety and/or so they do not cause trouble. In this instance the person has not committed an infraction for which he or she **will** be charged, but the PSO is called as a sort of preventative measure. PSOS are sometimes called when there is a rabid fox in the community, or when there is a loose dog, neither of which would be a law enforcement problem in most communities.

PSOS are also normally called for medical calls, for several reasons. First; while medical calls would normally be handled by the volunteer ambulance crew operating under the auspices of Fire Department and the clinic, and handled by the health aides at the clinic after transport there, at times there is difficulty either getting the ambulance to the scene or getting hold of a health aide. Due to the nature of their job, and their expectations of their responsibilities, there is normally no difficulty in reaching a PSO seven days a **week**, twenty-four hours a day. It is expected that PSOS should be involved in handling any sort of an “emergency” situation. Second, PSOS are often involved with arranging medevac transportation of patients to Barrow when the patient’s condition warrants it. Third, any time medical calls involve other than accidental trauma, such as cases of self-inflicted injuries or injuries inflicted by another person, there is the possibility that the PSO is needed in an official capacity, either in a crisis intervention role or to file a criminal complaint.

Many of the service calls that Public Safety Officers respond *to are* alcohol-related. To examine the relationship between alcohol and social **pathology** in Point Lay, a series of four graphs were prepared that represent the level of alcohol involvement in various types of service calls. First, a graphic is presented that depicts, by call volume, the level of alcohol involvement in **all** types of service calls combined. Next three figures are presented that detail the relationship of alcohol to specific types of incidents. These figures represent, by service call volume, a breakdown by type of incident the reported involvement of alcohol, the reported non-involvement of alcohol, and incidents for which the use of alcohol was not indicated (Figures 10-PTL, 11-PTL, and **12-PTL**).

Table **37-PTL**

Public Safety Department Activity
 Point **Lay:** 1980-1982

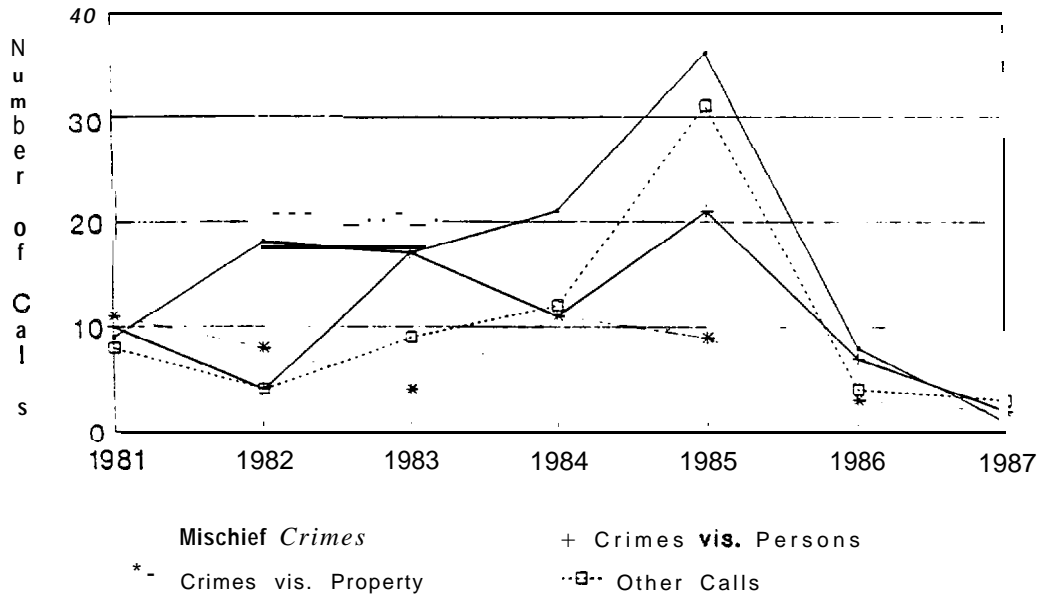
	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>
Homicide and Negligent Homicide	1	0	0
Rape and Sex Offenses	0	2	0
Robbery	0	0	0
Assault	0	4	2
Burglary	0	1	1
Larceny	0	0	2
Motor Vehicle Theft	0	2	3
Vandalism	0	5	4
Narcotics	0	1	1
Driving While Intoxicated	0	0	0
Liquor Law Violations/Disorderly Conduct	0	1	6
Traffic Accidents	0	0	0
Animal Problems	3	1	0
Domestic Problems	0	1	6
Premise Security	0	0	0
Disturbing the Peace/Noise	0	1	3
Other*	11	23	7
TOTALS	15	42	35

* This category identifies non-criminal Public Safety activities. It includes service requests, agency assists, public assists, transportation of the sick or injured, and other responses to non-criminal situations. The PSO may be called for a wide variety of activities ranging from chaperoning dances to helping a sick person to the clinic.

Source: NSB Department of Public Safety, in Alaska Consultants 1984:300.

Figure 8-PTL

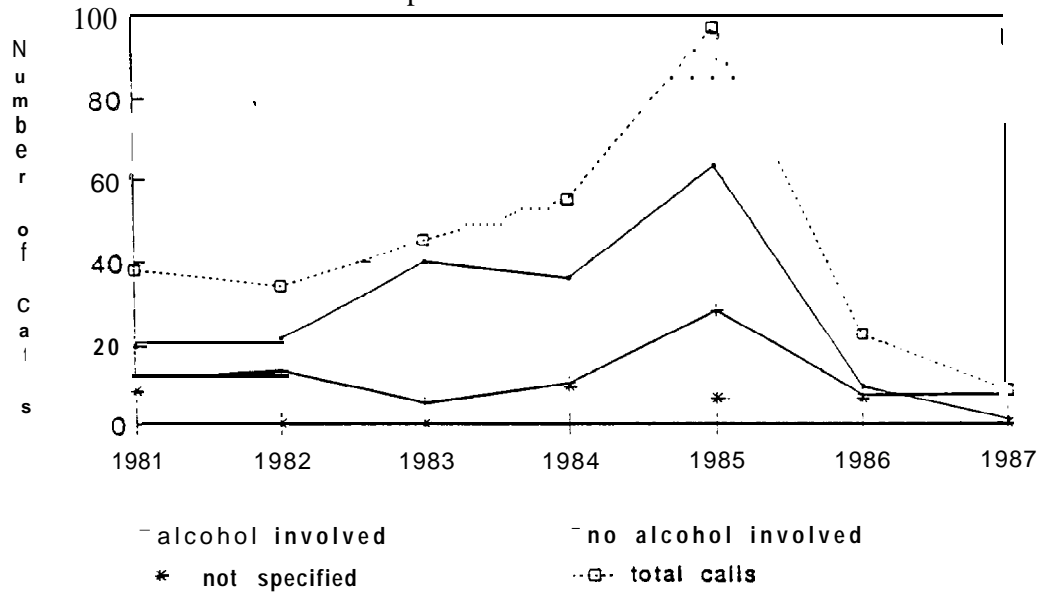
Service Calls in Point Lay
By Call Type



(IAI, NSB, Dept. of Public Safety 1989)

Figure 9-PTL

Service Calls in Point Lay
Reported Involvement of Alcohol



(IAI, NSB, Dept. of Public Safety)
NIPA Final Technical Report

Service Calls in Point Lay, Reported Involvement of Alcohol

When examining the figure entitled “Service Calls in Point Lay, Reported Involvement of Alcohol” (Figure 9-PTL), it is apparent that for all years, with the exception of 1987, alcohol was involved in more crimes than not, and for some years more than twice as many crimes involved alcohol than did not. For some years, the number of crimes involving alcohol approached the total number of crimes reported in the community. Overall, reported crime in Point Lay more than doubled between 1981 and 1985, before declining precipitously. At the close of the period, 1987, reported crimes were approximately one-quarter their 1981 level.

Service Calls in Point Lay, Involving Alcohol/Service Calls in Point Lay, Not Involving Alcohol

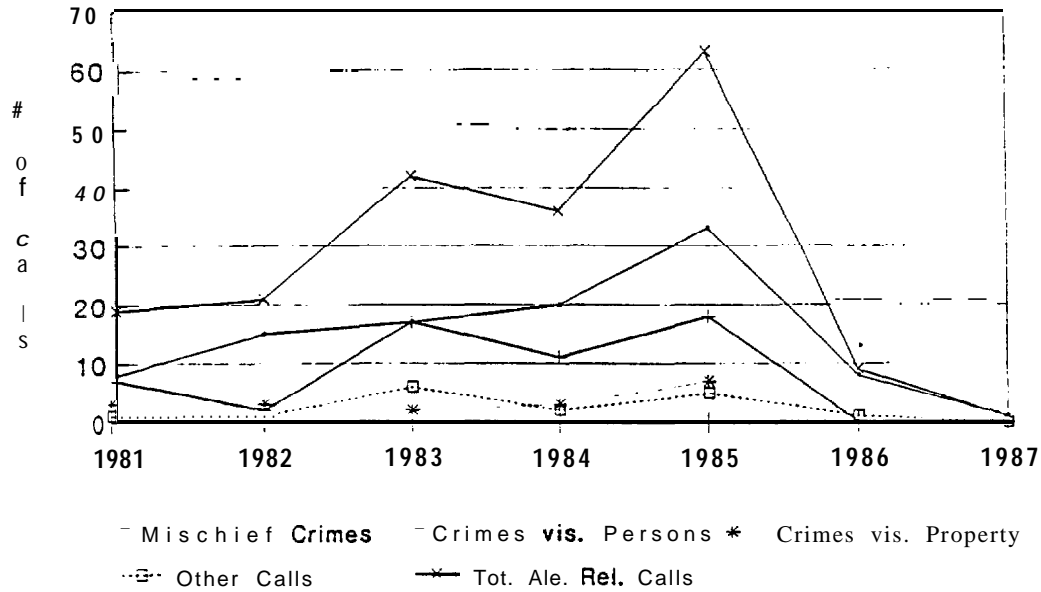
By comparing the figures entitled “Service Calls in Point Lay, Involving Alcohol” and “Service Calls in Point Lay, Not Involving Alcohol” (see Figures 10-PTL and 11-PTL) one can see the breakdown, by type of crime, of those incidents that were recorded as involving or not involving alcohol. These figures allow for the comparison of specific types of crime. For example, one can see that in the category of mischief, virtually all crimes are alcohol-related. Crimes against persons are virtually all alcohol-related. Crimes against property are not strongly related either way to alcohol use. Incidents categorized as “other” are split between calls that were alcohol- and not alcohol-related. Overall, it appears that somewhat over 50% of Point Lay service calls are reported to be alcohol-related.

Service Calls in Point Lay, Involvement of Alcohol Not Specified

Examining the figure entitled “Service Calls in Point Lay, Involvement of Alcohol Not Specified” (Figure 12-PTL) allows the determination of that portion of incidents where the involved officer did not specify the involvement or non-involvement of alcohol in the incident. For three of the years, it can be seen that all incidents were categorized one way or another as to whether or not alcohol was involved. For the other year, there are very few cases where the involvement of alcohol was not specified. In those years, nearly all crimes against persons and crimes of mischief were classified; in a few cases of crimes against property and “other” incidents, the involvement of alcohol was not specified. These few cases were not judged likely to influence the interpretation of the information.

Figure 10-PTL

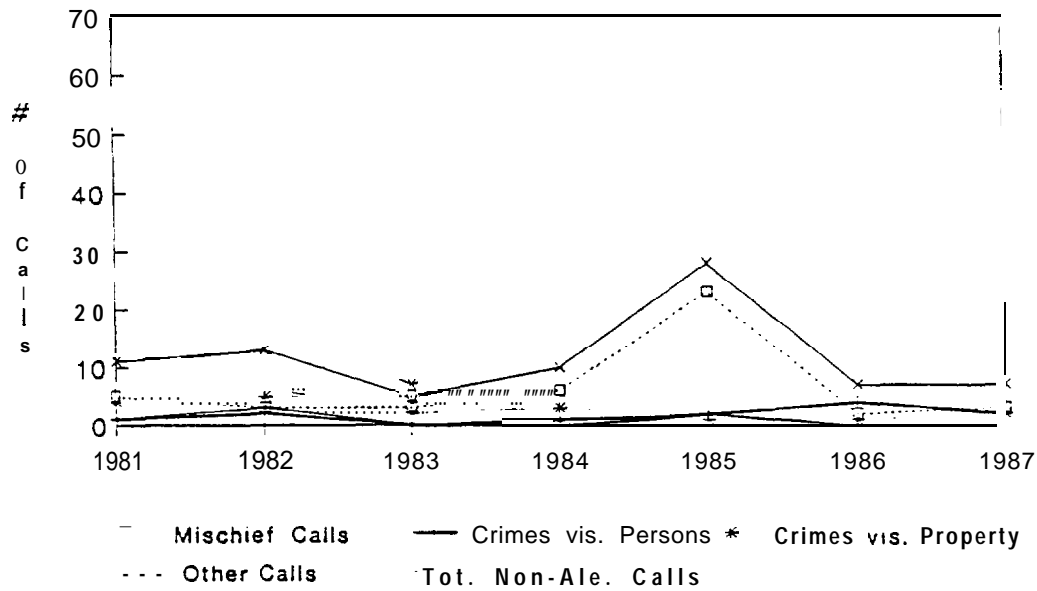
Service Calls in Point Lay
Involving Alcohol



(IAI, NSB, Dept. of Public Safety 1989)

Figure 11-PTL

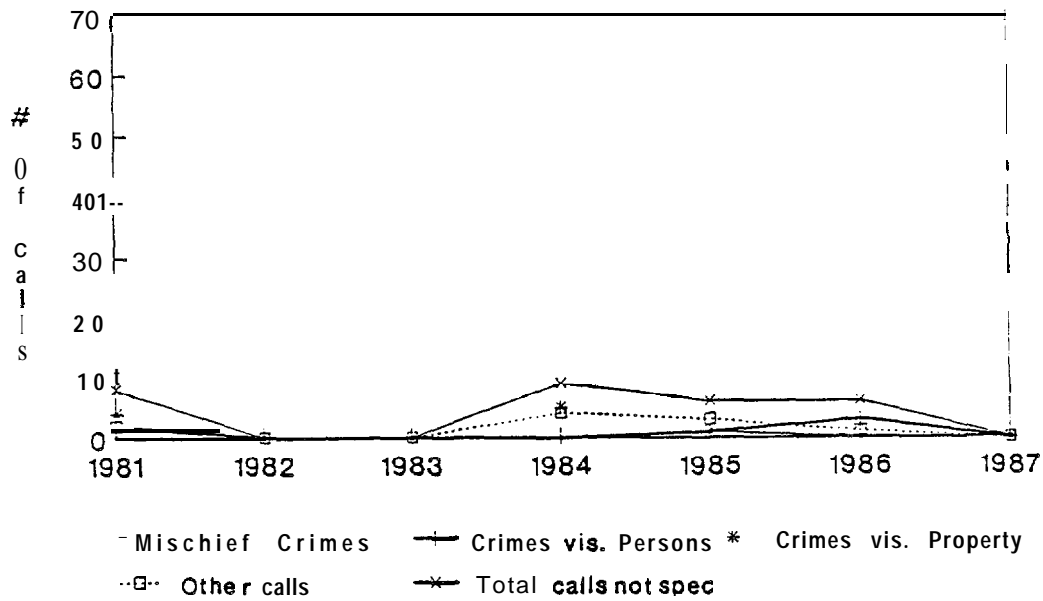
Service Calls in Point Lay
Not Involving Alcohol



(IAI, NSB, Dept. of public Safety 1989)

Figure 12-PTL

Service Calls in Point Lay
Involvement of **Alcohol** Not Specified



(IAI, NSB, Dept. of Public Safety 1989)

3. Issues

As regards Public Safety in Point Lay, three main areas of community concern were observed. Information came from both field observations and informant **interviews**, with a review of Public Safety records to check on the level of PSO activity. The three areas of concern were with the type of person that was being sent to Point Lay as the PSO (personnel), the frequent absence of the PSO assigned to Point Lay from the village and frequent turnover in the position (two different problems at the village level, but both discussable as turnover), and the proper role of the PSO in the village (role). Each of these areas will be developed below. This discussion informs the regional chapter treatment, and is in turn enlarged by the comparative discussion.

Personnel

Point Lay is quite sensitive to its position as the smallest of the North Slope villages and the difficulty of traveling into or out of the village. Residents sometimes perceive the North Slope as using Point Lay as a “dumping ground” for troublesome employees from other villages, who are placed in Point Lay in the hopes that they will then drop out of sight or at least not be so noticeable. If this were the NSB policy, it would be singularly unsuccessful, since the residents of Point Lay are not at **all** adverse to expressing their displeasure with whatever has raised their *ire*. Recently they have been very disturbed at the sort of PSO who has been stationed in Point Lay. Their perception is that they have been (in general, with some exceptions of course) insensitive, unfriendly, either totally inactive or overly concerned with enforcement, and disruptive of village life. In most cases they attribute these perceptions to the personality of the PSO in question, sometimes combined with a lack of competence. Various PSOS who have had some commonly known troubles in previous NSB duty stations have been posted to Point Lay, and all have carried the baggage of those previous troubles with them. Such PSOS do not start out with a “clean slate.” Because of the interconnectedness of the NSB villages in terms of kinship and friendship, what happens in one village is almost as well known as if it had happened in one’s own. Actually, the stories may assume much larger proportions when they come from other villages since there is most often no “reality check that can be applied to them. In any event, often these PSOS must in essence “disprove” the reputations which have been attributed to them, which is very difficult to do given the constraints of village life and the way that such self-fulfilling prophecies generally work.

Turnover

Point Lay is rather typical of the North Slope in regards to the turnover of PSOS. In the recent past it has been unusual for a PSO to complete a **full two-year** duty assignment, the last being the officer who left in 1987. He had been well liked in the village, but was increasingly being perceived as too enforcement-oriented and was also apparently alienating at least part of the NSB Public Safety administrative staff. Since that time there has been a constant stream of temporary PSOS. Most were placed in Point Lay with the idea that they would serve there two years, but because of certain circumstances left before that time. In at least one case the underlying cause was the extreme village dissatisfaction with the performance of the PSO in question. The Department of Public Safety was generally understaffed all during this period and there were few times when there were actually two PSOS assigned to Point Lay. Even rarer were the times when there were two

PSOS physically present in Point Lay. The most common occurrence was for one PSO to be present, and there were times when there was no PSO in the village. The PSO who was in the village was very frequently not the one assigned to it, because of the practice of temporary duty assignments (**TDYs**). Whenever a PSO found it necessary to leave the village (court appearances, transporting prisoners, training, annual **leave**) it was **necessary** to replace him if his absence would leave the village with no PSO. In most cases this meant shuffling the village PSO staff around as only a few of the villages actually had the second assigned PSO physically present which made such absences theoretically possible. For most of this period, **then**, PSOS spent a good portion of their time outside of their assigned villages, and Point Lay was no exception. Whether Point Lay was an extreme example or was fairly typical is not known, as similarly detailed information was not available for other villages. What is clear is that the pattern of TDYs associated with **understaffing**, combined with the village perception that many of the **PSOs** sent to their village were not performing as the village would have liked, led to a high degree of PSO turnover in Point Lay (few of these PSOS left the department but, rather, were reassigned to Barrow **or** one **of** the other villages).

Role

Point Lay residents recognize law enforcement as one of the responsibilities of the PSO. The protection of the citizenry is acknowledged as important, but it often seems to local village residents as if the punishment aspect of enforcement activity is more important to **local** PSOS than is helping solve problems in the village. The village perspective is that PSOS should aid people to stay out of trouble, and this includes “perpetrators” as **well** as victims. The **PSO** perspective is that while they try to maintain as pleasant as possible relationship with the community and try to be as helpful as possible, the primary PSO responsibility is the protection of the citizenry by removing lawbreakers from the village. Many village residents see such an emphasis as disruptive of village unity, and negative rather than positive.

To the PSO, the reluctance of victims to press charges is frustrating and not understandable. To victims, the removal of the arrested person often does not do anything other than solve the most immediate cause of this particular problem and leaves the situational context which generated the problem intact. Given the present judicial system, it is **likely** that **the** person arrested **will** not be out of the village for very long in any event. Residents **also would** prefer not to be the seen as the cause for a fellow resident obtaining a court record. **The** PSO perspective, of course, is that they are not social workers and that they are required (legally and **regulatorily** obligated) to take certain actions in certain circumstances.

Most village PSO **activity** does not involve enforcement activity, however, or at least not high level enforcement activity. Most communities desire that the PSO is known to most people and has regular contact with the “recognized village leaders” -- generally the mayor, city council members, corporation officials, the head of the NSB departments in the village, the Village Coordinator, local clergy, and **school** officials. **Elders** are a special **class** of people and PSOS often have a difficult time communicating with them. Nonetheless, community residents often wish PSOS to consult with them on a regular basis, or at least for them to be familiar with each other.

The last long-term PSO left for a variety of reasons, but the most pervasive seems to have been that he no longer really enjoyed the position and that the gossip was becoming too pointed. He was perhaps somewhat more vulnerable to such community pressures as he was a Native American married to an **Inupiat** woman. He thus was much more a part of the community than the typical PSO, but at the same time was subject to pressures that they were not. In the end, he said that he was too **close** to things that were happening in the village to continue in an enforcement role there. He resigned his position and moved to another NSB village. His replacement came with the reputation for non-performance of his duties and being distant from Natives. He was reported to have been “thrown out” of several other villages and was recalled by Point Lay residents from an earlier TDY when he had failed to respond to a call for help from a woman being threatened by a man with a knife. It is not clear that any of these stories were completely true. This PSO had had previous troubles, both with **Inupiat** and with the Department of Public Safety, but whether they **led** to his transfer from one post to another is uncertain. There had been a knife call some time in the past that the then PSO (on **temporary** duty assignment) had failed to respond to, but whether it was this PSO was never really established. Regardless of these circumstances, this PSO started with a poor reputation which residents were inclined to believe until it was proven to be **undeserved**. This was not likely to have happened in the best of circumstances and was next to impossible under the conditions which then **existed**.

Point Lay had been served by a series of very short term fill-ins until the new “permanent” officer arrived. When he did finally reach the village (delayed by personal leave and **health** problems), he maintained a very low profile by spending most of his time in the PSO house. This would have raised few **local** concerns except that he was never observed to make patrols and he tended to respond slowly (or not at all) to requests for service at night and on the weekends. His rationale was that officially he did have two days off and that he could not be expected to answer **all** calls at all times. This was directly contrary to all previous PSOS, who had made sincere efforts to give 24-hour **service** (often at great inconvenience). Since the village **seldom** saw the PSO during his reported duty hours, and had trouble reaching him at other times, they had the impression that the PSO was in fact off duty and unavailable most of the time. This impression was not helped when, during the first several weeks of this PSOS tour of duty a local man was lost and a SAR effort mounted. It was thought that the PSO should at least have talked with the locals and made sure that it was not a criminal case, but all reported attempts by village residents to contact him failed and it was only after the SAR operation had been underway for **several** days that the PSO was finally informed of what was going on. The village was **very** dissatisfied with his efforts (or lack of them) in the SAR effort and his regular PSO duties from that time on, so much so that he was effectively isolated from the village.

Once this PSO was transferred and a new PSO installed, relations between the villagers and the Department of Public Safety resumed a more **normal** state of affairs. Village residents were still suspicious of PSOS and tended to avoid them in regular contact, but as long as they made regular rounds in the PSO truck and were reasonably responsive to local calls, relations were positive. The biggest problem was in the area of drunken disturbance calls, where people wanted intoxicated individuals removed from their homes. There were still no holding facilities in Point Lay at this time and the PSO could not effectively make an arrest in these cases. **He** also often could not **really** take this person home, as they often wanted them no more than the person who had called the PSO in the first place. If, in fact, the intoxicated person already was in his own home the PSO could not take any **formal** action, other than talking with the person, unless a formal complaint was

filed and an arrest could be made, which, as was pointed out above, the PSO was at pains to avoid. PSOS thus were often reluctant to respond to such calls, since in effect they were being asked to escort people home (or out of houses). The PSOS **considered** this more in the nature of baby-sitting than their public safety responsibilities, understandably enough, since they had found by experience that no one would file complaints in such cases and if the PSOS responded as the complainants wished, they were swamped with such calls at all hours of the night every time that alcohol was present in the village. This problem was partially alleviated when the new PSO facilities, which include two cells, were built. Confusion remains in the village about the obligation and powers of the PSO to remove intoxicated people from residential buildings. **It** is NSB policy that if a PSO answers such a call and there is a disturbance that an arrest is made. No one can be removed from his own house unless a formal complaint is **made**. **If** circumstances warrant it, a “peaceful drunk” can be escorted from a house to his own house, although **in** most cases the PSO would not have been called in the first place in that case.

Alcohol is a source of trouble in Point Lay for several reasons. Nearly **all** serious problems requiring the assistance of the PSO involve the use of alcohol. The importation, but not the use or possession, of alcohol is illegal in Point Lay. Most local residents (including some of the heaviest local users) vocally advocate a strong role for the PSO in deterring the importation of alcohol. At the same time, when the PSO attempts to implement such a program, he is often met with a storm of criticism. Everyone believes that the control of alcohol in the abstract is a good idea. Practically no one wants to actually be involved in implementing such a program, and certainly no one wants to be denied the opportunity to drink themselves. This makes the role of the PSO much more difficult, however, since he is charged with enforcing a law which in fact does not have the support of the majority of the village (based on observed behavior). Unfortunately, it is nearly impossible to prove importation without informants under the present **law**. Banning possession is still not completely effective, as villages with such laws still have a good **deal** of alcohol imported, consumed, and involved in most public safety incidents. Such villages do tend to have fewer serious alcohol related incidents, but the PSOS in such villages still have extreme difficulty trying to control the importation of alcohol.

For the present, the PSO in Point Lay is accepted as long as he patrols fairly regularly and makes an honest attempt to handle most calls for service. It is preferred that the PSO use his powers of arrest as **little** as possible, and recent **PSOs** have tended to behave in this way. Recent PSOS have also tended to visit regularly with local leaders (the mayor, corporation officials, the school, local camp, and so on) and this has also tended to make the community more at ease with the current PSOS. This fits the general model developed above, where the preferred community role of the PSO is to help keep people out of trouble and the community running smoothly, rather than having them actively enforcing laws by removing people from the community and potentially disrupting it. This is not to say that such arrests are never perceived as necessary by the community, but that most are not.

I. Schools

1. History

It can be claimed that it was **non-Inupiat** contact that fostered the development of Point Lay as a permanent community. This requires a regional perspective, however, as the first school in the area was constructed at Icy Cape (a seasonal location used by people from both the Wainwright and Point Lay areas) in 1906. Closed **in** 1913, this school was reopened in 1925 and soon closed again. It was decided in 1929 to relocate this school on the spit near present-day Point Lay. The school seined as the “magnet” that anchored a village of Point Lay and fostered its identity as a community. The school in Point Lay closed in 1958 as a result, some accounts claim, of an administrative decision. Most Point Lay informants, however, say that the school was closed because there were no (or very few) students for it. People began to move back to the spit in the spring of 1972, but the NSB evidently did not reopen the school until February 1974.

This school was established in the old school building on the spit in the “old” Point Lay. There was one teacher and a teacher’s aide, as well as locally hired school help. It was soon decided to relocate the village and a new **school** was completed at the “New Side” site (in the delta of the **Kokolik** River) in 1976. This was a larger school with a larger staff (including a principal/teacher). When the village was again relocated in the early 1980s (construction started in 1980), a still larger school was built at the present site. The school at the “New Side” was eventually moved over to the present village site but was converted into housing, with other structures being used temporarily for school classes. The newest school was completed in 1983.

2. Organization and Operations

The school staff in Point Lay currently consists of five certified (**non-Inupiat**) teachers, a principal who also on occasion teaches, a “certified-expert” **Inupiaq** teacher, and a varying number of teacher aides (up to one per teacher, that is, six). There is also the head of the physical plant, his two **Inupiat** employees, the cook, the janitor, and several part-time employees. The certified teachers are hired by the NSB school board in Barrow and are assigned to Point Lay. Villagers have little (actually no) effect on teacher hiring decisions. Principals can, on occasion, influence the hiring and assignment of teachers, but evidently do not do so that often. The relatively short time that the average principal or teacher spends in a village makes this sort of effort an inefficient use of resources, for the most part. Principals fight enough bureaucratic battles with the school board in Barrow as it is. Teacher turnover varies from year to year, but it seems to be an unusual principal or teacher who stays in one village more than three years. Point Lay usually has a turnover rate of at least 21\$% (one position) and this year had to replace **60%** of the certified teachers and the one aide **who** had been with the **school** since 1975 or so. The overall turnover rate for the NSB as a whole is estimated at 25% a year by NSB school board members (personal communication).

Point Lay does have, as do all the villages, a school **advisory** council (SAC). This is composed of an elected board of local parents. In theory, they can affect the way the school is operated through the principal, who reports on their wishes to the school board. In reality, the SAC has little influence, as the NSBSD takes little **local** advice. This appears to be a policy decision to ensure a reasonable standard system from village to village by insisting on centralized control. There has

been some movement recently to allow for the local selection of optional programs, but for the most part decisions about what is to be taught, the method to be used, and who is hired to teach it are all made in Barrow.

The SAC does have a good deal of influence, through the principal, in who is hired as school aides and other support staff members. This is perceived as important locally because the school is an important source of employment. That this is not the primary function of the school, and is almost certainly not the source of its greatest effect on Point Lay, is not to say that this is not **still** important. Clearly, **local** Inupiat understand the school as a source of jobs in a much clearer way than they do the school's role in the education of their children for their future careers. Many Point Lay parents do not appear to fully understand the goals of a formal education or the experiences of their children in school. This, of course, is not a problem confined to the **Inupiat** of the North Slope, but is certainly one of the major problems of the current system.

3. Issues

Since the early 1900s schools have been one of the prime agents of acculturation to Western values and world view. At least partial control of **Inupiat** socialization has been under **non-Inupiat** control since this time, including the present day when **non-Inupiat** are influential in the direction of the NSB School District. Beyond this **level** of outside control, there is a feeling in Point Lay, as in virtually all of the other outlying villages, that Barrow has a disproportionate say in village level affairs. While there are local SAG, it is clearly understood that the District School Board in Barrow controls the curriculum and other programs of the schools and that this central board is free to ignore the wishes of the village advisory bodies if they choose to do so.

The articulation of the teaching of subsistence skills (and other traditional skills) within the context of the school is problematic, even if it were an agreed upon and desired end. In Point Lay, locally recognized experts have made it clear to the school that they are not willing to teach traditional skills in the school unless they are compensated for doing so at a rate commensurate with other employment in the village. A problem with this is that the NSBSD has historically been reluctant to pay substantial wages for individuals to teach in the school if those individuals are not accredited teachers.

SECTION IV: CULTURAL ISSUES AND INFORMAL INSTITUTIONS

A. Patterns of Change in Informal Institutions

The present community of Point Lay has a much shorter history as a permanent village than some of the other communities in the region, and so has not seen some of the long-term processes that have influenced change in those villages. The people of Point Lay have made a concerted effort to minimize the number of institutions and the overlap in functions of institutions within the community. Often this takes the form of trying to use the same form or mechanism for all purposes, but the effect is much the same. Because of its short time depth as a permanent community, Point Lay had few long-term informal institutions that had to adapt and articulate with NSB- and ANCSA- generated institutions. Contemporary Point Lay became a settled community after the formalization process accelerated by the formation of the NSB and the implementation of ANCSA began. This is not to say that such institutions as kinship and values, such as sharing, have not changed in Point Lay. There were simply very few established patterns for the people currently making up the community, so it is difficult to speak about change in this manner.

The real question in Point Lay is the articulation of the new formal institutions with the major “old” formal institution, the IRA organization. The Point Lay IRA, while formally chartered, has all the characteristics of an informal organization in that the formal rules are seldom invoked. People who perhaps do not quite meet the requirements to participate are allowed to do so because of a community ethos to follow the community spirit of the IRA constitution rather than the strict law that it sets out. This is the real articulation of kinship, sharing, and other values into formal institutions that exist in Point Lay, and it is little wonder that the village has never formally incorporated and wishes to de-emphasize the role that the Cully Corporation plays in dealing with important issues. The people of Point Lay, by resisting the newer institutional forms, have maintained a basic sense of community unity that has been lost in all other NSB communities.

B. Subsistence

During the course of the Point Lay Case Study, the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (ADF&G) Subsistence Division as a subcontractor provided detailed information on subsistence activities in Point Lay. Selection of survey respondents was based on a stratified random sampling of an estimated fifty community households. Three household strata were pre-defined: high, medium, and low harvesters over time.

High harvesters were defined as those who could be relied upon to consistently harvest enough resources each year to provide for a large number of households in the community. Medium harvesters were defined as those who regularly harvested enough for their own household and often had enough to share with others in the community. Low harvesters were defined as those who harvested irregularly or not at all and who relied largely on medium and high harvesters for local resources. Key respondent interviews with community elders and council members were designed to facilitate establishment of a working three-tiered stratification of community households

Figure 13-PTL

Point Lay **Seasonal** Round

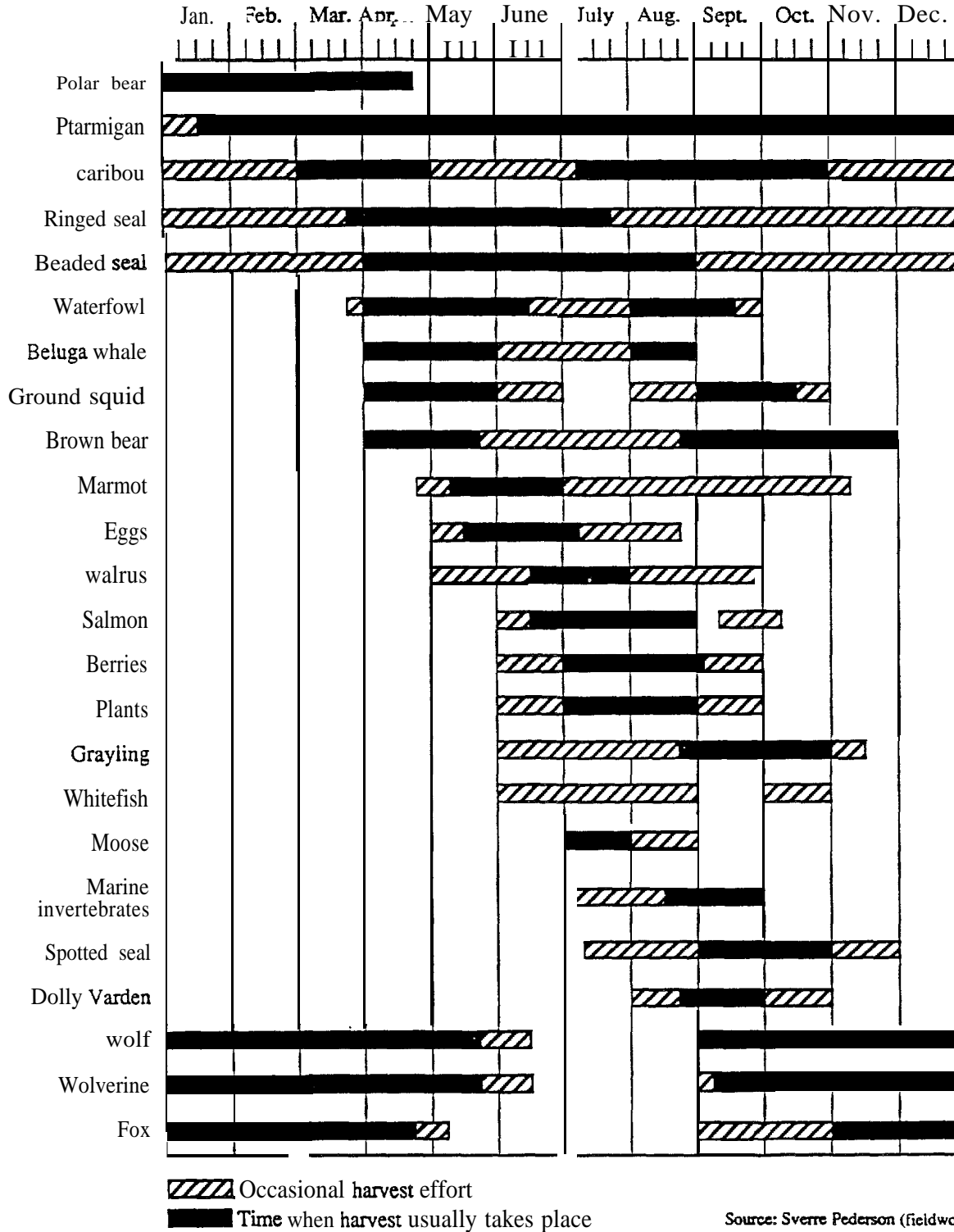


Figure 14-PTL

Seasonal **Round:** Waterfowl
Point Lay, 1987

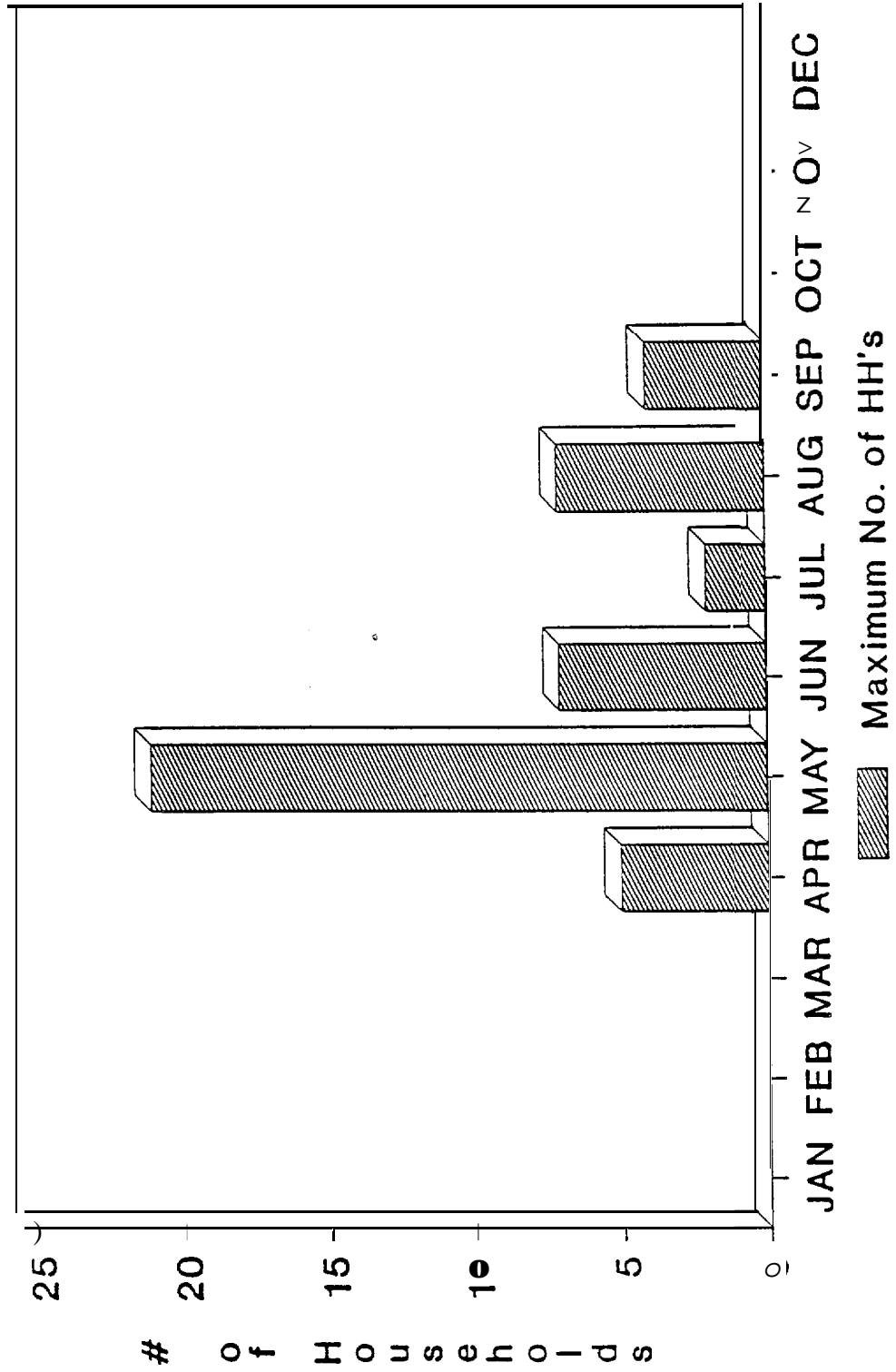
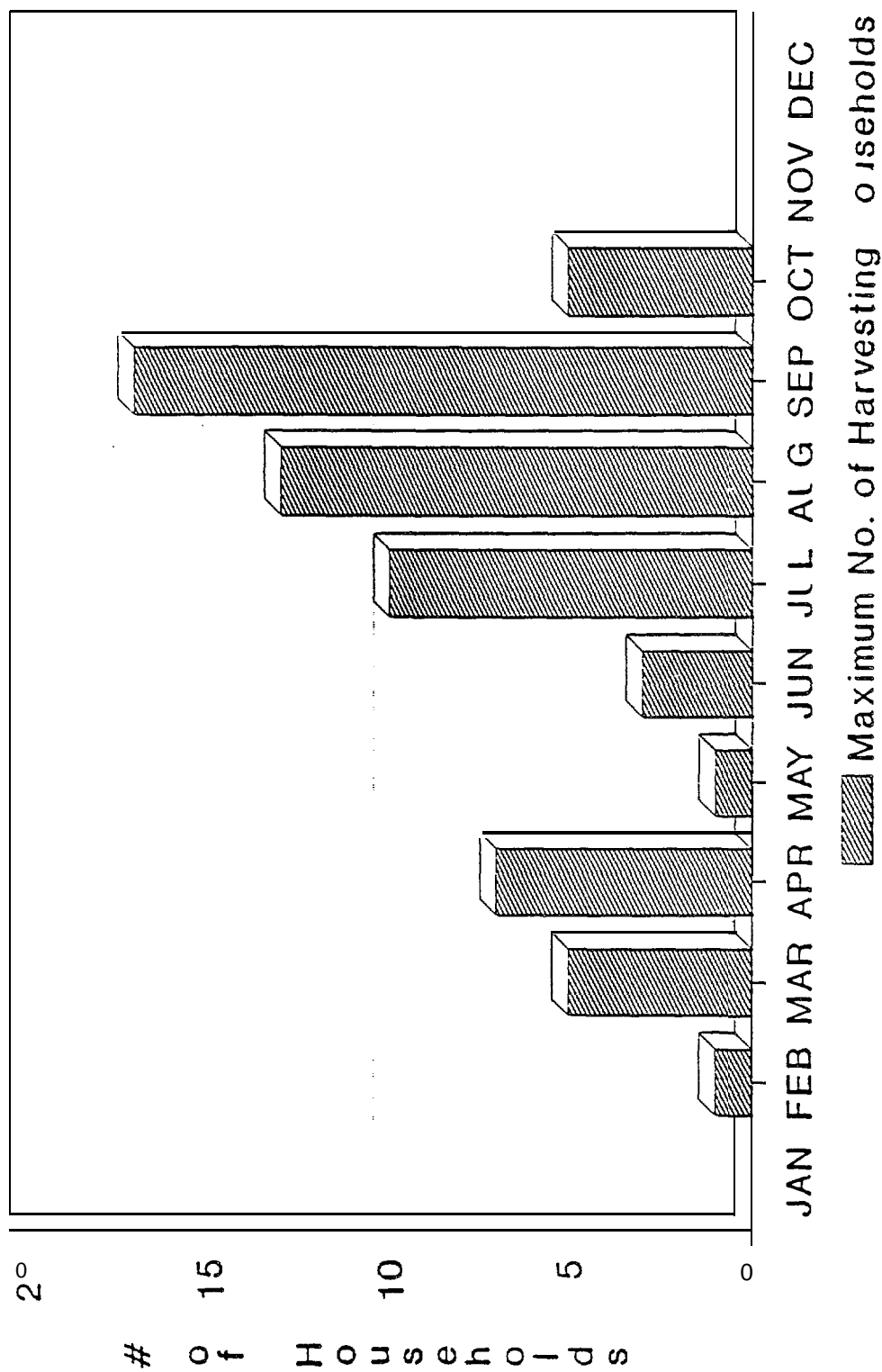


Figure 15-PTL

Seasonal Round: Caribou
Point Lay, 1987



corresponding to the loosely defined groups. **Considerable** reliance was placed on this intra-community assessment. These sources were assumed to be the best possible evaluators since they had lived in the community for some time and were able to evaluate levels of household participation in resource harvesting. The provisional list was then reviewed by a few particularly knowledgeable community members (as determined by council **members**) before being used as the source for simple random sampling of at least **50%** in each stratum.

It is not possible to discuss “traditional subsistence **ideology**” on the community level for Point Lay, but rather information from Point Lay is contained in the regional discussion of this topic. The political, social, and economic conditions influencing subsistence in the community are contained in the Point Lay Case Study in detail.

C. Traditional Sharing and Kinship Behaviors

1. Kinship Organization

Point Lay is a small community of closely related people. A genealogical chart of the community was produced for the Point Lay Case Study (IAI: in draft) which represented household arrangements in the community as of June 1988. It was possible to diagram the known relationships of 31 of the 48 households in the village on a single interconnected chart. This represents twenty five of thirty three **Inupiat** households, four of four “mixed” households, and two of eleven Caucasian households. Five of the eight **Inupiat** households not on the chart are known to be related to other families on the chart but the exact connections are not clear. The other three **Inupiat** households are known to have come to Point Lay from the south (Point Hope, **Kivalina, Kotzebue**) and are likely to be directly related as well. The four Caucasian married to **Inupiat** spouses all appear on the chart since their spouses have a number of relatives in Point Lay. The extent to which the **Inupiat** spouses are integrated into the kinship network is indicated by the appearance of two families composed entirely of **non-Inupiat** individuals on the Point Lay genealogical chart. As expected, however, most Caucasian families cannot be connected to the main chart.

2. Formal and Informal Sharing

Kinship may be seen as an organizing principle in sharing and subsistence activities. Tables 38-PTL, 39-PTL, and 40-PTL show the relationship between various household characteristics and level of household participation in subsistence, household size, and household level of income. Assuming that the household characteristics analyzed in these **tables** (the amount of meat and fish consumed from a household’s own subsistence efforts, from other household’s subsistence efforts, and the amount of resources given away) are indications of the degree to which households share subsistence resources, then these tables give the reader an profile of those households that are most, or least, likely to engage in the sharing of subsistence resources.

Table 38-PTL

Point Lay **Household** Characteristics - 19S8
By Levels of Subsistence Participation

	DEGREE OF SUBSISTENCE PARTICIPATION			
	MINIMAL	MODERATE	ACTIVE	ALL HHs
Average HH Income (\$):				
Inupiat HHs	\$27,813	\$33,750	\$32,167	
Non-Inupiat HHs	\$54,500	\$12,500		
All HHs	\$38,077	\$29,500	\$32,167	\$34,091
Cases:	13	5	15	33
Average HH Size (# Persons per HH):				
Inupiat HHs	4.0	3.0	3.7	
Non-Inupiat HHs	2.4	2.0		
All HHs	3.4	2.8	3.7	3.4
Cases:	18	6	18	42
Average Meat & Fish Conspn from Own HH Subsistence (%):				
Inupiat HHs	9.5%	29.6%	78.0%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	4.3%	25.0%		
All HHs	7.5%	28.8%	78.0%	40.8%
Cases:	18	6	18	42
Average Meat & Fish Conspn from Other HH Subsistence (%):				
Inupiat HHs	32.8%	8.0%	15.4%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	11.4%	10.0%		
All HHs	24.5%	8.3%	15.4%	18.3%
Cases:	18	6	18	42
Average Meat & Fish Harvested and Given Away (%):				
Inupiat HHs	18.6%	30.4%	40.0%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	6.0%	60.0%		
All HHs	14.7%	35.3%	40.0%	29.2%
Cases:	16	6	18	40
Average Proportion HH Income Spent in Village (%):				
Inupiat HHs	50.0%	61.0%	48.9%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	22.2%	20.0%		
All HHs	40.2%	54.2%	48.9%	46.0%
Cases:	17	6	18	41

Notes: Degree of subsistence participation measured on the basis of how much HH meat & fish consumption was from the HHs own subsistence activities; where

MINIMAL: Under 20% meat & fish from own HH subsistence

MODERATE: 20-40% meat & fish from own HH subsistence

ACTIVE: Over 40% meat & fish from own HH subsistence,

Total cases (households) = 48.

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
Census of Population and Economy

Table 39-PTL

Point **Lay Household** Characteristics -1988
By **Categories** of Household Size

	HOUSEHOLD SIZE			
	SMALL	MEDIUM	LARGE	ALL HHs
Average HH Income (\$):				
Inupiat HHs	\$30,577	\$31,875	\$30,000	
Non-Inupiat HHs	\$40,833	\$57,500		
All HHs	\$33,816	\$33,846	\$30,000	\$33,603
Cases:	19	13	2	34
Average HH Size (# Persons per HH):				
Inupiat HHs	1.7	4.8	7.0	
Non-Inupiat HHs	2.0	4.0		
All HHs	1.8	4.7	7.0	3.4
Cases:	22	22	2	46
Average Meat & Fish Csmptn from Own HH Subsistence (%):				
Inupiat HHs	50.0%	48.8%	40.0%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	7.9%	0.0%		
All HHs	35.3%	46.4%	40.0%	40.8%
Cases:	20	20	2	42
Average Meat & Fish Csmptn from Other HH Subsistence (%):				
Inupiat HHs	14.2%	24.4%	15.5%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	11.3%	0.0%		
All HHs	13.1%	23.2%	15.5%	17.9%
Cases:	21	20	2	43
Average Meat & Fish Harvested and Given Away (%):				
Inupiat HHs	41.2%	24.8%	35.0%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	12.9%			
All HHs	31.3%	24.8%	35.0%	28.5%
Cases:	20	19	2	41
Average Proportion HH Income Spent in Village (%):				
Inupiat HHs	51.9%	51.3%	42.5%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	36.0%	1.0%		
All HHs	46.4%	48.8%	42.5%	47.3%
Cases:	20	20	2	42

Notes: Household size categories measured as follows:

SMALL: under 4 persons per household

MEDIUM: 4-6 persons per household

STRONG: 7 of more persons per household.

Total cases (households)= 46.

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
Census of Population and Economy

Table 40-PTL

Point Lay Household Characteristics -1988
By Levels of Household Income

	HOUSEHOLD INCOME CATEGORIES				
	BELOW \$20K	\$20-40K	\$40-60K	ABOVE \$60K	ALL HHs
Average HH Income (\$):					
Inupiat HHs	\$11,071	\$28,864	\$47,500	\$65,000	
Non-Inupiat HHs	\$12,500		\$57,500	\$75,000	
All HHs	\$11,500	\$28,864	\$48,500	\$71,567	\$33,603
Cases:	10	11	10	3	34
Average HH Size (# Persons per HH):					
Inupiat HHs	3.4	3.5	3.3	4.0	
Non-Inupiat HHs	1.7		3.0	2.0	
All HHs	2.9	3.5	3.2	2.7	3.1
Cases:	10	11	10	3	34
Average Meat & Fish Cmptrn from Own HH Subsistence (%):					
Inupiat HHs	38.6%	42.3%	70.0%	10.0%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	17.5%		0.0%	5.0%	
All HHs	33.9%	42.3%	56.0%	6.7%	40.6%
Cases:	9	11	10	3	33
Average Meat & Fish Cmptrn from Other HH Subsistence (%):					
Inupiat HHs	21.4%	17.3%	14.5%	20.0%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	26.7%		0.0%	0.0%	
All HHs	23.0%	17.3%	11.5%	6.7%	16.4%
Cases:	10	11	10	3	34
Average Meat & Fish Harvested and Given Away (%):					
Inupiat HHs	25.0%	25.9%	50.0%	10.0%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	30.0%		0.0%	15.0%	
All HHs	26.1%	25.9%	44.4%	13.3%	30.0%
Cases:	9	11	9	3	32
Average Proportion HH Income Spent in Village (%):					
Inupiat HHs	51.4%	52.7%	49.4%	5.0%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	70.0%		10.5%	10.5%	
All HHs	57.0%	52.7%	41.6%	8.7%	46.8%
Cases:	10	11	10	3	34

Note: Total cases (households). 46.

Source: NSB Department of Rennin-g and Community Services
Census of Population and Economy

It appears from these tables that the largest and wealthiest households participate most often in subsistence activities. These households also appear to share their resources more than others. Interestingly, Point Lay is unique in that **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** parallel each other in these respects.

When a hunter successfully takes a game animal, he usually redistributes at least part of it. The Elders receive most of the redistribution. When a special kill is made (for example, when the hunters of a single household took two polar bear) they made sure that all **Inupiat** households received a share although the Elders were taken their shares first.

Similarly, the Point Lay **beluga** harvest is less about individual prestige and more about communal redistribution than is the hunt for the bowhead in other villages. Individual boat *crews* may be kinship based, but given the small number of people needed in each boat and the degree of relationship among most Point Lay people, this is an untestable hypothesis. The skills needed by crew members (accurate marksmanship, ability to handle a boat) are rather more general than the skills needed for bowhead whale hunting. An individual is recognized as being skilled or not, but gains little additional prestige this way. No **beluga** is "claimed" by the particular person who happened to shoot it -- all **beluga** that are harvested as part of the communal hunt are communally processed and divided up into the available storage areas. Anyone who participated in the hunt can then take **beluga** out of storage to use as they need to. It is also served at community feasts. The only status that a hunter achieves from participation is public awareness of his ability to organize the hunt, or know how to drive **beluga** with a boat, or ability to shoot. Occasionally someone may remark that "X shot so many **beluga**," but even this is the exception and can easily be taken as boasting in the village. There is also very widespread ownership of the aluminum boats and motors needed for **beluga** hunting in Point Lay, because of the wage income opportunities available.

3. Ideology of Kinship and Sharing

For general hunting, redistribution of resources is important, especially for those animals not commonly taken. For more commonly caught resources, such as caribou, households tend to be more independent of each other.

The Point Lay **beluga** hunt is held around early July every year when the **beluga** first start to swim past Point Lay. It is necessarily a communal hunt, as the **beluga** must be herded into shallow water (or beached) and then shot. They sink but can be easily retrieved if herded into the right area. Informants say as many of the community's boats are used as possible, since this makes herding the **beluga** easier. Boat ownership is widespread in Point Lay (with at least fifteen boat and motor owners, including two **non-Inupiat**). The hunt is conceived of as a community hunt. Those who participate are given first choice of shares, but the harvest is distributed to the entire village. In return, people are expected to contribute the equipment, time, and effort that they can.

Most boats are used by their owners with the help of one or two family members. With boat ownership so widespread, there are few men who do not have either a boat of their own or one

in which they are expected to go. Usually, the only complicating factor is whether enough boat owners are in the village at the time the **beluga** start running or **not**.

D. Attitudes Toward Development

Point Lay residents have the luxury of not being required to make difficult choices with respect to development. This is due to the fact that there is more than enough employment in the community for those who want to work. This profoundly influences residents' analyses of the risks versus benefits of development. In the case of offshore oil development, for example, individuals in Point Lay see very serious risks, with virtually no potential benefits to the community. This is significantly different **from** sentiment in Point Hope where the attitude toward development appears to be much more ambivalent. In the case of Point Hope, jobs are very much desired **while** at the same time the risks of development are respected as **well**.

Similarly, the ASRC coal mine southwest of Point Lay is perceived of in the village as **an** ill-fated project. Few Point Lay men want to work there, and few have to because of the **large** number of other wage opportunities available to them. The coal project was organized so that **50%** of the labor force would come from Point Lay. This has been modified because of the lack of Point Lay response and the labor force is now predominately from Point Hope, Barrow, and the other North Slope villages. These individuals (and communities) view the **coal** mine differently from Point Lay, apparently because of the relative **scarcity** of wage jobs in these other communities. It should also be remarked that Point Lay is the only site on the North Slope which consistently harvests **beluga**, and it is this resource that they are concerned will be affected the most if a commercial coal mine is put into operation.

E. Secularization

Point Lay is significantly different from the community of Point Hope, for example, when considering the process of secularization. Contemporary Point Lay does not have a history of **missionization** similar to Point Hope, and does not have a church attended by other than marginal individuals **in** the social structure of the village. Consequently, it is difficult to assess how religion in the village is changing.

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WAINWRIGHT

WAINWRIGHT, ALASKA

1.0
0
2.0



Scale 1" = 500'



NSB PLANNING DEPARTMENT
Comprehensive Planning System
Barrow Division
December 1988

LEGEND.

NSB REAL PROPERTY

1. Tank Farm--Shop #1
2. Tank Farm--Shop #2
3. Elementary & High Sch. Complex
 - a. Utility Bldg.
 - b. Elementary & H.S. Pool Addition
 - c. Academic and Gymnasium Complex
 - d. Voc Ed/Shop & Village Generator Plant
4. Four-Plex #1
5. Four-Plex #2
6. Public Safety Office
7. Fire Station
8. Water/Sewer Treatment Facility
 - a. Laundry & Water Treatment Fac.
 - b. Generator Bldg.
 - c. Shop/Garage Bldg.
9. Health Clinic
10. Old B.I.A. School Complex
 - a. Classrooms
 - b. Maintenance Shed
 - c. Teacher Housing #1
 - d. Emergency Generator Plant
 - e. Storage Bldg.
 - f. Storage Bldg.
 - g. Storage Bldg.
 - h. classrooms
 - i. Studio Apt.
 - j. Storage Bldg.
 - k. Storage Bldg.
11. Vehicle Maint. & Warm Storage Fac.
12. Old Clinic
13. Teacher Housing
14. Central Dial Office
15. CATV Headend Bldg.

WAINWRIGHT

SECTION I [POPULATION	1
A. Size and Composition	1
Demographic Characteristics..	1
Influences on Population Size and Structure	9
B. Household Size and Composition	9
Characteristics of Households	9
Recent Trends in Household Size and Composition	10
Influences on Household Size and Composition	14
c. Educational Status	19
D. Marriage Patterns	22
Characteristics of Marriage	22
Changes in Marriage Patterns	22
E. Migration Patterns	24
Characteristics of Migration	24
Influences on Migration	26
Community History	26
SECTION II: ECONOMY	28
A. Historical Overview	28
B. The Public Sector	29
Organization	29
Employment	29
Revenues	41
C. The Private Sector	41
Organization	41
Revenues	42
D. Economic Issues and Concerns.	43
Emergence of a Regional Economy	43
Effects of Wage Economy on Other Institutions	43
Role of Subsistence in the Market Economy	43
Patterns of Economic Change in Borough and Other North Slope Communities	46
Trends in Employment	46

WAINWRIGHT

SECTION HI: FORMAL INSTITUTIONS	49
A. Introduction	49
B. Government	49
Organization and Scope of Operation	49
Overlaps in Authority and Conflicts Among Institutions	51
C. Native Corporation	52
D. Social Services	53
E. Health	54
F. Religion	54
History of Churches	54
Contemporary Churches	55
G. Infrastructure	55
Utilities	55
Transportation	57
Recreational Facilities	57
Issues	58
H. Fire Protection	58
History of Fire Protection Services	58
Organization of Activities	59
I. Search and Rescue	59
History Regional Development.	59
Organization and Operations	60
Issues	60
J. Public Safety	60
History	60
Organization and Operations	61
Issues	62
K. Schools	62
History	62
Organization and Operations	63
Issues	63

WAINWRIGHT

SECTION IV: CULTURAL ISSUES AND INFORMAL INSTITUTIONS	64
A. Patterns of Change in Informal Institutions	64
B. Subsistence	64
Organization of Subsistence Activities	64
Inupiat Subsistence Ideology	69
Issues	70
c. Traditional Sharing and Kinship Behaviors	71
Kinship Organization	71
Formal and Informal Sharing	72
Ideology of Kinship and Sharing	73
D. Attitudes Toward Development .-. . . .	74
E. Attitudes About Local Control of Schools	75
F. Secularization	75
Public Celebrations	75
Role of the Church in Everyday Life.....	75

List of Tables - **Wainwright**

Table I-AIN	2
Population 1920-1988	
Table Z-AIN	3
Population Composition-April 1980	
Table 3-AIN	4
Age, Sex, and Race Composition of Population- 1988	
Table 4-AIN	6
Ethnic Composition of Population -1988	
Table S-AIF '	11
Age of Head of Household for Alaska Natives, Non-Natives, and All Groups -April 1980	
Table (i-m.	12
Household Size- 1988	
Table 7-MN.	13
Household Characteristics -1988 By Levels of Household Income	
Table 8-MN.	14
Household Density Statistics	
Table 9-MN.	15
Household Characteristics -1988 By Categories of Household Size	
Table 10-AIN	18
Household Income and Spending -1988	
Table 11-AIN	20
Highest Level of Education Attained by Age Group Inupiat Residents-1988	
Table 11-AIN (continued)	21
Highest Level of Education Attained by Age Group Non-Inupiat Residents- 1988	
Table 12-AIN	23
Marital Status by Ethnicity -1988	

List of Tables - **Wainwright**

Table 13-AIN	31
Industry Composition of Employment by Sex and Ethnicity - 1988	
Table 14-MN	32
Occupation Composition of Employment by Sex and Ethnicity - 1988	
Table 15-AIN	33
Average Annual Full-Time Employment- 1977	
Table 16-AIN	34
Average Annual Full-Time Employment by Employer - 1977	
Table 17-AIN	35
Composition of Employment by Race and Sex- April 1980	
Table 18-AIN	36
Composition of Employment by Age, Race, and Sex- April 1980	
Table 19-AIN	37
Major Employers by Sector-April 1980	
Table 20-AIN	38
Selected Labor Force Data- 1980	
Table 21-AIN	39
Composition of Employment by Age, Race, and Sex - April 1980	
Table 22-AIN	40
Average Annual Full-Time Employment by Employer - 1982	
Table 23-AIN	67
Household Characteristics -1988	
Be Levels of Subsistence Participation	

List of Figures - **Wainwright**

Figure I-AIN 5
Inupiat and Total Population in 1988

Figure Z-AIN 7
Population Characteristics -1988

Figure **3-AIN** 8
Ethnic Composition **Wainwright** Population -1988

Figure 4-AIN 16
Average Household Income Distribution -April 1980

Figure 5-AIN 17
Average Household Income Distribution
Native and Non-Native Households by Household Size-April 1980

Figure **6-AIN**47
Population, Labor Force, and Employment -1980, 1988, and 1994 (Projected)

WAINWRIGHT

SECTION I: POPULATION

A. Size and Composition

1. Demographic Characteristics

The present-day community of **Wainwright** was named after Lieutenant John Wainwright, the navigator of the **HMS Blossom** under the command of Captain **Beechey**, who was searching for the Northwest Passage in 1826. **Wainwright** became a permanent settlement in approximately 1904, at which time a school and reindeer herding station was founded on a site about 1.6 kilometers from **Aaqhaaliuraq**, a native settlement close to the mouth of the Kuk River. Some sources give the population of this settlement site as about 72 residents in 1890 (Smythe and Worl 1985:18). Quoting Spencer (1959) and Ray (1885), **Ivie** and Schneider note that the population of **Aaqhaaliuraq** was about 80 persons in 1882 (1978:15). From the time of the initial settlement to the present day **Wainwright** has experienced some distinct periods of demographic change.

From the earliest period when census data are available until 1929, when the population is reported to be 197, this community had a period of steady growth- Between 1929 and 1939 the population increased to 314 (Kevin Waring Associates 198&198). Between 1939 and 1950 there was a population decrease from 341 to 227 residents, which is attributed mainly to out-migration related to employment opportunities associated **with** development of the Naval Petroleum Reserve Number 4 (primarily between 1944 and 1953). The 1960s saw a new period of population growth with an increase from 253 residents in 1960 to 315 residents in 1970 (+24.5%). Increased employment opportunities during the 1970s resulted in continued growth in **Wainwright's** population with another **28.6%** increase by the 1980 census. Since 1980, the population has increased less dramatically, with the most recent NSB census indicating 502 residents. Table 1-AIN below lists census figures for **Wainwright** from 1920 to the latest NSB census.

The only year for which age structure information is available for **Wainwright** is 1980 (Table 2-AIN). Information from the 1989 North Slope Borough (NSB) census for **Wainwright** regarding the age composition of the 502 community residents is displayed in Table 3-AIN and these data are graphed in Figure 1-AIN. Table 4-AIN and Figures 2-AIN and 3-AIN display data regarding the ethnic and age composition of **Wainwright**. As indicated by these tables and figures, the majority of residents (91.8%) are Native Alaskan and the next largest ethnic grouping is "White" (7.85% of total population). The 1980 census indicates that 91.9% of the population were Native Alaskan (Alaska Consultants et al. 198420). This predominance of Native Alaskans in the **Wainwright** population is an enduring feature of the demographics of this community (cf. Smythe and Worl 1985).

Table 1-AIN

Wainwright Population, 1920-1988

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>
1920	99
1929	197
1939	341
1950	227
1960	253
1970	315
1980	405
1981	410
1982	436
1983	483
1984	507
1985	508
1988*	502

Source: (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:19; Kevin Waring Associates 1988:198-99).

* NSB 1989, the 1988 Census of Population and Economy (preliminary).

One of the most significant aspects of the demographic trends in Wainwright is the relative consistency through time. Previous population studies of Wainwright (Milan 1964; Alaska Consultants et al. 1984; Kevin Waring Associates 1988; Luton 1986) have each noted a pattern of higher numbers of males than females among the native population; a relatively young median age of the population (Kevin Waring Associates 1988) and a relatively high percentage of young children (Kevin Waring Associates 1988:207). These characteristics are also reflected in the most recent NSB census. About 55.4% of total the population is male and 44.6% is female. Native Alaskan males account for 48.8% (n=245) of the total population compared with 6.6% (n=33) for non-Native Alaskan males; and, Native Alaskan females are 43.190 (n=216) of the total population and non-Native Alaskan females are about 1.5% (n =8). The average age of all residents is about 26. The average age of native females is 23.7 and Native males 28.1. About 44% of the total Inupiat population is under 18 years of age and about 54% are under the age of 26. Kevin Waring Associates report that children under the age of 5 accounted for about 14.4% of the population (1988:207), while the most recent NSB census reports that about 10.1% of the population is under four years of age (Table 3-AIN). In the most recent census the largest single age grouping is in the 26-39 range, with 101 (22.5%) of the total 449 Inupiat residents (25% of all residents). There are 105 (23.490) Inupiat that are forty years and older.

Table 2-AIN

Population Composition *
Wainwright, April 1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Under 5 years	28	23	51	2	1	3	30	24	54
5 - 9	14	14	28	4	1	5	18	15	33
10-14	16	14	30	1	2	3	17	16	33
15-19	23	22	45	0	0	0	23	22	45
20-24	23	27	50	1	0	1	24	27	51
25 -29	14	14	28	1	1	2	15	15	30
30-34	14	6	20	4	7	11	18	13	31
35-39	7	5	12	3	1	4	10	6	16
40-44	10	7	17	1	1	2	11	8	19
45-49	13	6	19	2	0	2	15	6	21
50-54	7	6	13	0	0	0	7	6	13
55-59	5	1	6	0	0	0	5	1	6
60-64	3	3	6	0	0	0	3	3	6
65-69	2	2	4	0	0	0	2	2	4
-10-74	3	1	4	0	0	0	3	1	4
75 and over	5	3	8	0	0	0	5	3	8
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>187</u>	<u>154</u>	<u>341</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>206</u>	<u>168</u>	<u>374</u>
<u>Median Age</u>	229	207	<u>21.7</u>	31.5	<u>32.0</u>	<u>31.8</u>	<u>23.3</u>	<u>21.2</u>	<u>22.2</u>

“ **Figures** exclude a total of 21 persons (10 Alaska Native **males**, 7 Alaska Native females and 4 non-Native males) for whom no age information was provided. **Thus**, a total of 395 **persons** in **Wainwright** was **surveyed** by **Alaska Consultants, Inc.**

Source: Alaska Consultants 1981, Table 9, page 9.

Table 3-MN

Age, Sex, and Race Composition of Population - 1988
Wainwright

	INUPIAT			NON-INUPIAT			TOTAL			% TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	
UNDER 4	23	24	47	3	1	4	26	25	51	10.4%
4 - 8	31	42	73	1	3	4	32	45	77	15.7%
9-15	28	28	56	3	0	3	31	28	59	12.0%
16 - 17	6	4	10	0	0	0	6	4	10	2.0%
18-25	34	23	57	1	0	1	35	23	58	11.8%
26-39	50	51	101	21	3	24	71	54	125	25.4%
40-59	45	26	71	5	2	7	50	28	78	15.9%
60-65	7	6	13				7	6	13	2.6%
66 +	13	8	21				13	8	21	4.3%
TOTAL	237	212	449	34	9	43	271	221	492	100.0%
%	48.2%	43.1%	91.3%	6.9%	1.8%	6.7%	55.1%	44.9%	100.0%	
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS									10	
TOTAL POPULATION									502	

AVERAGE AGE
(years)

ENTIRE POPULATION	26.1
MALE	28.1
FEMALE	23.7
INUPIAT	26
NON-INUPIAT	26.8

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Figure 1-AIN

**Inupiat and Total Population in 1988
Wainwright**

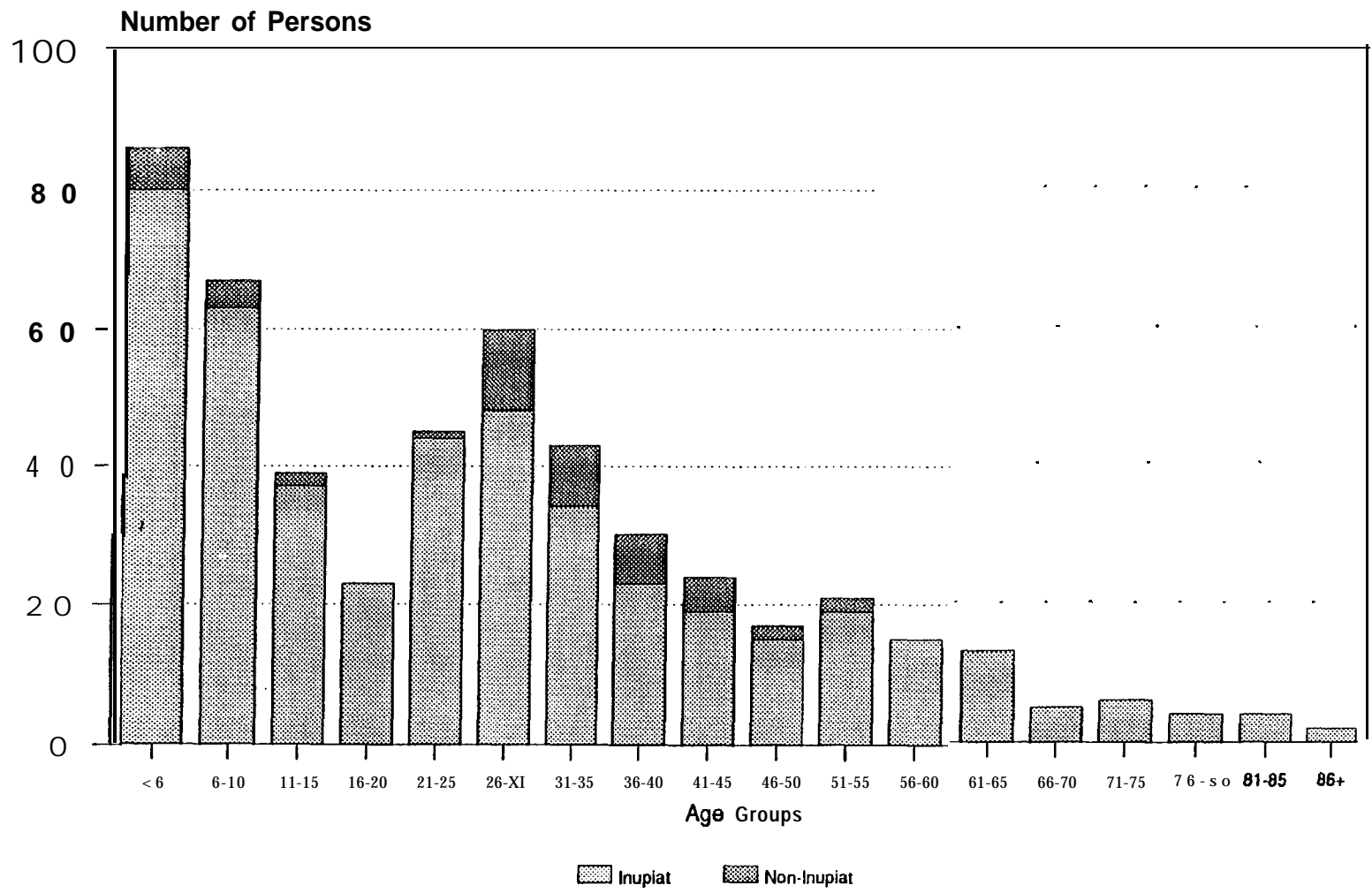


Table 4.AIN

Ethnic Composition of Population -1988
Wainwright

ETHNIC CATEGORY	TOTAL POPULATION			% OF TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	
INUPIAT	244	215	459	91.4%
OTHER AK NATIVE	1	1	2	0.4%
WHITE	32	7	39	7.8%
FILIPINO	1	0	1	0.2%
NOT ASCERTAINED	0	1	1	0.2%
TOTAL	278	224	502	100.0%
%	55.4%	44.6%	100.0%	
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS			0	
TOTAL POPULATION			502	

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Figure 2-AIN
Population Characteristics - 1988
Wainwright

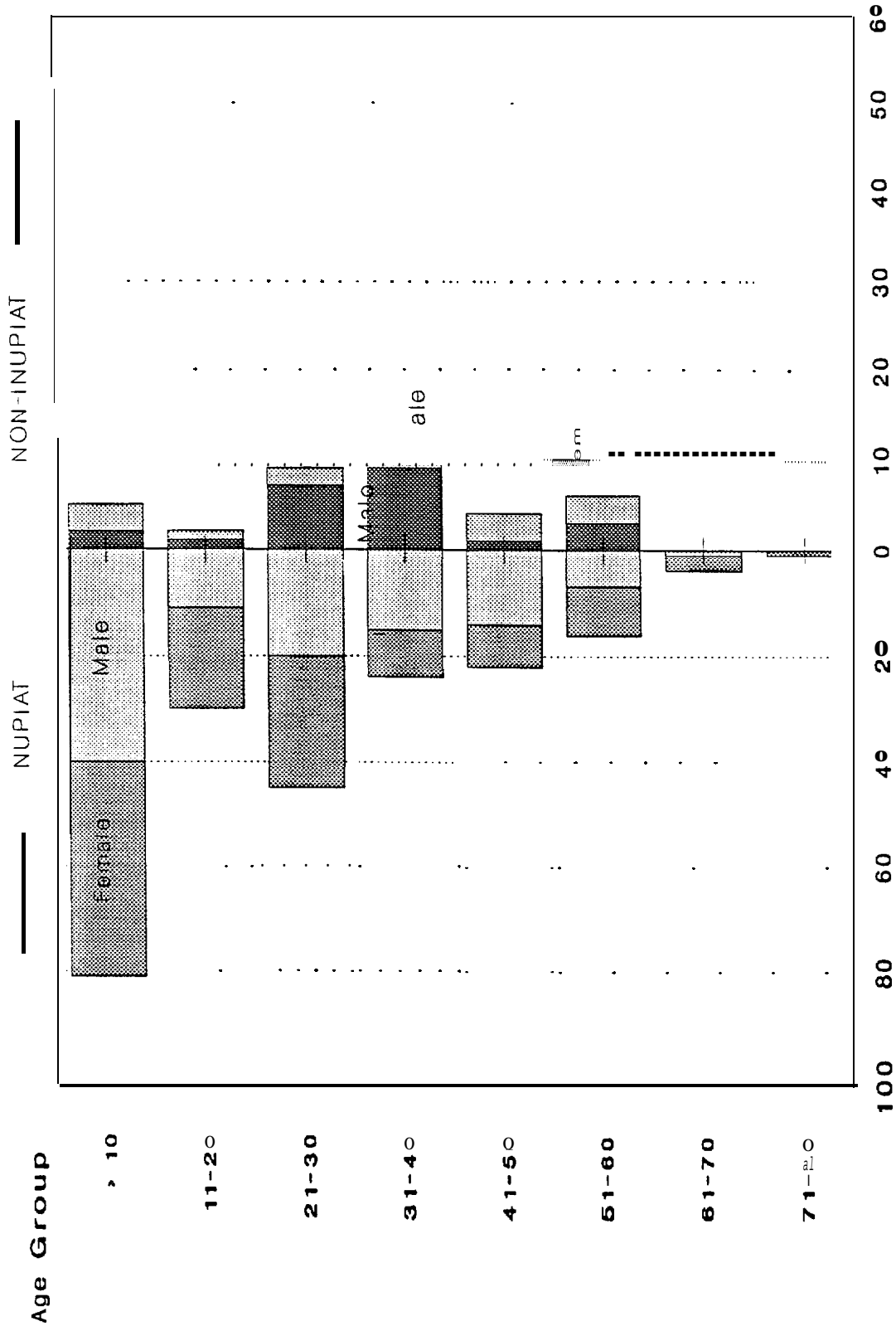
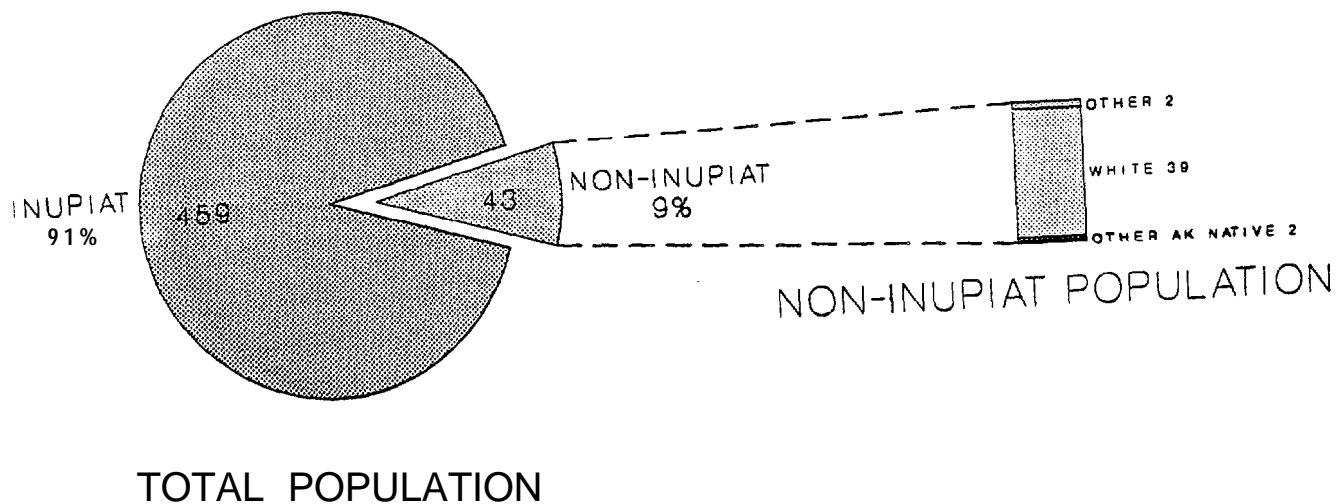


Figure 3-AIN

Ethnic Composition **Wainwright** Population
1988



NSB CENSUS OF POPULATION AND ECONOMY

2. Influences on Population Size and Structure

The increases and decreases in **Wainwright's** population can be related to **specific and interacting** economic, political, and **sociocultural** factors. Economically, the initial growth of the community is related to establishing a permanent settlement, fur trading, and the growth of reindeer herding (**Ivie and Schneider 1978:11 ff.**). High prices for furs induced some change in traditional seasonal movement patterns and toward more stable settlement (**Ivie and Schneider 1978:13**). Then, because of uncertain food supplies, reindeer herding was introduced by the Bureau of Education, further consolidating a more permanent settlement pattern and concomitant increases in population. Then, with exploration for oil reserves north of the Brooks Range a number of **Wainwright** residents migrated to Point Barrow to work in the development of these oil resources, thus accounting for the population decrease during this period. Relatively little growth occurred during the 1950s and 1960s, but with the arrival of the 1970s and the incorporation of the borough in 1972, increased employment opportunities became available which decreased the incentive to leave **Wainwright**. With the advent of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (**ANCSA**) and the borough, cash resources and employment opportunities have increased, resulting in further decreases in **out-migration** and increased population growth.

The formation of the NSB and the passage of the **ANCSA** were and are political events influencing the population of **Wainwright** in similar ways that other North Slope communities are affected. The net result of these political developments was to increase spending from Capital Improvement Programs, resulting in more jobs for local residents, improved living conditions, and more incentives for younger **Inupiat** to stay in the village, marry and have children. These capital improvement programs have also resulted in some in-migration, yet this has not significantly affected **Wainwright's** population. By far the most important effect of these political developments was to inhibit **out-migration** and other dispersment of **Wainwright** residents and to provide an incentive to remain in the community.

The importance of the family in Eskimo society in general is noted by many scholars (e.g. Spencer 1959). The group is depended upon for important instrumental support in this harsh climate as well as affective support in the usual round of life. These cultural values also promote maintenance of the family and its integration with the community. **The** effects of this value on **Wainwrights** population can be inferred from data regarding the stability of **Wainwright** households. In reporting on the 1980 census, Kevin Waring Associates (**1988:209**) note that 87% of the Native heads of households have lived in the community since 1960.

B. Household Size and Composition

1. Characteristics of Households

Table **5-AIN** provides an age breakdown for heads of households by size of household for 1980. In 1980 there was a total of 91 households in **Wainwright**, 80 of which were classified as Native. As displayed in Table **6-AIN**, the most recent NSB census indicates that **Wainwright** has a total of 127 households with an average for all households of 4.0 persons, with the average "large" (greater than 7 persons) household being 84 persons, Table **6-AIN** breaks down the structure of **Wainwright** households, indicating that **Inupiat** households averaged 39 persons. As these data

indicate, of the 120 Inupiat households, 56 (46.7%) are three persons or less and there are a total of 48 (40%) households in the 4-6 person range,

Table 7-AIN describes Wainwright household characteristics based on various levels of household income. From this table it is apparent that high average annual household income is positively associated with large household size, consuming meat and fish from the household's own subsistence efforts, consuming meat and fish from other households' subsistence efforts, and giving away meat and fish from the household's own subsistence efforts.

2. Recent Trends in Household Size and Composition

Milan (1964) reports 42 households with an average household size of 5.5 persons (total population of 231). Nelson reports there are "... some three hundred inhabitants in the village, living in about forty-four households" (19694). A 1980 household survey shows 4.2 persons per household with Alaska Native households having an average of 4.4 persons, while average household size in Alaska was 2.93 and the U.S. average for this census was 2.75 (Kevin Waring Associates 1988:208). Luton reports that in 1982 the mean size of Wainwright households was 4.01 persons, with a bimodal distribution in which "many households are headed by relatively young people in their 20s and early 30s" (1985:41) indicating a separation of younger members from the older generation. Smythe and Worl compiled household density statistics for the period of 1944-1984 (1985:24). These data are reproduced below in Table 8-AIN.

There are some noteworthy characteristics of these patterns of Wainwright households. The density of Wainwright households shows fluctuation between 1944 and 1977, and thereafter there is an increase in the total numbers of households and a decrease in the average density per household. Smythe and Worl, quoting Burch, state that since the turn of the century there has been a trend toward smaller Inupiat households, with factors of epidemics and out-migration mediating this trend in Wainwright (1985:25). With the advent of the ANCSA and the NSB, more housing units have been built and the trend in household composition since 1977 reflects a movement of younger persons assuming residence in separate households. However, as Smythe and Worl (1985), Luton (1985), and Kevin Waring Associates (1988) note, there is considerable variability in Wainwright households, "suggesting that the Inupiat family structure is flexible and resilient" (p.25).

Table 5-AIN

Age of Head of Household for
Alaska Natives* **, Non-Natives***, and All Groups
Wainwright, April 1980

Household size	14-24			<u>25-34</u>			<u>35-44</u>			<u>45-64</u>			65+			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Non-Native	Native	Total	Non-Native	Native	Total	Non-Native	Native	Total	Non-Native	Native	Total	Non-Native	Native	Total	Non-Native	Native	Total
1 person	2	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	5	0	5	3	0	3	11	0	11
2 persons	2	0	2	3	1	4	2	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	1	8	2	10
3 persons	2	0	2	2	3	5	2	1	3	2	2	4	4	0	4	12	6	18
4 persons	0	0	0	6	0	6	4	1	5	1	0	1	4	0	4	15	1	16
5 persons	0	0	0	4	1	5	2	0	2	6	0	6	1	0	1	13	1	14
6 persons	0	0	0	2	0	2	1	1	2	5	0	5	0	0	0	8	1	9
7 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	3	0	3	0	0	0	5	0	5
8 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	3	0	3
9 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	2
10 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
11 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
12 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14 persons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
TOTAL	6	0	6	18	5	23	14	4	18	29	2	31	13	0	13	80	11	91

- For purposes of the housing survey, the adult Alaska Native in combination Alaska Native/non-Native households was always designated head of household.
- Figures exclude 2 heads of household (both Alaska Natives) for whom no age information was obtained.
- Includes one unit used as group quarters.

Source: Alaska Consultants 1981, Tables 115 and 116, pp. 116-17.

Table 6-AIN

Household Size -1988
Wainwright

NUMBER OF PERSONS	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS			% TOTAL
	INUPIAT	NON- INUPIAT	TOTAL	
1	19	2	21	16.4%
2	20	2	22	17.2%
3	17	1	18	14.1%
4	22		22	17.2%
5	20		20	15.6%
6	6		6	4.7%
7	6	1	7	5.5%
8	6		6	4.7%
9	1	1	2	1.6%
10	1	1	2	1.6%
11	1		1	0.8%
12	1		1	0.8%
TOTAL OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLD	120	8	128	100.0%
AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD SIZE	3.9	4.3	3.9	

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Table 7-AIN

Wainwright Household Characteristics - 1988
By Levels of Household Income

	HOUSEHOLD INCOME CATEGORIES				
	BELOW \$20K	\$20-40K	\$40-60K	ABOVE \$60K	ALL HHs
Average HH Income(\$):					
Inupiat HHs:	\$11,923	\$29,295	\$47,283	\$70,714	
Non-Inupiat HHs:		\$30,633		\$70,000	
All HHs:	\$11,929	\$29,405	\$47,283	\$70,556	\$30,963
Cases:	35	42	23	9	109
Average HH Size (# Persons per HH):					
Inupiat HHs	3.1	3.6	4.9	4.3	
Non-Inupiat HHs		4.7		1.5	
All HHs	3.1	3.7	4.9	3.7	3.7
Cases:	35	42	23	9	109
Average Meat & Fish Csmptn from Own HH Subsistence (%):					
Inupiat HHs	40.6%	40.5%	34.9%	47.2%	
Non-Inupiat HHs:		10.0%		2.5%	
All HHs:	40.6%	38.3%	34.9%	60.0%	39.1%
Cases:	35	41	22	9	107
Average Meat & Fish Csmptn from Other HH Subsistence (%):					
Inupiat HHs	13.1%	8.4%	17.7%	25.7%	
Non-Inupiat HHs:		3.7%		0.0%	
All HHs:	13.1%	8.4%	17.7%	20.0%	12.9%
Cases:	35	40	22	9	106
Average Meat & Fish Harvested and Given Away (%):					
Inupiat HHs	21.4%	16.1%	16.4%	-x.7%	
Non-Inupiat HHs:		2.0%		0.0%	
All HHs:	21.4%	15.0%	15.4%	27.6%	18.5%
Cases:	35	40	22	9	106
Average Proportion HH Income Spent In Wage(%):					
Inupiat HHs	70.7%	68.3%	73.2%	69.3%	
Non-Inupiat HHs		30.0%		7.5%	
All HHs	70.7%	65.5%	73.2%	55.6%	67.9%
Cases:	35	41	22	9	107

Note: Total cases (households) = 127.

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
 census of Population and Economy

Table 8-AIN

Wainwright Household Density Statistics

<u>Year</u>	<u>Household Density</u>
1944	5.73
1949	5.27
1950	4.20
1954	5.16
1955	5.49
1965	6.45
1968	5.92
1970	6.44
1977	5.07
1980	4.52
1982	4.26
1983	4.06
1984	4.01
1988*	4.0

Source: (after Smythe and Worl 1985:24).

*Extracted from NSB 1989, the 1988 NSB Census of Population and Economy.

3. Influences on Household Size and Composition

A notable feature of **Wainwright** households is that as population continues to grow so does the number of households. While this fact may seem obvious, it is not necessarily a pattern experienced by all small-scale social groups. However, among the Inupiat, the composition of **Inupiat** households does seem flexible and adaptable. This fact, in conjunction with the recent increased availability of capital and housing opportunities resulting from the ANCSA and NSB development, means that more houses exist and these are being occupied in various configurations by the **Inupiat**.

Figures 4-AIN and 5-AIN illustrate graphically the average household income distribution by household size and by number of households for 1980. One can see from Figure 4-AIN that, in the household size categories where there are non-Native households, the non-Native households earned significantly less than the Native households. The same disproportion of annual incomes is apparent today, as seen in Table 9-AIN.

Household income is generally sufficient to maintain household needs. Tables 7-AIN and 9-AIN show that the average household income in Wainwright is \$30,963 and the average Native household income is \$32,667. Table 10-AIN displays information about household income and spending, suggesting that generally, most households have available cash to meet basic needs which are also supplemented with subsistence resources. Thus, with the advent of the ANCSA and the NSB, local employment opportunities, transfer payments, increased availability of housing units, and values regarding the family and group have inhibited out-migration. The result is an increase in the total number of **Wainwright** households.

Table 9-MN

Wainwright Household Characteristics - 1988
By Categories of Household Size

	HOUSEHOLD SIZE			
	W	MEDIUM	LARGE	ALL HHs
Average HH Income (\$):				
Inupiat HHs:	\$ 24,133	\$34,773	\$39,091	
Non-Inupiat HHs:	\$50,000		\$32,300	
All HHs	\$26,065	\$34,773	\$38,542	\$30,963
Cases:	53	44	12	109
Average HH Size (# Persons per HH):				
Inupiat HHs	2.0	4.7	8.4	
Non-Inupiat HHs	2.0		8.7	
All HHs	2.0	4.7	8.4	4.0
Cases:	60	48	19	127
Average Meat & Fish Consumption from Own HH Subsistence (%):				
Inupiat HHs	33.2%	44.9%	63.1%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	6.3%		10.0%	
All HHs	31.2%	44.9%	66.7%	41.1%
Cases:	54	46	16	116
Average Meat & Fish Consumption from Other HH Subsistence (%):				
Inupiat HHs	11.6%	13.5%	14.5%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	1.5%		5.0%	
All HHs	10.8%	13.5%	15.1%	12.4%
Cases:	53	46	17	116
Average Meat & Fish Harvested and Given Away (%):				
Inupiat HHs	15.6%	20.1%	32.2%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	0.3%		5.0%	
All HHs	4.8%	20.1%	30.1%	19.8%
Cases:	54	45	17	116
Average Proportion HH Income Spent in Wage(%):				
Inupiat HHs	66.6%	71.5%	72.4%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	23.8%		10.0%	
All HHs	63.4%	71.5%	76.3%	67.9%
Cases:	54	47	17	118

Notes Household size categories measured as follows:

SMALL: Under 4 persons per household

MEDIUM: 4-6 persons per household

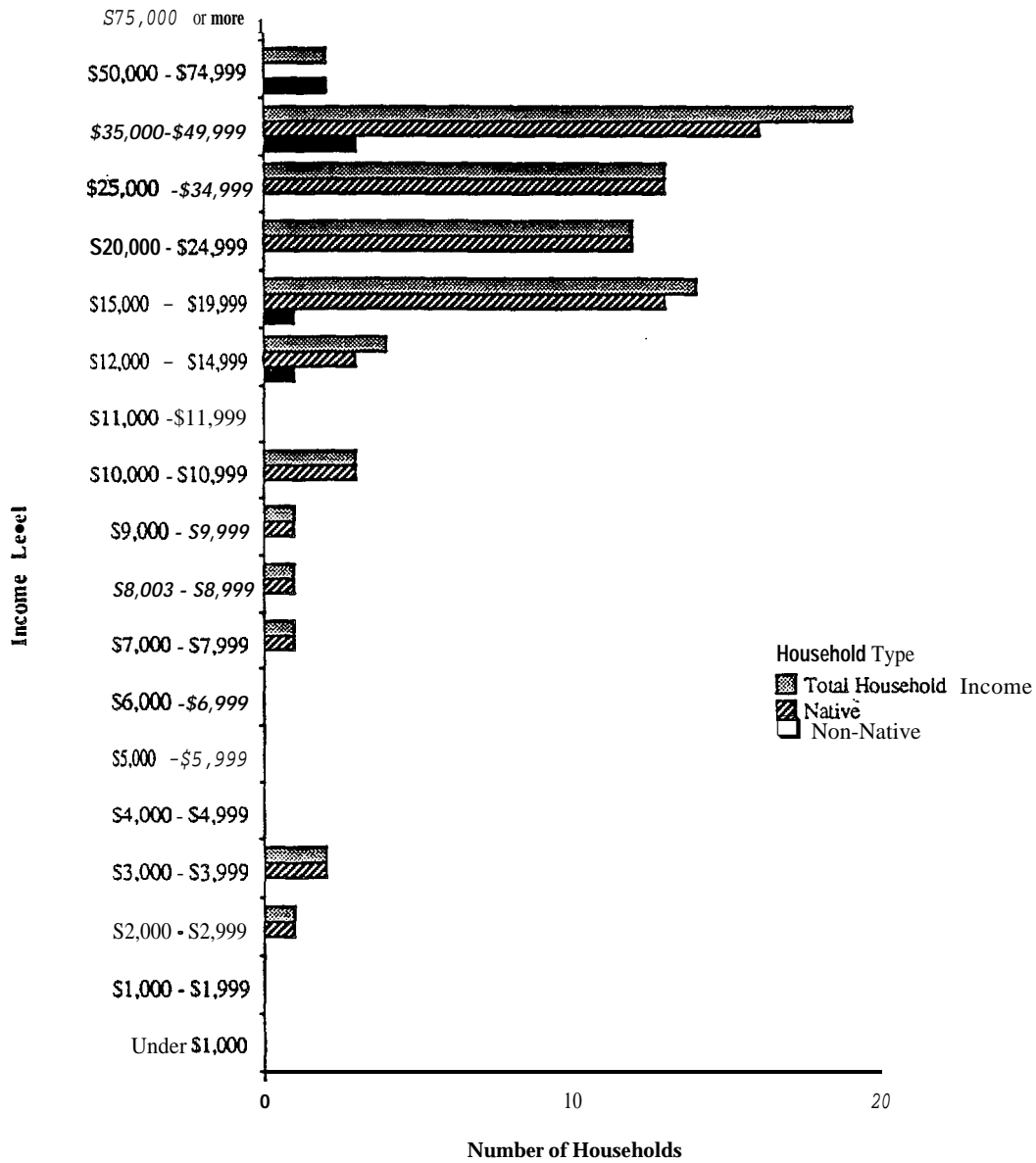
STRONG: 7 or more persons per household.

Total cases (households) = 127.

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
Census of Population and Economy

Figure 4-AIN

**Average Household Income Distribution*
Wainwright, April 1980**



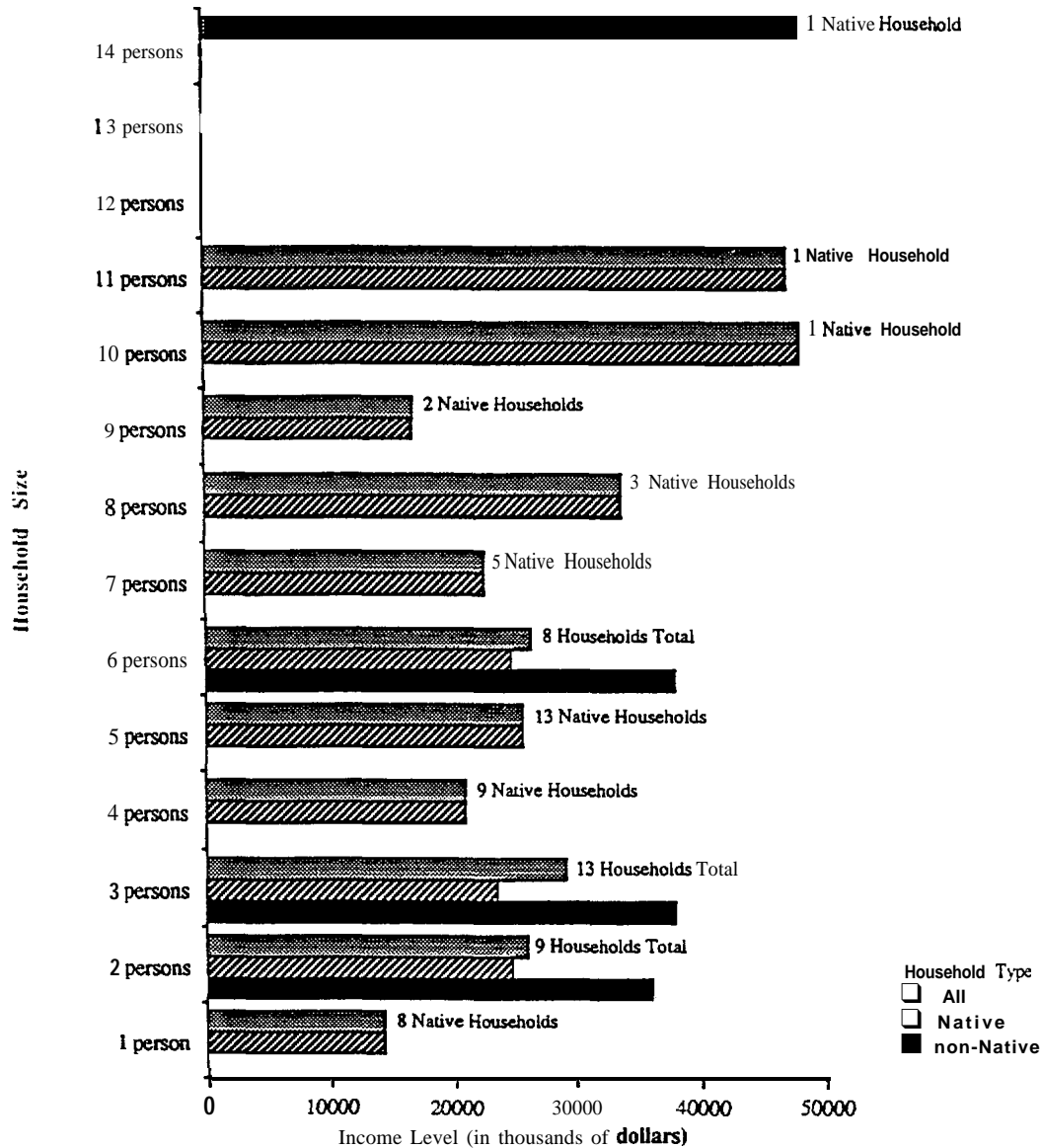
• Figures exclude 20 households (16 Alaska Native and 4 non-Native) for whom no income information was obtained.

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc. North Slope Borough Housing Survey.

Prepared for the North Slope Borough Public Works Department, Anchorage, April 1980.

Figure 5-AIN

Average Household Income Distribution* **
Native and non-Native Households by Household Size**
Wainwright, April 1980



Total Number of Households: 73
 Mean Household Income:
 All: \$25,323
 Native: \$24,013
 Non-Native: \$37,638

- 11-chick one unit used as group quarters.
- Figures exclude 20 households (16 Native and 4 non-Native) for whom no income information was obtained.
- ** For purposes of the housing survey, the adult Alaska Native in combination Alaska Native/non-Native households was always designated head of household.

Note: Due to Wainwright's large sample size, the number of Native and non-Native households could not be disaggregate from its original source in all cases.

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey.

Prepared for the North Slope Borough Public Works Department, Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 10-AIN

Household Income and Spending -1988
Wainwright

HOUSEHOLD INCOME CATEGORY	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS			
	<u>INUPIAT</u>	NON- <u>INUPIAT</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	% <u>TOTAL</u>
UNDER \$20,000	35	1	36	32.7%
\$20,000 - \$40,000	39	3	42	38.2%
\$40,000 - \$60,000	23		23	20.9%
\$60,000 & ABOVE	7	2	9	8.2%
TOTAL	104	6	110	100.0%
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS			18	
TOTAL OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS			128	

FOR ALL VILLAGE HOUSEHOLDS

	<u>MEDIAN</u>	<u>AVERAGE</u>
HOUSEHOLD INCOME	\$27,500	\$30,795
PROPORTION OF TOTAL HH INCOME SPENT IN VILLAGE (1)	70.0%	68.0%
MONTHLY HOUSING PAYMENT (2)	\$100	\$159
MONTHLY HEATING COSTS	\$280	\$262
MONTHLY ELECTRICITY COSTS	\$50	\$69

Now (1) For food, clothing, and other household goods.
 (2) Includes rent and mortgage.

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

C. Educational Status

Table 11-AIN displays the current educational levels by age groupings. This table shows that residents over forty years are less likely not to have completed high school (or its equivalent) than other age groupings. In the 26-30 age group, 93 individuals have a high school education or more, while 25 individual have not completed high school or its equivalent. Half of the 58 persons in the 18-25 age group have completed high school, 9 are still in school, and 21 have not completed high school. There are a few (12) individuals with a college degree in the total population. We can speculate that the higher educational levels among the under-forty age group coincides with other developmental factors in Wainwright's history. This is the period of time just before and since ANCSA and the formation of the NSB. This period saw the development of new infrastructure, including schools, in Wainwright and the infusion of more cash. Luton (1986) describes the influence of these sociopolitical developments on other characteristics of Wainwright's population (p.12-15) and we can only infer that these developments also resulted in an increase in the overall educational level of the local population. The large proportion of those in the 18-25 age group who have not finished school are potentially of great interest. If the figures are accurate, they indicate that this age group is completing high school at a much lower rate than people aged 26-39. Even after subtracting the twenty-four non-Inupiat in the 26-39 age category from the high school graduates (under the assumption that most would be at least high school graduates), the ratio of graduates to non-graduates is 59/25 (2.36), or 68/25 (2.72) if college education is included. The ratio for the 18-25 age group is 29/21 (1.38). It may be that some in the younger category who are actually still in school answered the census question as not having finished school. It is not possible to know which interpretation of the data is more likely to be correct. It is possible, however, that people in Wainwright are not graduating from high school at the same rate as has been true in the past. The smaller NSB villages (Point Lay, Nuiqsut, Atqasuk) seem to display the same pattern, with the 1988 census indicating that for every three individuals in this age group who report graduating from high school, about two report that they did not. Again, this may be a systematic problem with the census data from the smaller communities. It could also indicate that graduation rates in those smaller communities are lower than in larger communities and for the NSB as a whole, and that the 18-25 age group has a graduation rate lower than the 26-39 age group (see regional discussion).

Table 11-AIN

Highest Level of Education Attained by Age Group
Inupiat Residents, Wainwright -1988

	<u>SOME</u> <u>COLLEGE+</u>	<u>SOME</u> <u>COLLEGE</u>	<u>VOTECH</u> <u>GRAD</u>	<u>HIGH SCH</u> <u>OR GED</u>	<u>NOT FINISH</u> <u>HIGH SCH</u>	<u>STILL IN</u> <u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>NOT IN</u> <u>SCH YET</u>	<u>NOT</u> <u>ASCERTAIN</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
UNDER 4						10	37		47
4 - 8						72	1		73
9 - 15						56			56
16 - 17				1		9			10
18-25				28	21	8			57
26-39	0	3		72	24			2	101
40 - 59	0	1	1	20	49			1	72
60 - 65				2	11				13
66+					20			1	21
TOTAL	0	4	1	123	125	155	38	4	450
%	0.0%	0.9%	0.2%	27.3%	27.8%	34.4%	8.4%	0.9%	100.0%
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS									9
TOTAL POPULATION (Inupiat)									459

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
 Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Table 11-MN (continued)

Highest Level of Education Attained by Age Group
Non-Inupiat Residents, **Wainwright** -1988

	<u>SOME</u> <u>COLLEGE+</u>	<u>SOME</u> <u>COLLEGE</u>	<u>VOTECH</u> <u>GRAD</u>	<u>HIGH SCH</u> <u>OR GED</u>	<u>NOT FINISH</u> <u>HIGH SCH</u>	<u>STILL IN</u> <u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>NOT IN</u> <u>SCH YET</u>	<u>NOT</u> <u>ASCERTAIN</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
UNDER 4							4		4
4 - 8						4			4
9 - 15						3			3
16 - 17									0
18-25				1					1
26-39	5	1		11	1			6	24
40 - 59	2			3				1	6
60 - 65									0
66 +									0
TOTAL	7	1	0	15	1	7	4	7	42
%	16.7%	2.4%	0.0%	35.7%	2.4%	16.7%	9.5%	16.7%	100.0%
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS									1
TOTAL POPULATION (Non-Inupiat)									43

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
 Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

D. Marriage Patterns

1. Characteristics of Marriage

Table 12-AIN presents data about the marital status and ethnicity among Wainwrighters. As the table shows, 31.15% of residents are currently married and another 6.8% were married at some time. About 61.1% of the population is in the “never married” category, many being dependent children. The reported rates of divorce and separation almost certainly understate the instability of unions. Not all couples formally marry (thus the 31% who are married is also likely to be an understatement) and the breakup of an unmarried couple is usually not tabulated as a separation or divorce. Such events are often underreported in any event. Also, previous investigators of Wainwright’s population generally have not reported on the marital status of residents so that we cannot make any judgments as to whether patterns observed in other NSB villages are likely to be true of Wainwright as well. We would suspect that this would be the case, but have no body of information to substantiate this guess. Lacking any systematic historical information from Wainwright on marriage patterns, any comparison with the past would also be speculative.

2. Changes in Marriage Patterns

Few data exist about the rates or frequencies of interethnic marriages in Wainwright. What we do know is that in the past the non-Native population has been transitory and, generally, interethnic marriage was not common. On the other hand, casual liaisons were not uncommon and the stable relationships that did exist were quite important. Two Wainwright examples of note are Captain **Hartson Bodfish** and James Allen. Many Wainwright residents trace their ancestry to **Bodfish** through a son raised on the North Slope by his mother’s relatives. **Allen** played an important role in Wainwright (and North Slope) life in the first part of the twentieth century as a whaler and a trader. This topic has, in general, received little attention to date. Treatments are general and unspecific. For example, “. . .there have been non-Native women living in the village who are married to local Inupiat, but this number . . . fluctuates” (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:328). And, “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)” (Smythe and Worl 1985:21). It would seem that the overall rate of ethnic intermarriage was relatively low, but that such marriages were quite important when they did occur. Charles Brewer was sometimes referred to as “King of the Arctic” because of his role in Barrow and on the North Slope. James **Allen** was an important resident of Wainwright. Thomas Gordon’s trading post was the magnet for the establishment of the settlement at Kaktovik. Other common names, such as Hopson or **Leavitt**, testify to the results of such unions.’

Table 12-AIN

Marital Status by **Ethnicity**
Wainwright -1988

<u>MARITAL CATEGORY</u>	<u>INUPIAT</u>			<u>NON-INUPIAT</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>% OF</u>
	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>VILLAGE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
NOW MARRIED	68	67	125	15	3	18	153	50.7%
WIDOWED	4	6	10			0	10	3.3%
DIVORCED	9	3	12	5	1	6	18	6.0%
SEPARATED	3	2	5			0	5	1.7%
NEVER MARRIED	69	40	109	7		7	116	38.4%
TOTAL	153	118	271	27	4	31	302	100.0%
%	50.7%	39.1%	89.7%	8.9%.	1.3%.	10.3%	100.0%	
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS							2	
TOTAL POPULATION (age 16+)							304	

Note: Figures include persons age 16 and above.

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
 Census of Population and Economy, 1989

Again, there is scant information in the existing literature regarding age at marriage. Milan reports that some women about sixteen years of age married during his field stay, although he also reports, “The age at which girls marry has probably been raised by their long absence at school” (1964:61). He also notes that generally people who marry are the same age. What we can infer from the out-migration of females noted by several authors (Smythe and Worl 1985; Luton 1986; Kevin Waring Associates 1988) and the existence of bachelors in the 30-50 age range is that at the present time marriage in Wainwright is being delayed, at least for **males**. Because of lack of good information, this may be a pattern that has already changed, because there are young men in Wainwright who have started families. It may be that one generation of men, who went out of the village and perhaps even off-slope to go to school, had a significantly different age at marriage than either their parents or their children. There is suggestive information that points to this view, but again a lack of systematic documentation makes any firm conclusions impossible.

Luton contains an insightful discussion of adoptions, reporting that 34% of households with children had one or more adopted children (1986:50). He also observes that adoption was perhaps more common in preceding generations than at the time of his study. However, Milan reports that at the time of his work in Wainwright seven of forty-one households had a total of eleven adopted children (1964:58). **Inupiat** adoption, because of its informal nature, has been notoriously difficult to quantify. Traditionally, adoption was an informal procedure which Luton suggests was often systematically used to regulate household composition. “For example, if a couple had only boys, they might decide to adopt a baby girl or, if they had only girls, they might adopt a boy” (1986:50). However, there is a shift away from the traditional informal pattern of adoption which maybe the result of an increase of NSB social services. **Luton** suggests “... this shift reflects the fact that these services grant legal status to the claims of biological parents but not to the claims of parents through traditional adoption” (1986:51-52).

E. Migration Patterns

1. Characteristics of Migration

Migration among Wainwrighters is characterized by “traditional” and “contemporary” styles. Like the residents of most other North Slope communities the traditional lifestyle of the community was based in seasonal migrations that were closely tied to the location and availability of natural resources (cf. Nelson 1969). The **Ulurunikamiut** (Milan 1964) / **Kuugmiut** (**Luton** 1986) and the **Utaqqurumiut** (Milan 1964) / **Utuqqaqmiut** (**Luton** 1986) -- the ancestors of the present-day **Wainwrighters** -- occupied, respectively, **costal** and inland ecological zones. Each group migrated according to the availability of preferred and available natural resources, with the **Kuugmiut** pursuing primarily caribou, fish, whales, and other marine mammals and the **Utuqqaqmiut** hunting caribou and also moving to the coast to **fish** and hunt walrus and other marine mammals (**Ivie** and **Schneider** 1978:15-17). Each group pursued both marine mammals and caribou but apparently with a different emphasis (**Ivie** and **Schneider** 1978:12-17). The important point is that these groups (whose decedents became Wainwrighters) practiced what can be termed a “traditional” pattern of seasonal migration based on pursuit of subsistence resources.

However, contact with the first whites and the development of fur trading and other outgrowths of contact resulted in an alteration of this traditional pattern. With the advent of the Wainwright school, reindeer herding, use of locally available coal for heating, and establishment of a store at Icy Cape, the traditional patterns gave way to what can be termed a “contemporary” migration pattern influenced by factors other than the availability of natural resources. The Wainwrighters of the turn of the century, composed of both the Kuugmiut and **Utugqaqmiut**, became more settled. More recently, **snowmachines** and other technological resources allow residents to travel to hunting and fishing areas while remaining at a permanent settlement. However, Luton (1986) suggests that there is a more complex picture of residency in Wainwright that may be characteristic of most North Slope communities in which household composition varies throughout the year. He notes:

“Compared to the average household in most of the country, the membership of North Slope households was extremely fluid. Many **Wainwright** households have guests -- relatives or friends -- who may stay a week, a month, or several **years** or who may visit regularly for a period of time each week, month, or year. The status of these temporary residents imperceptibly blends into adoption or some other form of permanent household memberships. Conversely, many households have members who are absent for long periods of time...”
(p. 9)

Luton goes on to note that there is seasonal residence in summer fishing camps and other seasonal movement among Wainwrighters. Consequently, it is important not to oversimplify the significance of extended visiting, seasonal migrations, and other variables affecting “permanent” settlements in Wainwright. It is perhaps best to view “contemporary” and “traditional” patterns of migration as points on a continuum rather than as qualitatively different types of activities. Nonetheless, the contemporary pattern is still modulated by “traditional” influences that are entailments of the seasonal migrations determined by available natural resources.

Two salient characteristics of migration patterns in Wainwright are (1) the differential mobility of males and females and (2) residential stability. Luton, reporting on statistics about place of birth among males and females suggests that “... the percentage of in-migrated males is almost constant for the oldest three generations while, for women, the percentage of in-migrants steadily declines until it approximates that of the males. This indicates that, at least at Wainwright during the early twentieth century, women were much more mobile than were men” (1986:36). Other authors also report that females continue to be mobile (cf. Kevin Waring Associates 1988:208). On the other hand, Wainwright’s population **appears** to have a residential stability that suggests a more **contemporary** influence on migration patterns. For example, “according to the 1980 North Slope Borough housing survey close to 87% of the community’s Alaska Native heads of household had lived here since before 1960” (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:20).

2. Influences on Migration

Since the turn of the century the influences on migration include money, politics, and health. During periods of out-migration the reasons are related principally to either health issues or money. For example, during the 1950s a tuberculosis epidemic resulted in the U.S. Public Health service relocating residents from the village (Kevin Waring Associates 1988:203). Out-migration prior to the 1950s was related to wage opportunities in other communities. Between 1939 and 1950 there was a 33% decline in **Wainwright's** population, due mostly to out-migration for employment purposes (Alaska Consultants 1983:18). In-migration during the 1970s and 1980s is related to residents from other villages, whites, and returning Wainwrighters seeking employment resulting from **CIP-** or other NSB-sponsored wage job opportunities. Alaska Consultants et al. report, "since 1980, there has obviously been some in-migration into Wainwright as the community's 19.3% growth rate between 1980 and 1983 is well in excess of what could be expected from natural increase" (1984:329).

Economic and other contact influences have structured the "contemporary" patterns of Wainwrighter migration, but it is also affected by traditional values regarding the family and the importance of subsistence resources in this culture. The immediate nuclear family is a source of affective and instrumental support that has a stabilizing influence on residence patterns. Wider kin and friendship ties are interwoven into a web of social relationships that promote the residential stability of the community and the return of those who have left. For example, Alaska Consultants et al. note, "people **interviewed** indicated that they preferred to work in their own village so that they could be close to their families and able to participate more **fully** in subsistence activities" (1984:331). Furthermore, the development of wage employment on the North Slope in general and particularly in Wainwright has not displaced seasonal movements for purposes of pursuing the harvest of **wild** resources. Subsistence resource harvesting activities continue to be central cultural activities that give a broader meaning to Wainwrighter's lives and promote attachment to "place," to the community, that extends beyond the economic value of the subsistence resources. Different resources are sought in different areas at different times of the year, but all require a knowledge of the land that as a whole instills an attitude of respect that is perhaps what **Inupiat** try to communicate to **non-Inupiat** as their sense of community, the idea of "community" as much more than whatever is contained within the boundaries of the incorporated city. An **Inupiat** community has few, if any, definite physical boundaries and certainly is not restricted to its human population. Indeed, these two traditional **values** -- **family** and pursuit of subsistence resources -- are intimately interrelated and they also integrate with the current economic and political factors to structure what we characterize as the contemporary migration pattern in Wainwright.

3. Community History

As noted previously, Wainwright was possibly constituted from two different historical groups of Eskimo, the Kugmiut and **Utuqqaqmiut**, who lived and seasonally migrated throughout the region pursuing caribou, **fish**, walrus, and other marine mammals (**Ivie** and Schneider 1978; Milan 1964). After examining the historical evidence for the constitution of **Wainwright** from these two groups, Luton (1986) is rightfully circumspect about this interpretation. He notes that before Wainwright was constituted as a community, the general environs were inhabited for centuries by various groups, including the **Sideromiut** and the **Sililinaqmiut** (Luton 1986:28-32). To conclude that the

Kuugmiut and Utuqqaqmiut joined to form the only ancestors of present-day Wainwrighters is perhaps unfounded.

The historical factors which have influenced Wainwright's population are more certain. These include commercial whaling, fur trading, reindeer herding, oil development, and the later political developments resulting from ANCSA and the incorporation of the NSB. The early whalers attracted inland and coastal people to the area to trade with the whaling vessels, eventually resulting in development of a thriving fur trade once whaling faltered. Natives began trading furs and meat with traders for goods and eventually for cash. This market remained strong until the mid-1930s, when prices for furs declined sharply. Reindeer herding had been introduced around the turn of the century as an attempt to develop an economic base that would promote a more **sedentary** lifestyle while retaining what were considered traditional orientations and values. The model was clearly an **assimilationist** one. Reindeer herding resulted in increased contacts among local residents, but as with other aspects of North Slope societies, this development was integrated within existing patterns of local culture. For example, quoting Olson (1969), Luton suggests, "...wealth in reindeer reflected earlier patterns of power; reindeer ownership was concentrated among a few wealthy families while meat and jobs were distributed through 'traditional' channels" (Luton 1986:19). The effect of both of these developments was to provide a stable local base which encouraged, within a pre-contact **framework, residence** within the community rather than **out-migration**.

The reindeer industry declined in the 1930s, partly due to market conditions and partly, one suspects, to regulatory and management decisions. Native interest may also have faltered. Native participation in the exploration of the National Petroleum **Reserve** took its place as a source of income for local residents (Luton 1986:27). However, unlike reindeer herding, this early oil development resulted in Wainwrighters migrating to other communities for wage employment. The effect on Wainwright and its population was far from unique, as this was a regional pattern of population movement. The regional nature of this movement is one reason friendship networks on the North Slope are as broad as they are and encompass people living in so many different villages.

ANCSA and incorporation of the NSB generally has had the effect of stabilizing populations by providing income to local residents. Capital Improvement Programs and local wage labor opportunities have resulted in increased housing supplies, better community services, and other incentives to remain in the community. At the same time, most of the economic opportunities available in Wainwright are channeled through the NSB and do not attract **non-Inupiat** to the village to any great extent. Thus, Wainwright has not experienced any difficulty in maintaining its identity as an **Inupiat** village. In this it is typical of **all** the NSB villages other than Barrow. Because Barrow is the political and population center of the NSB, and is now 40% non-Inupiat, the outer villages must be wary of the central planning decisions made there which may be much more appropriate for Barrow than for the other native communities of the NSB.

SECTION II: ECONOMY

A. Historical Overview

The **pre-contact** economic history of people in the **Wainwright** area is best understood in the context of broader North Slope economic history before contact with non-Natives (cf. **Oswalt 1967**). However, once the school was established at Wainwright in 1904, a community developed with specific local circumstances that combined **pre-contact** and post-contact influences. One product of this was an economy which combined traditional patterns with an increasing dependence on the availability of cash. The post-contact factors that affected local population dynamics are also ones that fundamentally influenced the local economy. These are (as listed above) whaling, fur trading, reindeer herding, oil development, transfer payments, **ANCSA**, and the development of the NSB.

Whalers and fur traders developed an exchange system with Native Alaskans in which the whalers and traders exchanged foods (sugar, coffee, crackers, jam, etc...), guns, ammunition, cloth, and other items for furs and whale products. **Ivie** and **Schneider** report that local hunters who were adept often directly benefited from their talents by trading furs for goods that allowed a different style of living. For example, they note that one successful hunter traded furs for wood which was used to build a house: "His wood frame house . . . was made from milled lumber which he purchased from the ships" (**1978:14**). **Luton (1986)** quoting **Spencer (1959)** reports that before whaling declined in the later nineteenth century, men in many North Slope communities "were either directly or indirectly associated with the whaling industry" (**Spencer 1959:361**). While whaling declined, fur trading flourished and at one point before its decline, some households had incomes of about \$8,000 (**Luton 1986:16**). A consequence of fur trading was that **Wainwrighters** pooled income from their trading to purchase various goods. This effort eventually developed into the Wainwright Co-op Store (**Kevin Waring Associates 1988:218**).

Reindeer herding was introduced by the Reverend Sheldon Jackson in response to decreases in inland caribou populations and a desire to promote a more sedentary lifestyle among local Natives (**Milan 1964**). Herding continued in the **Wainwright** area until the 1940s, undergoing several transformations from its inception to its demise. Initially, the Natives were hired to herd the reindeer and then this gave way to individual **ownership** of herds. According to **Milan**, pre-contact patterns of ownership emerged in which "most of the reindeer were owned by a few wealthy individuals who hired relatives to herd them" (**1964:21**). The "**Wainwright Reindeer and Trading Company**" evolved from this concentration of wealth with the intention of a more equitable distribution of income from reindeer (**Milan 1964:23-24**). However, by the 1940s reindeer herding disappeared as a source of employment and cash income for **Wainwrighters**.

In post-war years, the major event in Wainwright's economic history concerns increased reliance upon cash resources. These developments were reflected in the oil reserve project near Barrow and other politico-economic developments that are briefly reviewed below.

B. The Public Sector

1. Organization

Public sector employment in **Wainwright** is divided among the federal, state, and local governments. Federal employment is primarily at the nearby DEW Line station. As in many other North Slope communities, there is virtually no state employment in **Wainwright**. Local government employment is primarily with jobs associated with the NSB. Alaska Consultants et al. report that in 1982, 49.1% of jobs were associated with the Borough and when construction jobs are included, 70% of all Wainwright jobs are associated with the NSB (1984342). Current data from the 1989 NSB census presented in Table 13-AIN displays the present composition of employment in **Wainwright**. As this table shows, the NSB accounts for 50.2% of employment and **all** government accounts for 56%. If the category “Native Corporate and Affiliate” is included as related to NSB employment, then this adds another 32.4% of **all** jobs, raising total government or affiliated jobs to a dominating **88.4%** of all Wainwright jobs. This leaves 11.6% of the employed labor force, twenty-six individuals, in the private sector (10.7% of the total labor force). These people would be employed by the co-operative store, the airline agents, taxi operators, the owners/proprietors of the small private stores in Wainwright, and a few other miscellaneous cases.

2. Employment

Among the 126 public sector jobs in Wainwright (Table 13-AIN) the NSB accounts directly for 87 jobs and the school district another 26 positions. Thus, of all the 126 public sector positions, 113 (89.7%) are NSB jobs. Of these 113 NSB positions 107 (94.7%) are held by **Inupiat**. Of the remaining six positions, three are employed by the NSB and the other three by the NSB School District. There are approximately 8 other **local Wainwright** government positions (3.6% of total), and 5 (2.2% of total) federal positions, including one Armed Forces job.

Of the 271 males **in** Wainwright, 159 are in the labor force as defined by the 1988 NSB census. This is 132 of 237 (**55.7%**) of **Inupiat** males and 27 of 34 (79.4%) **non-Inupiat** males, but includes almost all men between the ages of 18 and 64. Of this labor force of 159, 151 (95%) are employed. Broken down ethnically, this is 27 of 27 **non-Inupiat** males employed (100%) and 124 of 132 **Inupiat** males employed (94%). Of the 221 females in Wainwright, 84 are in the labor force as defined by the 1988 NSB census (81 of 212 **Inupiat** females and 3 of 9 **non-Inupiat** females). Of this 84, 76 (90%) are employed. Broken down by ethnicity, this is 3 of 3 **non-Inupiat** females employed (100%) and 73 of 81 **Inupiat** females employed (90%).

Of the 159 males **in** the labor force, 78 (49%) are employed **in** public sector positions. Another 71 (44.7%) are tabulated as working **in** the private sector but 56 of these work for the native **corporation** or affiliate and are almost certainly part of a NSB CIP project. Of the 84 females in the labor force, 48 (**57%**) are in public sector positions, with **28** (33.3%) tabulated **in** the private labor force. Again, 17 of these individuals actually work for the native corporation and are probably actually part of the public sector. The vast majority of public sector positions (120 of 126, or **95%**) are held by **Inupiat**. Since most of the “private sector” positions enumerated in Table 13-AIN are, in actuality, funded through NSB public monies, the true proportion of public sector jobs is much higher than is stated above. Since **non-Inupiat** males are almost always placed in this

“private” sector, however, the true proportion of **Inupiat** in the public sector is about 177 of 199, or 89%. The majority of the **Inupiat** females (40) are employed by the NSB School District and another 25 are employed directly by the borough. There are six females employed by **local Wainwright city** government.

Table 14-AIN gives the sex and ethnic distribution of different occupations. One can see from the table that a much higher percentage of **non-Inupiat** than **Inupiat** are employed as craftsmen. The 18 men shown in Table 13-A-IN employed in the private sector under Native corporation and affiliates are almost certainly skilled craftsmen, such as carpenters and electricians, working on the school project. Relatively few of the **Inupiat** workers in the same category of Table 13-AIN are similarly skilled workmen. It is also apparent from Table 14-AIN that wage earners in Wainwright are predominately male, and this is especially true among **non-Inupiat**.

Historic records of employment are not as detailed, but provide information on the number of **jobs** in the village and the breakdown of those **jobs** into employment sectors, sometimes **including** information on sex and ethnicity. **This** allows at least the shape of the employment trajectory to be traced. About 20 people held steady jobs in Wainwright in 1973 (excluding school teachers), a few people worked seasonally outside of the village, and 23 villagers served in the National Guard (**Dupere** and Associates 1973). This was shortly after the formation of the NSB and wage activity is fairly low. Information for 1977, after the NSB is well established but before the Capital Improvements Program (**CIP**) program really began to have an impact, is provided in Table 15-AIN and Table 16-AIN. Information for 1980 is reproduced in Tables 16-AIN through 19-AIN. Labor force participation rate information (using U.S. Census definitions) for 1980 is provided in Table 20-AIN. An enumeration of jobs by employment sector for 1982, when **CIP** construction was at a high level, is provided in Table 21-AIN and by employer in Table 22-MN. Employment in 1988, with major **CIP** projects over but substitute job creation programs being introduced, is summarized in Tables 13-AIN and 14-AIN. The present situation is **also** complicated by the recent fire in **Wainwright** which required that a new power plant and new school be built. Needless to say, this created quite a few jobs in **Wainwright**. As the power plant was just finished and the school will be completed shortly, the employment picture in **Wainwright** could change markedly in the next year.

Of the 43 **non-Inupiat** in the village, 30 (70%) are in the labor force. Of the 449 **Inupiat** in Wainwright, 213 (47%) are in the labor force. This is a very significant difference and is due to the very different demographic structure of the two populations. The **non-Inupiat** population is a non-residential one with a large concentration of single, working age males. There are no **non-Inupiat** over the age of 59, and **non-Inupiat** men outnumber **non-Inupiat** women 34 to 9. Working age **non-Inupiat** men outnumber similarly aged **non-Inupiat** women 27 to 5. The **Inupiat** population structure, while not displaying the classic pyramidal distribution, is clearly that of a biological community.

Table 13-AIN

Industry Composition of Employment by Sex and Ethnicity
Wainwright -1988

INDUSTRY GROUP	INUPIAT			NON-INUPIAT			TOTAL	% OF
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	VILLAGE	TOTAL
PRIVATE SECTOR								
FISHERIES			0		1	1	1	
MINING	3		3	1		1	4	
CONSTRUCTION	1		1	1		1	2	
TRANSP/COMM/PUBLIC UTIL	4	4	8			0	8	
TRADE	2	4	6	1		1	7	
FINANCE/INSUR/REAL EST			0			0	0	
BUSINESS/REPAIR SERV			0			0	0	
ENTERTMT/REC/TOURIST SERV			0			0	0	
HEALTH, SOCIAL, & EDUC SERV			0	1		1	1	
SELF-EMPLOYED		2	2			0	2	
NATIVE CORP & AFFILIATE	38	17	55	18		18	73	
OTHER			0	1		1	1	
SUBTOTAL	48	21	75	23	1	24	m	44.0%
NSB GOVERNMENT								
HEALTH		9	9			0	9	
PUBLIC SAFETY	1		1	1		1	2	
MUNICIPAL SERV	40	5	45	2		2	47	
FIRE DEPT			0			0	0	
SEARCH & RESCUE			0			0	0	
HOUSING	5	1	6			0	6	
WILDLIFE MGT			0			0	0	
RELI & MAP	12	7	19			0	19	
LAW OFFICE			0			0	0	
ADMIN & FINANCE			0			0	0	
PLANNING		2	2			0	2	
INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT			0			0	0	
HIGHER EDUCATION CENTER			0			0	0	
MAYOR'S OFFICE & ASSEMBLY	1	1	2			0	2	
OTHER NSB			0			0	0	
SUBTOTAL	59	25	84	3	0	3	87	38.7%
NSB SCHOOL DISTRICT	8	15	23	1	2	3	26	11.6%
NSB SUBTOTAL	67	40	107	4	2	6	113	50.2%
OTHER LOCAL GOVT	2	6	8			0	8	3.3%
STATE GOVT			0			0	0	0.0%
FEDERAL GOVT	4	4	8			0	8	1.8%
ARMED FORCES	1		1			0	1	0.4%
SUBTOTAL ALL GOVT	74	46	120	4	2	6	126	56.0%
GRAND TOTAL	122	71	195	27	3	30	225	100.0%
% OF TOTAL	54.2%	32.4%	86.7%	12.0%	1.3%	13.3%	100.0%	

Notes:

(1) Figures equal to number of persons employed, including part-time, temporary, and full-time employment.

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Table 14-AIN

Occupation Composition of Employment by Sex and Ethnicity
Wainwright - 1988

OCCUPATION GROUPS	INUPIAT			NON-INUPIAT			TOTAL VILLAGE	% OF TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL		
EXEC. ADMIN. MGR.	10	4	14			0	14	6.2%
PROFESSIONAL			0			0	0	0.0%
TEACHER	1	2	3	1	2	3	6	2.6%
TEACHER AIDE	1	6	7			0	7	3.1%
TECHNICIAN		5	5	2	1	3	8	3.5%
ADMIN. SUPPORT	7	22	29			0	29	12.8%
SERVICE	14	22	36	2		2	38	16.7%
OPERATOR/MECHANIC	39	4	43	2		2	45	19.8%
PILOT			0			0	0	0.0%
LABORER	35	7	42	1		1	43	18.9%
CRAFTSMAN	15		15	18		18	33	14.5%
ARTISAN		1	1			0	1	0.4%
ARMED FORCES	1		1			0	1	0.4%
TRAPPER/HUNTER			0			0	0	0.0%
OTHER	1		1	1		1	2	0.9%
TOTAL EMPLOYED	124	73	197	27	3	30	227	100.0%
% OF TOTAL	54.6%	32.2%	86.8%	11.9%	1.3%	13.2%	100.0%	
LABOR FORCE	132	81	213	27	3	30	243	
% OF TOTAL	54.3%	33.3%	87.7%	11.1%	1.2%	12.3%	100.0%	
TOTAL UNEMPLOYED	8	8	16	0	0	0	16	
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE	6.1%	9.9%	7.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	6.6%	
TOTAL UNDER-EMPLOYED	42	21	63	2	1	3	66	
UNDER-EMPLOYMENT RATE	31.8%	25.9%	29.8%	7.4%	33.3%	10.0%	27.2%	

- Notes: (1) Total employed includes part-time, temporary, as well as full-time employment.
 (2) The occupation category "OTHER" includes underemployed persons otherwise not accounted for. Underemployment refers to persons that were unemployed because they could not find a job during part of the year.
 (3) Unemployed refers to persons out of work because they could not find a job for the entire twelve-month period.
 (4) Labor force = employed + underemployed + unemployed.
 (5) Unemployment rate = persons unemployed divided by the labor force.

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

Table 15-MN

Average Annual Full-Time Employment
Wainwright -1977

<u>Industry Classification</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent of Total</u>
Agriculture, Forestry , and Fishing	0.0	0.0
Mining	0.0	0.0
Contract Construction 3.0	5.2	
Manufacturing	2.0	3.5
Transportation , Communication, and Public Utilities	0.0	0.0
Trade	11.5	20.0
Finance, Insurance , and Real Estate	4.0	7.0
Service	3.0	5.2
Government	34.0	59.1
Federal	(6.5)	(11.3)
State	(0.0)	(0.0)
Local	(27.5)	(47.8)
TOTAL	57.5	100.0

Note: **Figures include employment in Wainwright-based jobs** only. Several **local** residents were employed outside town at the LIZ-3 DEW Line Station or in the **Prudhoe** Bay area.

Source Waring 1988, Table 95, p. 227

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Table 16-AIN

Average Annual Full-Time Employment by Employer
Wainwright - 1977

Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishing		0.0
M		0.0
Contract Construction		3.0
Teacher housing/warm storage building (borough)	(3.0)	
Manufacturing		2.0
Native arts and crafts		(2.0)
Transportation, Communication, and Public Utilities	0.0	
Trade		11.5
Wainwright Coop Store		(5.0)
Shooters' Supply		(2.0)
Emily's		(1.0)
Olgoonik Corporation tank farm		(3.5)
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate		4.0
Olgoonik Corporation office		(4.0)
Services		3.0
Kuk Theater		(0.5)
Presbyterian Church (minister & part-time janitor)	(1.5)	
Assembly of God Church		(1.0)
Government		34.0
Federal		(6.5)
(Post office)	(1.5)	
(Environmental Protection Agency)	(4.5)*	
(WIC Program)	(0.5)	
State		0.0
Local		27.5
City Clerk	(0.5)	
City Police Officers (2 on call)	(1.0)	
Light Plant	(0.5)	
Health Clinic (2 aides and alternate)	(1.5)	
(2 doctors)	(2.0)	
School (10 teachers and 1 secretary)	(11.5)	
(teacher aide)	(5.0)	
(school cooks)	(2.0)	
(janitorial)	(3.0)	
Village Coordinator	(1.0)	
TOTAL		57.5

* EPA employment included 2 persons at the plant, 2 water truck people, and a part-time janitor

Source Waring 19SS, Table %, p. 228-29

Table 17-AIN

Composition of Employment by Race and Sex* **
Wainwright - April, 1980

<u>oym</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Mining	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Contract Construction	0	0	0	4	0	4	4	0	4
Transportation, Communications, and Public Utilities	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	1
Trade	4	1	5	0	0	0	4	1	5
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	7	2	9	1	0	1	8	2	10
Services	5	4	9	1	0	1	6	4	10
Government									
Federal	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	2
State	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Local	71	22	93	9	9	18	80	31	111
Construction	(46)	(4)	(50)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(46)	(4)	(50)
Non-Construction	(25)	(18)	(43)	(9)	(9)	(18)	(34)	(27)	(61)
TOTAL	90	30	120	15	9	24	105	39	144

• Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.
 ** Employment figures exclude 11 Alaska Natives (4 males and 7 females) who listed various forms of assistance, primarily Social security, as their major source of income. Employment figures also exclude 101 Alaska Natives (37 males and 64 females) and 2 non-Nativea (1 male and 1 female) aged 16 and over for whom no employment information was provided or who claimed to be unemployed.

Source Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Worka Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 18-AIN

Composition of Employment by **Age, Race, and Sex***
Wainwright - April, 1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15-19	6	7	13	0	0	0	6	7	13
20-24	15	6	21	1	0	1	16	6	22
25-29	11	9	20	1	1	2	12	10	22
30 - 34	12	1	13	4	6	10	16	7	23
35-39	6	1	7	3	1	4	9	2	11
40-44	7	2	9	1	1	2	8	3	11
45-49	11	0	11	1	0	1	12	0	12
50-54	6	2	8	0	0	0	6	2	8
55-59	5	0	5	0	0	0	5	0	5
60-64	3	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	3
65-69	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
70-74	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
75 and over	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Age unknown	5	2	7	4	0	4	9	2	11
TOTAL	90	30	120	15	9	24	105	39	144

* Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc., North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 19-AIN

Major Employers by Sector^{1,2}
Wainwright -April, 1980

<u>Employment Sector and Employers</u>	<u>Number of Employees</u>
Contract Construction	4
Transportation, Communications, and Public Utilities	2
Trade	5
Village Store	(5)
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	10
Olgoonik Corporation	(10)
Services	10
CETA	(6)
Government	
Federal	2
Local	111
North Slope Borough general government	(25)
North Slope Borough School District	(33)
North Slope Borough construction	(50)
TOTAL EMPLOYEES	144

¹Major employers defined as having at least 5 employees.

²Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to fiit their employer or major source of income.

Source Alaska Consultants 1981, Table 54, p. 56.

Table 20-AIN

Selected Labor Force Data
Wainwright -1980

LABOR FORCE STATUS, PERSONS OVER 16 YEARS, 1980

<u>Labor Force Status</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>		<u>All Races</u>		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Armed Forces	•	•	0	0	0
Civilian Employed	*	*	54	57	141
Civilian Unemployed	*	•	21	2	23
Not in Labor Force	*	*	43	58	101
Labor Force Participation Rate •	*	70.0%	50.0%	61.0%	
Unemployment Rate:					
1980	*	*	20.0%	3.4%	14.0%
1990	*	•	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY, 1970 AND 1980

Industry	1970	1980
C o n s t r u c t i o n		11
Manufacturing		0
Transportation		3
Communications		0
Trade		0
Finance, Insurance, & Real Estate		0
Services		7
Public Administration		19
Other		0
TOTAL		40

* Data missing or suppressed.

Source Waring 1988, Table 97, p. 230 (U.S. Census, 1980).

Table 21-AIN

Composition of Employment by **Age, Race, and Sex**¹
Wainwright - April, 1980

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Alaska Native</u>			<u>Non-Native</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15 - 19	6	7	13	0	0	0	6	7	13
20 - 24	15	6	21	1	0	1	16	6	22
25 - 29	11	9	20	1	1	2	12	10	22
30 - 34	12	1	13	4	6	10	16	7	23
35 - 39	6	1	7	3	1	4	9	2	11
40 - 44	7	2	9	1	1	2	8	3	11
45 - 49	11	0	11	1	0	1	12	0	12
50 - 54	6	2	8	0	0	0	6	2	8
55 - 59	5	0	5	0	0	0	5	0	5
60 - 64	3	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	3
65 - 69	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
70 - 74	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
75 and over	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Age unknown	5	2	7	4	0	4	9	2	11
TOTAL	90	30	120	15	9	24	105	39	144

¹ Employment was not necessarily full-time or permanent. People were asked only to list their employer or major source of income.

Source Alaska Consultants, Inc. North Slope Borough Housing Survey, prepared for the North Slope Borough, Public Works Department. Anchorage, September 1980.

Table 22-AIN

Average Annual Full-Time Employment by Employer
Wainwright -1982

Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishing	0.0
Mining	0.0
Contract Construction	40.5
Olgoonik Construction	(27.0)
Halverson	(10.0)
Blackstock	(1.0)
Olympic Constructors	(0.5)
Miscellaneous others	(2.0)
Manufacturing	0.0
Transportation, Communication, and Public Utilities	3.0
DEW Line (local persons only)	(2.0)
Polar Kab	(0.5)
Kavik Taxi	(0.5)
Trade	15.0
P & J store	(1.0)
Olgoonik Corporation Store	(3.0)
Wainwright Co-op Store	(6.0)
Shooters' Supply	(1.0)
Olgoonik Corporation tank farm	(4.0)
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	4.0
Olgoonik Corporation office	(4.0)
Service	5.0
PSI (camp operators)	(2.0)
Presbyterian Church	(1.0)
Olgoonik Corporation garage	(2.0)
Government	
Federal	
(Post office)	
State	
Local	
(City of Wainwright)	
(North Slope Borough School District)	
(North Slope Borough)	

TOTAL

¹City of **Wainwright** employment consisted of a full-time clerk and the mayor, who worked part-time.

²North Slope Borough School District employment consisted of 14 **teachers**, including a principal and assistant **principal**; 6 **aides**; 2 **cooks**; 6 maintenance personnel, including a plant **manager**; 1 **secretary** and 1 part-time night guard.

³North Slope Borough employment consisted of 11.5 **Public Works Department personnel**; another 13 **Public Works personnel** engaged in the gravel dredging program 9 **Utilities Department employees** (a total of 16 **persons** were counted, including 8 temporaries for about 1 month each) with 6 in the power house (including 5 temporaries); 2 health **aides**; 1 Housing Department maintenance **person**; 1 borough police **officer**; and a village coordinator.

Source **Alaska** Consultants, Inc. 1980.

3. Revenues

The City of Wainwright and the NSB have different sources of revenues. The city receives revenues from at least four different sources: Federal Revenue Sharing payments, **BIA** allotments, a limited amount of sales tax, and various grants from the state and other sources (Smythe and Worl 1985:57-60). It should quickly be added that most **services** that are provided by the local authorities in most municipalities are in **Wainwright** (as in all the other NSB communities) the responsibility of the NSB. In this sense, the NSB itself is also a “revenue source” for Wainwright. The community uses its direct funds to make contributions to different local groups, honoraria for council meetings, blue tickets, utilities for the community center, and the funding of different city positions (Smythe and Worl 1985:60). The NSB takes care of the operation of utilities, public safety, the school, **medical** care, public works (streets and roads), and even a community liaison officer. The NSB also provides various subsidies or facilitating funds for various purposes. The largest such source in the context of city business is the per diem provided for anyone traveling on official NSB business, which is rather broadly defined as almost any matter which concerns the city and the NSB. Most such travel is between Wainwright and Barrow, but can also include Anchorage or other places. NSB revenues are discussed elsewhere in this report.

C. The Private Sector

1. Organization

The dominant characteristic of private sector employment is its dominance by the **Olgoonik Corporation (OC)**. As noted by Alaska Consultants et al., **OC** has” . . . ownership of a village store, the local fuel dealership, a garage and construction company” (1984:343). Smythe and Worl (1985) note that, “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” (p. 80). Furthermore, **OC** was and continues to be involved in extensive **CIP** work. The history of these **CIPS** is discussed extensively by **Luton** (1986), indicating a wide range of projects from housing to sewage treatment plants. Often these **CIPS** are joint ventures with **non-Inupiat** construction companies. As remarked upon above, most if not all of this employment takes on the flavor of the public sector since almost all the money involved originates as NSB taxes on oil production facilities. Most of these operations involve NSB subsidies in one form or another. The village corporation especially benefits from its status as a preferred contractor for NSB projects within Wainwright and from the program by which the NSB essentially provides the village’s yearly supply of diesel to the village corporation for **free**. As in most NSB villages, these two activities provide the bulk of the village corporation’s income.

2. Employment

Table 13-AIN displays the composition of Wainwright employment by industry for the private sector. As this table shows, 73 (73.7%) of the 99 private sector jobs in Wainwright are associated with the local Native Corporation or an affiliate. There are 8 (8.1%) “Transportation, Communication, and Public Utilities” positions and 7 (7.1%) “Trade” positions. The distribution of the remaining 11 jobs is also illustrated in Table 13-AIN. If village corporation employment is

excluded from the private sector, twenty-six positions remain (11.69% of employment **in Wainwright**). Twenty of these are **Inupiat**. The three **Inupiat** employed in the mining sector are almost certainly employed outside of the village in some capacity with the **oil** industry. The eight **Inupiat** employed in the transportation and other **services** sector are in all likelihood taxi operators and airline agents. Wainwright supports an amazingly large number of vehicles operated as taxis. No other village outside of Barrow (which also has what appears to be a large number of taxis relative to its population) has taxi service. Wainwright also supports a high level of air traffic from two main earners. While there is not scheduled service every day, usually there are planes from Barrow every day. The six **Inupiat** employed in trade probably work in the **Co-op** Store which, while private, is also non-profit. These people may also operate private stores, although the two self-employed individuals could also be these small store operators. The one remaining **Inupiat**, in construction, may actually be more part of the public sector, as all construction in the village is funded by government at some level. Individuals do build private houses, but do not hire others to help them do SO.

Twenty-four (24.2%) of the 99 private sector positions in Wainwright are held by non-natives with 23 of these jobs occupied by non-Native males. Eighteen of the non-native positions **are** in the category “Native Corporation or Affiliate” again illustrating the dominance of the Native corporation in Wainwright private sector employment. The remaining six positions are scattered among the other private sector industry groups, with the one non-native female reported as occupying a “fishery” position.

3. Revenues

We do not have data regarding income among industries **in** Wainwright that are not associated with the Native corporation (**OC**). What we can infer is that the **OC** and its affiliates, accounting for 73.7% of all private sector positions, is a major force in the structuring of private sector revenues. Some Wainwrighters derive income from craft work, but no one is a “full-time” craftsman. The reasons for this are not clear, as it seems that at least for some individuals the rate of return would be very high. One man does etchings on baleen that **sell** for anywhere from \$30-\$75 apiece and can do the actual etching in fifteen minutes or less. He also, of course, does “show” pieces which take longer and cost more. The preparation time, cleaning and polishing the baleen, must also be considered. Still, he acknowledges that he could make a great deal of money in a relatively short time if he concentrated on etching, and indeed says that when he lived in Anchorage that he did exactly that. He claims that in Wainwright he sometimes does not have a steady **supply** of baleen, but that he can sell whatever he produces. There is also a well-known ivory carver who receives occasional income from his work. His small pieces, which he claims to be able to carve in an hour with sharp tools (two to three observed with dull ones), sell for \$100. He only **carves** sporadically, however, and prefers to trade his work for products in the underground economy rather than sell them outright for money. He also uses his carvings as special items to give to friends and visitors, as he is a superior craftsman. He also at one time in his life made his living from his craft, working full-time in Washington state. In Wainwright, even though his carvings are in constant demand, he has no regular schedule of carving. Several women sew clothing items, and one man makes small baleen boats. Still, these are relatively minor influences in the local economy. It is the salience of the **OC** in the local economy that characterizes private sector income in Wainwright. As noted above, there are several types of businesses that result in revenues for the **OC**: fuel, the

corporation store, a garage, construction projects, and a hotel and restaurant. The OC has entered into joint ventures with some construction companies to work on the large **CIP** projects that have fueled both public and private sectors of the Wainwright and indeed all of the North Slope economy.

D. Economic Issues and Concerns

1. Emergence of a Regional Economy

Wainwright's cash economy is determined by external regional forces, principally the NSB and the revenues it derives from oil development. The large **CIP** projects that have resulted in spending millions of dollars in Wainwright would not be possible without this dominating influence from the NSB. Consequently, the local Wainwright economy is, like most other NSB communities, intimately tied with the regional, state, national, and international issues that surround **petro-politics**.

2. Effects of Wage Economy on Other Institutions

The family, subsistence, and local government are among the important institutions that interact with the wage economy **in Wainwright**. Some authors (e.g., Luton 1986) have noted that despite employment opportunities **in** Prudhoe Bay, the preference to **remain in Wainwright** near **family** is an important factor in local employment. That is, the value accorded the **family** and the social group promote local residence over out-migration for employment. Similarly, where **local** employment opportunities exist, there are some decided preferences for hiring relatives. The effects of wage labor on subsistence **activities is** discussed **in** more detail later **in** this report.

3. Role of Subsistence in the Market Economy

As one of the "most Eskimo" of the North Slope villages, it is not surprising that subsistence plays a major role in Wainwright's economic life. As such, it has been the site of important studies of North Slope subsistence activities (Nelson 1969, 1981; Braund & Associates, ongoing). Subsistence continues to be an important economic as well as a cultural activity in **Wainwright**. As Nelson has noted, "life in Wainwright today is patterned around a mixed subsistence and cash economy. Of the two, the subsistence base is the more predictable and stable over the long run. Jobs come and go, but hunting is always there . . ." (1982x). The local economy has gained a good deal of predictability since initial (and most detailed) Nelson's research because of the formation of the NSB, but the statement retains its essential validity. The meaning of subsistence and especially the pursuit of bowhead whales extends well beyond its economic valuation. The difficulty in applying cost/benefit analysis to much subsistence resource harvesting activity is a testament to this assertion. The cultural meaning of subsistence activity is integral to the personal and community identity of **Wainwrighters**. The persistence of subsistence activities, including bowhead whaling, has in many ways been made possible by the market and cash economy as it has developed on the North Slope in general, and Wainwright in particular. It is of course difficult to speculate on what subsistence on the North Slope would be like in the absence of oil development, but based on the historical take of whales (**Braund** et al. 1988) it would almost certainly be smaller than the current take

(making allowance for such conditions as prevailed in the spring of 1989). There is only one economy in Wainwright, but the relative weight that individuals place on subsistence pursuits and wage labor, and the degree to which money is used to “buy time” and increase efficiency in subsistence pursuits, varies from individual to individual, and from activity to activity for the same individual. These decisions accentuate the flexibility and adaptability of the Inupiat that is the basis of their apparently paradoxical essence -- **Inupiat** retain their central identity while at the same time displaying a remarkable variability.

To give a concrete example from **Wainwright**, we will briefly look at whaling. Wainwright is not actually situated terribly well in terms of nearness to good whaling sites. The usual location of such sites is some hours from the village. Limited resources limited the numbers of crews that could go out and thus the number of whales that could be harvested and processed. The use of skin boats limited the conditions under which whales could be pursued and the rate of success. Leads had to be fairly narrow so that whales could be intercepted, but this increased the chances that a wounded whale would escape under the ice. In addition, skin boats were somewhat susceptible to damage, especially on the trip to and from the whaling site. Aluminum boats solved some of these problems. They were more durable than skin boats. With a motor attached they allowed hunters to avoid striking whales in narrow leads and thus increased the success rate. Fewer crews were needed to successfully take and tow a whale. Furthermore, the increase in available cash allowed wider purchases of aluminum **skiffs** and other equipment for hunting whales. There are now more Wainwrighters hunting whales than previously, and average crew size doubled between 1980 and 1984. It was this situation, among others, that prompted the International Whaling Commission to look more closely at bowhead whale hunting among the Inupiat (Nelson 1981, **Luton** 1986, Impact Assessment, Inc. 1989 fieldwork). As a last point, larger crew size enabled men to work at wage labor jobs and whale as **well** by increasing flexibility. Hours on the ice can be divided among more people, thus decreasing the chances of conflict with the hours people need to work for wages.

Luton makes an insightful observation regarding the historical articulation of the cash economy and subsistence. He notes that in **pre-war** Wainwright there was a continuity between subsistence activities, such as hunting and whaling, and the cash economy that was absent in post-war Wainwright. Prior to the war, the fur trade and whaling enabled **Inupiat** to acquire cash (or **in-kind** items) in exchange for what were essentially products of subsistence pursuits. With the decline of the fur trade and whaling, in which the products from subsistence activities were traded for cash or other goods, “subsistence was segregated in time and space from wage work” (**Luton 1986:6**). Thus, after the war the structure of the local wage economy was such that subsistence products were no longer subject to market forces. That is, people did not determine their subsistence activities based on what they could sell to traders or other market forces. After the war, the means of acquiring cash, wage labor, was not as consistent with the pursuit of subsistence activities as they were when trading furs and whale products were means to acquire cash. Wage labor is generally regarded as occupying **or** requiring the same time resources as are necessary for successful subsistence harvest activities. This was certainly more the case before snowmachines and other technological subsistence aides had been developed. Thus, an important shift occurred in the relationship between cash and subsistence activities.

Luton states that his data indicate that native foods comprise less than 50% of total caloric intake, on the average. This would not be inconsistent with information from other villages. However, this **50%** accounts for the most highly culturally valued foods, which would also be those most

expensive to replace with purchased food. Most of the meat in a **Wainwright's** diet is from subsistence food (**Luton** 1985). A large number of calories come from carbohydrates and starches from purchased food, and a surprising amount of fat as well. To maintain the intake of subsistence food, there are at least two important points of articulation with the cash economy (1) the cost of **technology** to pursue subsistence resources; and (2) the time to engage in subsistence activities.

Braund and **Burnham** (1984) cite data from other studies of North Slope subsistence by Braund and **Burnham** (1983) regarding the costs of equipment and supplies to pursue subsistence activities. **These** data indicate that the annual cost for **snowmachines**, maintenance, guns, ammunition, and so on for a subsistence hunter is approximately \$7,727 and the cost to pursue whaling is between \$12,227 and \$15,227 depending on whether or not whaling is done in the fall or the spring (Braund and **Burnham** 1984:170). What is clear is that in order to engage in subsistence, hunters must have access to cash to buy the resources. "Wage labor opportunities provide an important means for acquiring equipment and supplies necessary in the pursuit of subsistence resources" (**Ivie** and **Schneider** 1978:84). "The rising costs of whaling **all** but require captain to have regular employment" (**Smythe** and **Worl** 1985:102). If the cost of technology demands access to cash resources, then there is a potential incompatibility with the availability of time for both work and the pursuit of subsistence resources. Remembering **Luton's** characterization of the post-war segregation of subsistence and wage labor activities, we can say that these two activities require some accommodation to coexist and this accommodation appears to exist. Time is a critical factor. Work time had been made more flexible, and technology has made the time required for the harvest of subsistence resources less than before (see below). This is not a perfect solution. Subsistence activities are not just about obtaining food, and compressing this activity into a shorter time period deprives it of some essentially fulfilling aspects for many people. To others, technology simply lets them avoid or do quicker parts of the hunt which hold no real attraction to them (preparation, travel, preservation).

Although jobs do limit the amount of time available for hunting, fishing, and whaling, an accommodation has been made in (1) the alteration of subsistence schedules to "fit" with work schedules and (2) the recognition by employers of the need for time off to pursue subsistence activities. Braund and **Burnham** note that the NSB and some other **Wainwright** employers have a leave policy that allows individuals time to pursue subsistence resources. Furthermore, "many local males prefer to participate in temporary construction work rather than full-time, year round employment because it allows them more time to pursue subsistence activities" (**Braund** and **Burnham** 1984:171). Thus, a process of accommodation has developed in which wage labor and an orientation towards subsistence resource harvest activities coexist. While **Wainwright** may be somewhat more oriented to subsistence resource use than most other NSB villages, this does appear to be generally true for all communities of the NSB. Factors such as size of community, variety and abundance of subsistence resources available, and the number of construction projects in operation at any one time are all factors, which vary from place to place and time to time. The regional dominance of public sector employment and the importance of the NSB in setting general policy place all the Native communities within the same general framework, however, and make their difference in this regard one of degree rather than of kind.

However, this coexistence has brought about changes in how subsistence is pursued. The cycle of subsistence activities so well documented by **Nelson** (1969; 1981) has been altered. For example, the amount of some resources and how these resources are used has changed significantly. The

snowmachine allows access to areas people could only reach by expending a great deal of time and effort before its use, but also cannot go in other places (rough ice area, thin ice areas) that were used before. This has resulted in the pursuit of different types of resources (**Ivie** and **Schneider** 1978:19-22). For example, the **snowmachine** improved the ability of **Wainwrighters** to pursue and take caribou, which then displaced seals as a major food item in the diet (**Braund** and **Burnham** 1984:172). Furthermore, **snowmachines** do not require the 2-3 pounds of meat per day per animal used for sled dogs (**Braund** and **Burnham** 1984:171) and thus greatly reduced the amount of meat (especially seal) needed.

4. Patterns of Economic Change in Borough and Other North Slope Communities

Since 1904, economic change in **Wainwright** has been influenced by many of the same factors affecting other North Slope communities. The three major such factors are an increased dependence upon cash for wage labor, the development of North Slope oil, and an increased dependency on transfer payments from various government sources. In **Wainwright**, the high percentage of Native Alaskans relative to non-Natives, the salience of subsistence pursuits and the cultural values that attend them, and the scope of post-war Capital Improvement Programs make **Wainwright** typical of NSB communities. Like other North Slope communities, the general pattern of economic changes in **Wainwright** are ones in which post-war oil development and its relationship to **ANCSA** and development of the NSB are the major factors affecting the structure of economic life.

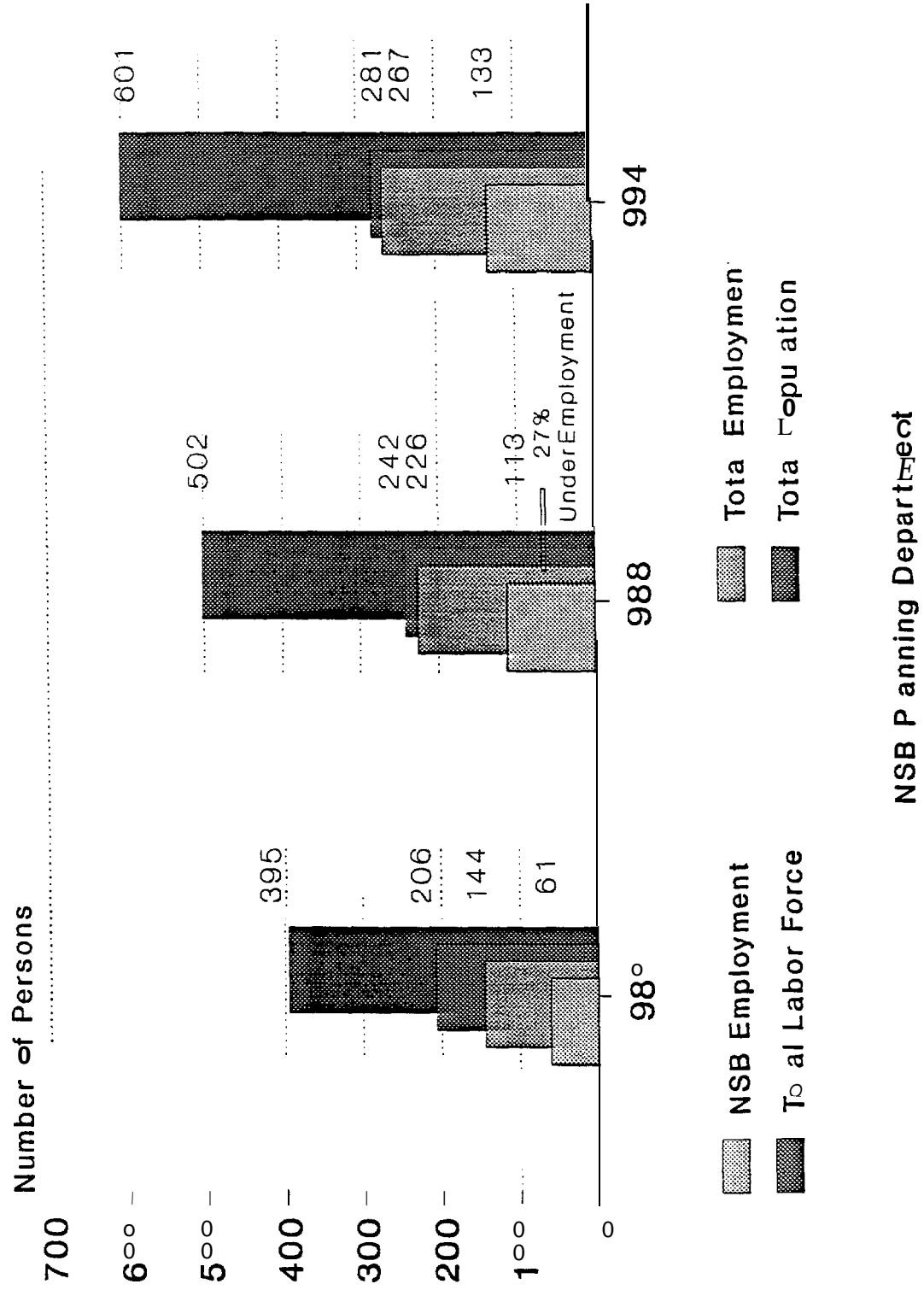
5. Trends in Employment

Figure 6-MN shows changes in the labor force between 1980 and 1988 in **Wainwright**, including projections for the employment in 1994. As this figure indicates, the labor force increased from 206 to 242 individuals, and all village employment increased from 144 to 226 persons. Much of this increase in the labor force is accounted for by an increase in direct NSB positions from 61 in 1980 to 113 in 1988 (NSB census). Keeping in mind some of the difficulties in unemployment and underemployment statistics noted by Alaska Consultants et al. (1984), the most recent NSB census suggests, “While the rate of overall unemployment declined markedly over recently years, a fairly high level of underemployment (27%) was observed in 1988. ‘Underemployment’ refers to the count of persons that worked part of the year but would have worked more if additional jobs had been available” (NSB Planning Department 1989).

Table 14-AIN displays a breakdown of the occupational composition of the **Wainwright** work force. As shown in this table, there is a 27.2% underemployment rate (almost totally **Inupiat**), and a 6.6% unemployment rate. Of the total 227 jobs in the labor force, 121 (53%) of these positions are accounted for by the categories operator/mechanic, laborer, and craftsman. The next largest grouping is in the categories of technician, administrative support, **service** accounting for 75 (33%) positions. The administrative support and service jobs have the highest employment of **Inupiat** women with 44 (about 70%) of the total 73 jobs, with 22 positions in each category. The categories operator/mechanic (39 jobs) and laborer (35 jobs) are the most frequent positions for **Inupiat** males, accounting for about 60% of jobs among employed **Inupiat** males.

Figure 6-A1N

Population, Labor Force, and Employment
 Wainwright: 1980, 1988, and 1994 (Projected)



The existing pattern of the dominance of public sector -- or public sector-affiliated -- positions in Wainwright shows no hint of changing, although it **is** certainly likely that the level of **CIP** expenditures may decline and this will **be** reflected in different levels of employment in the village. Similarly, this may result in changed ratios of male-to-female employment since males are the most likely to take the seasonal construction jobs in **CIP** work. There also appears to be no significant change at hand in the ratio of Native to non-Native employment in **Wainwright**.

The issue of local hire has affected employment patterns in **Wainwright**. The OC has negotiated local hire agreements with various construction companies in **Wainwright** (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984). **Ukpeagvik Inupiat Corporation (UIC** - the village corporation from Barrow) constructed the new power plant in **Wainwright** in joint venture with a private construction firm. The **OC** had a similar joint venture with a different private company for the construction of the new school. The two projects were managed together as a practical matter. Both projects had similar experiences in terms of local hire (except, as may be expected, the power plant project did “import” more workers from Barrow than did the school project). Both projects had an explicit preference for local **Inupiat** hire. The work history for each project demonstrates a very high percentage of local hire at the beginning when unskilled labor and site preparation constituted a large part of the work to be done. As time went on the **tasks** to be done required **more** specialized skills and the percentage of **local** hire dropped. As most non-local hire is non-Inupiat, the change was very noticeable, as no North Slope village other than Barrow has a large resident **non-Inupiat** population. Thus, **local** hire issues are combined somewhat with **interethnic** tensions. Also a factor is the feeling of local exploitation by outside agencies, combined with a felt lack of local control over what are perceived as local resources. Not enough effort is put into training local **Inupiat** in the skills needed for the middle and end phase work of construction projects, in the view of most locals. Still, all contractors must now report on local hire to the NSB and make good faith efforts to hire as many local people as possible. Training is **still** a problem and is recognized as such by all parties involved. The difficulty of providing on-the-job training within a competitive bid construction system is also recognized, and the NSB has taken steps to provide jobs suited to the present skills of the **local Inupiat** labor force as well as opportunities for at least a portion of that labor force to acquire more training.

SECTION III: FORMAL INSTITUTIONS

A. Introduction

This section presents information on formal institutions in Wainwright. These include government, Native corporations, social services, health, religion, infrastructure, fire protection, search and rescue, public safety, and schools. To a remarkable degree, the formal institutions found in Wainwright are local representatives of NSB institutions, or analogs of institutions found at the regional level. The primary exception to this is found in the area of religion. In this respect, Wainwright is much like the other villages in the region outside of Barrow. Most of the information in this discussion comes from Milan 1964, Smythe and Worl 1985, Luton 1985, and Luton 1986, supplemented by field gathered information.

B. Government

1. Organization and Scope of Operation

An *atanik* (or “big man”) and an “informal” village council composed of males from powerful families apparently served some governing functions in Wainwright Inupiat society in times before the establishment of other more “formal” village councils after enactment of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) in 1934. Up until about the 1940s, the *atanik* was an informal political figure in Wainwright with the authority to organize resources and make decisions that affected the life of the village (Milan 1964:56). The authority of informal councils was based in the reputation of their members, with respected hunters and older men from families of influence and wealth (*umialaqs*) included among their membership. These councils were able to exercise authority through the “fear they could cause in others” (Milan, 1964:55). These councils could banish individuals from the group and the *atanik* could determine the schedule for hunting caribou and whaling (Milan 1964:56). These informal councils also may have functioned to enforce customs and some aspects of local morality, although the evidence for this is controversial (cf. Luton 1986:5 ff.).

Under the IRA of 1934 -- extended to Alaska in 1936 -- a village could incorporate as a city and function as an entity to receive federal funds and perform other regulatory tasks. With the assistance of local BIA school teachers, a local IRA was formed with an “elective council president and vice-president” (Milan 1964:54). Milan (1964) and Luton (1986) each contrast the structure and authority of this body with the informal council of *umialaqs* and the authority of the *atanik*. The IRA council was composed of individuals who could speak English and who had experience - as veterans or members of the National Guard -- with non-Inupiat society. The council made local rules and had some enforcement functions, and had a major role as the intermediary between Inupiat society and the non-Inupiat world which was increasingly impinging upon daily life in Wainwright. Luton (1986) makes an important observation that the basis for authority in this council was different than in the informal councils that predated the IRA structure.

The informal council’s authority was based on the values, traditions, and needs of Inupiat society, with the powerful individuals being those who reflected these values and traditions. However, the “election” of a president and vice president whose skills for the offices were not hunting prowess,

elder status, or locally recognized wealth, but rather the ability to do bookkeeping, speak English and otherwise act as intermediaries between **Wainwrighters** and **non-Inupiat** society was a major change in the basis for political and governmental authority (cf. **Luton 1986**; Milan 1964; Alaska Consultants et al. **1984**; Smythe and Worl 1985). Also, the kinds of issues that are reported in the literature as of concern to the council, sexual morality and concerns about liquor (Milan 1964:54-55), reflect accommodation with **non-Inupiat** society. As might be expected, such accommodation was not complete or without contradiction (**Luton 1986**, Chapter V 1-16). Nonetheless, from its inception the IRA Council functioned as the local governmental agency in **Wainwright**. The **people of Wainwright** held a **formal** election to institutionalize this form of government and talk about it as a formal IRA council even though it was never formally recognized as one by the federal government (that is, the responsible agency never formally approved its constitution - **Luton 1986**, Chapter **V:13-14**). In this, **Wainwright** was typical of most NSB villages. Only Point Lay has an officially **recognized** IRA.

In 1962, when Alaska was becoming the fiftieth state, this form of organization gave way to an elected city government as Wainwright was incorporated as a fourth class Alaskan city under state law. Apparently it was perceived that there were advantages to having an approved, written, charter of powers and responsibilities. Thus, the IRA **Council** evaporated and the city council took its place. Of course, many of the same people were involved and merely changed official titles. The elected **officials** for the city government are a mayor, vice-mayor, and seven city council members. In 1972 **Wainwright** became a second class city with funds for operation derived from a 3% sales **tax**, state revenue sharing, various grants, and NSB monies (Alaska Consultants et al. **1984:348**). With the advent of **ANCSA**, the **Olgoonik** Corporation became influential in the political affairs of **Wainwright**, despite its status as a private corporation. Smythe and Worl (1985) summarize the range of issues and decision-making taken by the city council since 1970. These include issues such as **local** hiring for construction projects, prohibitions on the importation of alcohol, the “blue ticket” (banishment) as a means of social control, management structures, and sources of revenues and expenditure. Alaska Consultants et al. (1984) also provide brief descriptions of the informal political organizations in the community, including the churches, National Guard, local Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission, the Mothers’ Club, the Recreation Committee, the Motor Mushers, and the Search and **Rescue/firefighting** group.

In 1971 the regional **IRA, Inupiat** Community of the Arctic Slope (**ICAS**) came into being (**Luton 1986**, Chapter **5:20-23**). This entity contracted with the BIA and the U.S. **Public** Health Service to perform certain social service functions, for the most part centered in Barrow, but otherwise it has not had any major political and governmental role in Wainwright. This is especially true since the **ICAS** no longer is responsible for these social service contracts. **Luton (1986)** suggests that the main presence of the ICAS has been in the form of (1) a **Wainwrighter** serving as an elected member to the council in Barrow, (2) a force in creating the Alaskan Eskimo Whaling Commission; and (3) the implementation under contract with the **BIA** of several contracts for services such as those provided under the Indian Child Welfare Act, certain housing projects, vocational education, and other BIA contract activities (**Luton 1986**, Chapter **5:20-28**). Both Smythe and Worl (1985) and **Luton (1986)** note that generally the **Inupiat** Community of the Arctic Slope is perceived as a “Barrow” group, enmeshed in the local politics of that community. This perception was reinforced when the social contracts were withdrawn from the ICAS in 1983 (effective for **1984**).

When the NSB was formed in 1972 it became “a major political/governmental force on the North Slope, affecting governmental operation in nearly all North Slope communities, including **Wainwright**. Through its ability to **collect** property taxes from the Prudhoe Bay and related oil facilities, the NSB generates revenues for projects throughout the borough, including Wainwright, where substantial funds have been invested in Capital Improvement Projects. The borough is the provider of most community services throughout most North Slope communities, and this is also the case in Wainwright where the school, various social **services**, and other government functions are carried out by the NSB (**Luton** 1986, Chapter **5:30-31**). Much of the power and authority previously exercised by the City of Wainwright was transferred to the NSB in 1973, including police, public safety, and health functions (**Smythe** and **Worl** 1985). Although the NSB is perceived as an “outside” entity in Wainwright, it nonetheless exercises a major political and governmental influence within the community (**Smythe** and **Worl** 1985).

2. Overlap in Authority and Conflicts Among Institutions

There are spheres of influence and operation among the NSB, the Wainwright City Council, and OC that affect the nature of local government operations in Wainwright, including some conflicts among these institutions. These conflicts are primarily expressed in the domains of land and housing, as is common in the NSB villages. These issues are detailed in **Smythe** and **Worl** (1985) and **Luton** (1984), and a detailed treatment of these points will not be repeated. The discussion by **Smythe** and **Worl** (1985) indicates that conflicts did and do exist among the city, OC, and the NSB concerning issues pertinent to most NSB **villages**. Land transfers under ANCSA are especially troublesome. Each village corporation is obligated to transfer a minimum amount of land to the city for public use, but on the North Slope only **Nuiqsut** has completed this process, and that required a great effort (**Sampson** 1989). Thus, in **Wainwright** there is some conflict over land the city believes is owed to them by OC under ANCSA. The NSB is also the source of most new housing in Wainwright (as in all the villages) and there is a constant battle over the assignment of and responsibility for housing. Wainwrighters feel that the NSB exerts too much control over local matters in this area. In general, city-NSB relations revolve around two apparent axes: (1) local control versus NSB (often perceived as Barrow) control and (2) actions for the public good versus profit or personally motivated actions. When **Wainwright** transferred most of its municipal powers to the NSB it diminished its ability to control all aspects of local life, yet at the same time gained access to increased resources. For the city, the issue is to retain control over local resources and to ensure that local issues are not submerged within the concerns of the NSB and Barrow politics. This axis of local control and **local** benefit is fundamental to the **NSB-Wainwright** conflicts detailed by **Smythe** and **Worl** (1985), regardless of whether the issue is NSB police enforcing local as well as borough statutes or local hire. This is not to say that there is not an economic dimension to some **NSB-Wainwright** conflicts. Rather, it is to say that a major dimension of these conflicts is the **local control-NSB/Barrow** control issue.

conflicts between the OC and the **city** or OC and the borough highlight the **basic** charter of the OC to make a profit rather than be concerned for the public welfare **which** is usually fundamental to public sector charters that **guide** the city and the NSB. Thus, when the OC is involved in housing or land issues, one aspect of the situation is the corporation’s profit making orientation as opposed to NSB and **city** government concerns with providing essential services and improving the **ability** of the **city** to carry out these functions. This is complicated by the OC’S acting at times as

if it were not strictly a profit-minded entity, as in fact the officers of the OC have many roles in Wainwright and they are not always able to keep them separate. There are, no doubt, other **local** control and political issues that structure the types of conflicts detailed by **Smythe** and **Worl** (1985) and **Luton** (1986), but fundamentally **these** conflicts among local governmental and **quasi-governmental** bodies can be categorized as falling along the two axes noted above. **All** NSB villages share this set of problems and must deal with them using essentially the same set of resources and mechanisms. To the extent that the resolutions are different in different villages, it is because of differences that cannot be generalized or even necessarily known beforehand by an outsider (personalities, degree of kinship linkages and the mobilization of the same, sudden removal of key personnel).

C. Native Corporation

As noted previously in this section, the Native Corporation formed under the provisions of ANCSA in Wainwright is the **Olgoonik Corporation (OC)**. The **OC** is governed by a seven-member board of directors who are elected to one-year terms. The officers of the corporation are president, **vice-president**, treasurer, and secretary. All of these are paid positions with the exception of the **vice-president**, who serves in the president's absence. Otherwise, most other corporation positions are paid by the hour (**Smythe** and **Worl 1985:79**).

The **OC** received capital for its initial investments (fuel storage tanks) from the Alaska Native Fund and from this same body the OC also had advice regarding selection of lands around **Wainwright**, eventually selecting some 159,825 acres of which 1,000 acres were titled to the City of **Wainwright** (**Smythe** and **Worl 1985:73-75**). In the 1979-1983 time period the corporation invested in five specific areas, **all** dealing with the provision of services in **Wainwright**. These projects were fuel storage tanks and fuel delivery, a retail store, a garage, a hotel and restaurant (really more of a camp for transient construction workers), and a construction company to take advantage of the **CIP** projects slated to be constructed in Wainwright (**Smythe** and **Worl 1985:80**). In developing these business ventures, the OC has established connections with other governmental and corporate entities. A key link with the NSB is through the CIP programs. The OC physically occupies space owned by the city. The OC does not bid on any project by itself, and so has ongoing relationships with various non-Native construction companies for the purpose of joint ventures. The fuel business was developed in conjunction with Eskimos Inc. (**Smythe** and **Worl 1985:84-87**).

The OC has taken the position that the assets of the corporation should benefit its shareholders as much as possible. As in other villages, there seems to be a presumption that Native residents are shareholders and that the concerns of non-residents are not terribly important. Through its stance toward the borough regarding land and **CIP** issues, in **its** stance toward the city in land issues, and in its dealings with outside contractor, the OC has vigorously attempted to maintain local control of its resources and as much as possible allow its shareholders to be the beneficiaries of employment in **CIP** projects (**Smythe** and **Worl 1985:77-87**; **Luton 1985**). The result is that the provision of jobs and training is seen as a more primary corporate activity than the generation of profit and the disbursement of dividends. This would seem to change the focus of the corporation from shareholders to residents, but in Wainwright the two groups are perhaps more nearly equivalent than in most of the other villages and non-resident shareholders have not registered any objections to the local orientation of the corporation.

The present president of the **OC** has been active in the **corporation** since 1974 (except for 1984 when she took a year **off**). She says that the **OC** pretty much followed the lead of the ASRC until 1982 or so, at which point they retained their own lawyer and hired their own accountant. Up to that time the ASRC had essentially run the **OC** and had made little attempt to train local people to take over. She says that during her year of absence a non-Native manager was hired for the **OC**, a bad situation developed, and she then returned. This, combined with the fuel debt the corporation had acquired in its first several years (both problems that were/are typical of NSB village corporations), has provided quite a management challenge. The **OC** is now profitable and doing fairly well, according to the president. The city and the corporation get along well, although they have had problems in the past. The president says that the corporation is run both to generate profits and to provide local job opportunities, but that at present probably the first is given more priority. The president does not perceive the Corporation Store and the Co-operative Store as being competitors, as they have different hours and the Corporation Store stocks only staples and a few specialty items. The Co-operative Store is the main store for Wainwright, with the Corporation Store being run more as a convenience store for after-hours purchases. The village fuel business is run out of the Corporation Store.

The present president only assumed her **position** upon the sudden death of her predecessor. His death was a severe blow for the corporation and the **community**, as he was involved **in** all aspects of the corporation and his expertise has been difficult to replace. In part, this is why the current president is called upon to do so much for the corporation. Many of the other officers and board members, **while** capable **in their** own rights, find the details of land transfers and financial arrangements confusing. He was also an effective link to most other organizations **in** the community, as a central node **in** the village network. This function was difficult to replace and also places some additional burdens on the present president. The **OC** is completely **typical** of other NSB village corporations **in** this paucity of trained individuals to staff the village corporation.

The **OC** is clearly a central institution in Wainwright, providing some essential services as well as serving as at least a middleman for the creation of local employment. At the same time, while relations with the city council are said to be good, the overlap between the council membership and the **OC** Board of Directors is much less than in other NSB villages (one person) and that individual was the only **OC** representative at the one city council meeting we were able to attend. Field time was inadequate to develop information sufficiently for us to discuss this topic any further for Wainwright in particular, but there are aspects which will contribute to the comparative and regional discussions.

D. Social Services

The types of social **services** available to North Slope residents in general are available in Wainwright through the NSB or state. In the past, the regional IRA organization provided some services, but these have since been assumed by other agencies. For example, **Luton** (1985) describes child welfare services provided through the regional IRA organization, the **Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope (ICAS)**. A Barrow-based caseworker travels to Wainwright to do adoption work and other such services (**Luton 1985:66**) Yet, little other published information about the provision of region-wide services in Wainwright or the nature of clients who use these services is available.

Our short fieldwork period in Wainwright did provide updated information on community services and concerns. For the most part, Wainwright is like the other villages of the NSB. They have few locally available help agencies, which are all centered in Barrow. Dentists, doctors, veterinarians, and social workers all visit periodically on a more or less regular basis. Most serious or emergency situations that come up are dealt with by flying the affected parties to Barrow or, if absolutely **necessary**, flying someone from Barrow to Wainwright. Wainwright does have an advantage over most **NSB** villages in this regard as it is so close to Barrow and has frequent air contact. “Safe houses” are set up in **Wainwright** as in the other villages, but all serious cases of spouse abuse and child problems are still treated in Barrow where longer-term care facilities are available.

The **most** common complaint about the provision of social services was that medical care was totally inadequate. Doctors did not visit the village often enough and the hospital in Barrow was not operated in the manner people desired that it be. There was a petition circulating in the village to this effect. It was interesting that at the same time a physician’s assistant (PA) was available to be stationed in Wainwright but was only there during weekdays, as he was having difficulties locating appropriate housing for his family. He returned to Barrow every weekend to be with them and stayed in the clinic when he was in Wainwright. Given the felt need in Wainwright for better medical care, this difficulty in locating housing for the PA only underscores the complicated nature of the housing problem.

E. Health

There are no resident physicians or other western health care practitioners in Barrow other than the health aides employed by the **NSB**. There is a physician in Barrow who travels to Wainwright and there is also a Public Health Service nurse who makes rounds to the village. Wainwright does have a 4,000-plus square foot clinic constructed through the **CIP** program. As mentioned above, a physician’s assistant will be assigned to the Wainwright clinic once housing is found for his family. Wainwright is the only village on the North Slope outside of Barrow to have a **PA**.

!?. Religion

L History of Churches

The early Christian missionaries agreed that the area north of the Brooks Range was to be Presbyterian, and in the early history of **Wainwright** the Presbyterian minister, Sheldon Jackson, is prominent (Milan 1964:23). Luton (1985) details the early history of Christianity in Wainwright, and only a brief summarization of this discussion is presented here. In the early part of this century Wainwright was served by teachers who, like the Reverend Jackson, were also missionaries or religious persons. In 1938, there was a church and minister residence established in **Wainwright**. However, it was not **until** 1950 that an Eskimo -- Mr. Roy Ahmaogak, who was born somewhere east of Barrow -- was ordained as a minister for **Wainwright**. Presbyterianism apparently thrived in Wainwright, but not without the integration of some traditional elements of **Inupiat** society into local religious beliefs and practices (Luton 1985; Milan 1964; Nelson 1981).

2. Contemporary Churches

Luton reports that in 1982 there was both a Presbyterian and an Assembly of God church in **Wainwright**. A Baptist church was founded in Wainwright some time after Luton's fieldwork there. The Baptist missionary had been flying to both Point Lay and Barrow to offer Baptist services in those communities on an irregular basis. He recently made the decision to relocate to Barrow permanently but has arranged for another couple to come in and continue his work in Wainwright. This is similar to the arrangement he made in Point Lay, where he recruited a missionary couple to come and assume the Baptist mission there (and thus relieve him of the need to travel there). The formal corporate structure for the work in these communities is the North Slope Baptist Missions, which essentially serves as a shell organization for the religious activities of this missionary and as a backup for the churches in Point Lay and Wainwright (now that he is going to Barrow). Each church owns its own building and has its own base of support in the lower-48, so that each preacher is independent. The NSB, however, has funds available to cover temporary emergencies for these churches and owns a plane that can be used for missionary activities. This plane was bought used and has not as yet been used to any great extent in church activities.

The Baptist church in Wainwright has not had a large effect. The missionary estimates there are five **Inupiat** "regulars" (meaning that they can be expected to attend sometimes, but not all the time). There are **also** some **non-Inupiat** attenders. Sunday school is much more successful by far, judging from attendance. The missionary couple attribute this at least in part to their being able to transport the children to and from their church in a bus donated by supporters in Fairbanks. Neither of the other two churches in Wainwright have a Sunday school program of any size. Part of the reason the **missionary** has decided to relocate to Barrow is his apparent lack of success among the adult population. He wishes to seine where he will reach more people. Another reason is that he has a large family and his children have an extremely difficult time in Wainwright with the other children. He reports that the **Inupiat** pick on his children and exert peer pressure on other **non-Inupiat** children to treat his children likewise. The couple coming in to Wainwright to replace him has no children, and he anticipates that Barrow will not present this problem so much, as it is a much larger community with a large **non-Inupiat** population.

G. Infrastructure

1. Utilities

The extremes of cold and the relative isolation experienced by most North Slope communities also affect the delivery of utility services in Wainwright. As in any extreme environment, providing basic services such as water, waste disposal, electricity, and communication facilities is often a complex and costly process. The NSB has primary responsibility for providing these services in Wainwright. Various NSB **CIPs** have resulted in the expenditure of funds to improve the delivery of basic utility services in Wainwright. These utilities and the CIPS associated with them are briefly reviewed below (see Alaska Consultants et al. 1984 for more detail).

Wainwright has received water from a lake two miles distant from the community since the beginning of water delivery service. A 1970s EPA demonstration project was designed to improve (among other things) the quality of Wainwright drinking water. Additionally, the United States

Public Health Service (USPHS) built a storage tank (1 million gallons) to store water, but the source of this water remained the lake from which water was pumped in the summer. An additional water storage with a capacity of several million gallons has been built with a new water treatment plant, but the source of water is the same. The cost of these projects was in excess of \$5,000,000. **Water is** supplied directly to a **washeteria** and the **school** from the storage tanks, but otherwise water is delivered by a tanker truck. Houses **vary** in their individual storage capacities, ranging from plastic thirty-gallon garbage cans to four or five hundred-gallon fiberglass tanks.

The 1973 EPA demonstration project that upgraded drinking water in **Wainwright** also resulted in a sewage treatment plant that serves the **washeteria** and the school. Residential and other sewage is disposed of via a honey-bucket system in which the wastes are put into 55-gallon drums and then picked up by truck for disposal **in** a land fill **site**. A sewage lagoon for the treated wastes and a landfill for the residential and other wastes are the **major** disposal **sites** for village sewage wastes. For the 1984-1990 interval \$767,000 was spent **in** CIP funds on these **facilities**, including some state supplements. This resulted **in** improved sewage outfall **lines** and an improved **utilidor** system serving the school and washeteria (Alaska Consultants et al. 1983:308-310).

Power is supplied in Wainwright from the burning of **diesel fuel** although originally there was a heat exchange system built **into** the system to provide additional heat for the high school. The primary method of power through burning diesel fuel requires **fuel** storage tanks, reliable and efficient generators, and transmission lines. In the past, fuel storage **facilities** have been limited and the **Olgoonik** Corporation has provided fuel storage facilities. For the 1984-1990 interval approximately **\$10,064,000** are allocated to improve provision of electricity in **Wainwright**, including upgrading and expanding existing generators, building new facilities, provision of street lighting, and building new storage tanks (Alaska **Consultants** et al. 1983:311-15). Wainwright's power plant is the newest one on the **North Slope**, since it replaced the one that was **lost in** the recent fire, **which** also destroyed a good part of the school. The plant is now located at one extreme end of the village, away from the school. Waste heat from the power plant is used to heat other public buildings (mainly the **Utilities** and School District Warehouse Combined Facility).

The relative isolation of North Slope communities demands reliable communication facilities. Wainwright has access to most modern communication means, including a direct-dial telephone system that is connected to long distance services, cable television, a teleconferencing system, facsimile machines, and electronic mail terminals. During the 1984-1990 period approximately \$2,250,000 **was allocated** for improving communication capabilities in **Wainwright**, including provision **of** radio equipment for public services officers and television capabilities for the health clinic (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:318-19). Wainwright also has a telecommunications center that is open to the public during the day. Beyond basic telephone **service**, people can use the facilities to participate in teleconferences originating in Barrow or other parts of Alaska. The NSB higher education long distance courses also use this facility, so that their equipment is also available for public use. Individuals are only responsible for the cost of their personal phone calls. The other services are provided by the NSB, including the provision of funds to hire a person to staff this center. The center is a separate building and is quite large, and certainly is superior to telecommunications facilities available in most other villages (see general discussion).

2. Transportation

Wainwright has an airstrip (but no terminal) and a local road system. Airplanes provide the only commercial transportation into or out of **Wainwright**. In addition to passengers, the airport also provides a means for shipping cargo which otherwise arrives via ocean barges. The airport has regular service by two carriers, Barrow Air and Cape Smythe. In the past, the facilities at the airport did not accommodate larger aircraft, but recent capital expenditures have enlarged the airport. Approximately \$13,455,000 was been allocated for these improvements (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984310-11).

There are also ongoing road improvements within **Wainwright**, designed to improve access between the town and the airport, the town and a landfill site, and between the airport and **Wainwright Inlet**, an important subsistence travel route for **Wainwrighters**. Direct expenditures on road improvements total approximately \$8.3 million and about another \$13 million on equipment improvements, gravel development, and related projects (Alaska Consultants et al. 19842%-303).

3. Recreational Facilities

Recreation activities primarily center around playing bingo, participation in traditional Eskimo dancing, cable television, movies, picnics, visiting friends, and various feasts connected to whaling (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:392). Children also play with their peer groups outside a great deal, with the particular activity being dependent on the season to a large extent. Subsistence activities are at least partially recreational, although most **Inupiat** will not phrase it that way. It appears that local fishing trips, which commonly involve family units, especially display this element. Chores such as hauling trash to the dump or chopping ice for drinking water are also sometimes made into family outings. Riding **snowmachines** and all-terrain vehicles (**ATVs**) is also an activity which contains this element to a greater or lesser degree. Teens and young adults tend to ride around the village in an explicitly social and recreational way. Somewhat older people **and** adults tend to ride outside of the village to escape the noise and responsibilities of the village, but also usually take along subsistence resource harvesting equipment. They say that at least some of these trips are as much to get out of the village and relax as to hunt or **fish**.

The recreation facilities that exist in **Wainwright** are the community building and a gym that was built in part of the Utilities and School District Warehouse Combined Facility (**USDW**) building to temporarily take the place of the gym lost in the school fire. It is anticipated that the school gym will soon be open again, at which time a decision will be made whether to keep the second gym or (more probably) convert it back to work space. A playground also exists and is used quite a bit. Several open areas are also used as ball fields. The new school will also have a swimming pool, serving as the water **reserve** for fire protection, when it is finished.

The community building is arranged in two sections **which** can be separated by a folding divider. The areas are of about the same **size**. One is used as a game room and has several video games and pool tables. This is usually open in the evenings and is predominately used by teenagers and young adults. The other section is open space and is used for public meetings and for bingo. Tables and chairs are set up as **necessary** for these activities. The divider is used whenever bingo or a meeting is held so that both sets of activities can take place. On occasion, when a meeting

is either anticipated to be so large as to need the space, or so important that no one should be tempted to miss it and no activity should be allowed to disturb it, activities in the game room will be canceled for that evening.

Television and videotapes are a prime source of entertainment in Wainwright. **Wainwright** is the only village outside of Barrow in which there is a local videotape rental outlet. Action movies and wrestling tapes predominate. While a systematic survey was not done, most homes visited had a videotape player, and informants reported that most public events and ceremonies were videotaped by at least one local person. This medium has been very widely adopted in a **very** short time, as is evident when comparing it to photography. Still pictures are also very popular **on** the North Slope, yet camera ownership is not very widespread at **all** and few **people** take pictures on a regular basis (see general comparative discussion).

In **Wainwright** there once was a Recreation Committee that sponsored bingo games several nights a week. This voluntary committee was apparently organized by the mayor as a way of responding to Wainwright's limited ability to raise local funds. Thus, the monies from these bingo games, which are very popular among Wainwrighters, were used as matching funds for various state and federal projects (**Luton 1985:90-91**). Yet, beyond these uses of bingo money, contributions were also made to purchasing food for various feasts, including those at Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Year's. At these events it was not uncommon for foot and **snowmachine** races to take place. Bingo is now sponsored by various other voluntary organizations and the recreation club no longer functions in Wainwright.

4. Issues

CIP projects associated with infrastructure development in Wainwright have resulted in the expenditure of millions of dollars, some of which has stayed in the village through employment of local citizens. Another consequence is the in-migration of individuals seeking work in the projects funded by the NSB. Development of this infrastructure has improved the standard of living of local residents, yet the need remains for additional improvements in water, sewage, roads, electricity, and other such infrastructure elements. At present, the projects now in progress are the relocation of those houses deemed too close to the ocean (and thus liable to danger from ice overrides) and the upgrading of the present housing stock through the Rural Employment and Living Improvements (**RELI**) program. The project to put fencing around the various cemetery plots should be complete by the time this report is published, as will the new school.

H. Fire Protection

1. History of Fire Protection Services

The history of fire protection services before the advent of the NSB is not reported in the literature about Wainwright. In most communities of the NSB, such services were voluntary and relatively ineffective. Most fires resulted in the loss of buildings, with most effort being applied to preventing the spread of the fire. With the advent of the **NSB**, funds became available for fire protection service facilities. Currently, Wainwright has a prefabricated **metal** fire building that has

approximately 4,680 square feet of floor space. This facility houses fire equipment, provides room for training, office space, and other facilities for fire fighters. There are three different fire protection vehicles in Wainwright: an engine company truck (200 gallon water tank), a tanker truck (3,000 gallon water tank), and a vehicle that is used as an ambulance (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:49-50). This is all standard for a NSB village.

2. Organization of Activities

As in most small NSB communities, the **fire protection services** in Wainwright are organized as a volunteer Fire Department. Members of the volunteer fire fighters, who are also members of the Search and Rescue (**SAR**) force, number between 25 and 30 persons. These fire fighters are responsible to the NSB fire chief in Barrow. Among these volunteers, there is an on-going need for training which is provided through various state and NSB programs.

What is the need for a fire department in an arctic climate? The snow, ice, and winds of the North Slope make substantial demands on the heating systems in the village and this presents a risk of fire. The windy conditions, the difficulty of responding in winter when road and weather conditions are bad, limited water, and other such environmental complications make fire a notable hazard in **Wainwright**. Indeed, there is a history of fires in Wainwright. The school and power plant burned in 1987 and have been replaced. There was a major community center fire in 1982, a housing complex fire in 1981, and other housing and structure fires in 1973 and 1979. Given the high costs of constructing anything on the North Slope, fire protection services assist in limiting threats to life and property and the economic costs associated with property damage (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:49-50). Informants say that the major purpose of the Fire Department is still to prevent the spread of fires from one building to another. The mode of construction, high flammability of materials due to the low overall humidity, and the often extreme weather conditions combine to make saving buildings once a fire is started a very difficult task indeed. The 1987 **fire**, started underneath the school, which resulted in the loss of the power plant and most of the school, illustrated this point. There seem to be few instances of buildings that have been saved once a fire started.

I. Search and Rescue

1. History: Regional Development

People sometimes disappear in their trips out on the ice or inland. Before snowmachines appeared (about 1960), it was most often the immediate family and friends **of** the missing individual who **would** mount an informal rescue effort. If these efforts proved unsuccessful, then help might be requested from Barrow or the National Guard (**Smythe** and Worl 1985:110). Although SAR has a long history as an informal activity in the community, Wainwright Search and Rescue was only formally incorporated in 1974, and this was subsumed under the NSB SAR in 1979. The local control issue is certainly present in the SAR arena. A proposal was made to the borough in 1983-1984 for an independent Wainwright SAR, but this has not materialized, influenced partially by the way SAR resources are organized. Most of the funding for SAR comes from the NSB and they do not want to give up formal review powers if they are paying most of the costs. Local searches

are still for the most part directed and manned by local people. It is not totally clear what advantages locals see in a formally independent SAR, other than in an ideological sense.

2. Organization and Operations

As noted elsewhere in this report, the NSB maintains some paid staff in Barrow, as well as resources to organize search operations among various communities and available resources. However, in Wainwright there remains a perception of local control of SAR. Luton (1985) notes that membership in the all-voluntary SAR group is prestigious and valued by the community. He also suggests that this membership expresses the "**Inupiat ideal** of the male's self-sacrifice for the community" (Luton 1985:42). It might be added that in the **rural** United States membership in **voluntary** fire departments and search and rescue operations is also prestigious and appears generally to represent and be interpreted as "service to the community." This certainly appears to be the case in **Wainwright** where SAR membership includes "most of the younger males who serve in some representative capacity for the NSB or the City of **Wainwright** and most, if not all, of the "whaling captains" (Luton 1985:92).

SAR has three types of activities: (1) engaging in search and rescue operations for anyone lost in the area; (2) prevention of death or injury to travelers by (a) providing several cabins stocked with foods and fuel for those lost or otherwise in endangered and (b) encouraging those traveling to inform the SAR of their destination and route when traveling and (3) raising funds for SAR operations through bingo.

3. Issues

Regardless of the Wainwright SAR dependence upon the NSB, this is an important local organization that embodies many of the values of commitment to community that are valued by **Wainwrighters**. Membership in the SAR conveys status. To an extent, SAR serves to represent Wainwright within other communities. Wainwright SAR members are **almost** always asked to participate in any extended search, wherever it may be on the North Slope. This is at least partially a recognition of the tracking and subsistence skills of Wainwrighters, combined with a keen knowledge of the coastal environment.

J. Public Safety

1. History

Social control was mostly an informal institution in **Inupiat** society in pre-contact times. Milan (1964) discusses the role of the traditional council and the **umialaqs** in enforcing social norms. With the adoption of the IRA form of village council, more Christian-based ideals and issues formed a central role in the enforcement actions of these councils. With the formation of the NSB, the public safety function in **Wainwright** became primarily the responsibility of the borough through Public Safety Officers (PSOs).

2. Organization and Operations

In Wainwright there are two PSOS who implement the Public Safety function. Recently, it has been unusual for both to be present in Wainwright at the same time, due to overall staffing problems in the department. At most times one PSO can handle all matters that arise in Wainwright. As local PSOS are on call at all times, having a partner to split shifts makes the job somewhat easier in terms of maintaining a regular schedule. A partner also provides a measure of safety for the occasional gun call. Backup or additional help can be requested from Barrow as required. The local jail is used as a temporary holding facility only. All prisoners are transported to Barrow as soon as possible after arrest. If only one PSO is in Wainwright, this requires that a replacement be sent out **from** Barrow while this transfer occurs (it is NSB Department of Public Safety policy that the arresting officer accompany the prisoner during this transfer). Having two officers in the village also facilitates their other duties, which include attending all formal meetings in Wainwright (including meetings of the Wainwright City Council) and maintaining daily public contacts. Some officers are much better at these activities than others.

The PSO building was built in 1978. It is located in Wainwright between the post office and the community building. The building has about 880 square feet including office space, storage, kitchen, workshop, and holding cells (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:45). The PSOS have a four-wheel drive vehicle, which they use extensively within the village, and **snowmachines** and an ATV for use as needed (all are standard village issue).

Alaska Consultants (1983:48) report a summary list by category of PSO actions in 1980 (199), 1981 (165), and 1983 (208). They suggest that “law enforcement problems here are primarily related to liquor abuse” (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:47). However, in examining the statistics presented regarding PSO activities there is an apparent inconsistency when the numbers for “Liquor Law Violations/Disorderly Conduct” charges are examined for the years 1980-1982. In 1980, such cases are only 18 of 199 (9.0596), in 1981 16 of 165 (9.7%), and in 1982, 33 of 208 (**15.9%**). While this category would hardly seem to qualify as the major law enforcement problem, **epidemiological** work by Phillips and Inui (1986) suggest that a high percentage of all homicide, assault, and problems with domestic violence are alcohol-related (1986: 127-35). Thus, if we add these categories to the alcohol-related problems, the percentages increase substantially (e.g., from 15.9 to almost 35% in 1982; and from 9.7 to almost 30% in 1981). The statements by Alaska Consultants also become more understandable. It is also possible that the involvement of alcohol is underreported in the official PSO records. This is noted as a possibility for more recent statistics (see the Point Lay Case Study) and earlier records even less reliable than those examined there. Local PSOS also uniformly report that almost all serious service calls involve at least one person who is under the influence of some drug.

However, if this more interpretative argument is discarded, then we are left with at least the perception among Wainwrighters that alcohol is a significant local problem, even if its manifestation is only in 9.7 to 16% of the PSO activity reports. The degree of local concern about alcohol is suggested by **Luton**: “The elders and many others viewed drinking as an unmitigated evil; they believed that there was no such thing as a ‘social **drink**,’ that anyone seen with a drink in their hand was a proven alcoholic” (1986: Chapter 614). He also suggests that this type of concern resulted in a “social movement” directed toward stopping the importation of alcohol into

Wainwright, since the bootlegging of alcohol into **Wainwright** is perceived as an “outside threat” (Luton 1986:14).

The “blue ticket” is a function of social control that used to be exercised by the **Wainwright City Council**. It is not clear if this is still a viable mechanism of social control, as it has no formal legal basis. The blue ticket is essentially a one-way plane ticket out of town with instructions to the party receiving the ticket that they are banished from the city. PSOS did not help in the administration of such sanctions in the past, and are prevented from doing so in the present. Perhaps for this reason it has not been used very often. Apparently the few times it has been (informally) invoked in the recent past the person targeted did leave town. Luton (1985) notes that banishment from a village is a post-contact form of social control in Eskimo society. A blue ticket can be issued to anyone in the city that the council believes is a threat to the community (Luton 1985:62). The blue ticket was apparently used much more commonly before the NSB was formed and assumed the responsibilities for police protection by stationing PSOS in the villages.

3. Issues

Several authors have noted that a major Public Safety issue in Wainwright, as in other North Slope communities, is alcohol and problems related to alcohol (e.g., Alaska Consultants et al. 1984). The exact magnitude of this problem is not quantified, but there is the perception among **Wainwrighters** and other NSB residents that alcohol is a fundamental issue that structures a range of village problems.

In **Wainwright**, the issue of local control over the PSOS is also important. In the past, concerns have arisen that PSOS need to enforce city statutes as well as those of the NSB. For local PSOS to be authorized to do so, however, the city statutes must be submitted to the proper NSB officials so that a determination can be made that they are consistent with the other duties of **PSOs**. So far, the effort to follow this procedure has not been made. This is essentially the same as for all other villages.

There is no indication that **Wainwright** has any unique problems in regard to **PSOs**. Indeed, it appears likely that the village enjoys relatively good relations with **local** PSO officers. They attend every regular city council meeting and give a **summary** monthly report on their activities. The personality of the individual PSO is so important in this, however, that it is not wise to generalize in this regard.

K **Schools**

1. History

As noted several times in this discussion of **Wainwright**, the founding of the community is associated with the building of a school in 1904. Teachers were most often also missionaries. Sometime during the 1960s the Bureau of Indian Affairs (**BIA**) built a school in **Wainwright**. This “old school” apparently stayed in use until about 1979 when the high school was completed. Construction of a new elementary school and additions to the high school began in 1982 and were completed

in 1983. The school burned down in September 1987 (along with the power plant) and necessitated the use of the old school and some trailers as a make-shift until the new school was completed. Part of the USDW building was converted into a temporary **gym** within weeks of the fire. The new school is expected to be totally finished by September of 1989 (it is now partially open).

2. Organization and Operations

Wainwright schools are operated by the NSB School District, which sets policies and operates the facilities from central offices in Barrow. The school district employs about thirty-seven employees in **Wainwright**. Fourteen of these are non-local **certified** teachers. One is the locally hired bilingual teacher who, while not certified, is a “recognized expert.” There are nine locally hired classroom aides (or more properly, nine such positions since they are rarely all filled at the same time). The plant manager is a **non-Inupiat**. The remaining positions are all part of the classified support staff and all except one are local **Inupiat**. These positions consist of one clerical aide, one secretary, four maintenance men, two custodians, two cooks, and two recreation aides. **Wainwright** schools teach from Early Childhood Education (pre-kindergarten) through the twelfth grade, including various vocational education programs.

3. Issues

The school in **Wainwright** displays most of the same problems as schools in the other NSB villages. Local control is an issue, with the local SAC not being very active. The central board is seen **as** totally in control and, in conjunction with the **non-Inupiat** principal, not terribly interested in what local people would prefer in terms of their schools. In part, this is due to the college-track preference of the current NSBSD and the more practical/technical orientation of the village population at large. Cultural issues (language, subsistence skills, dancing) are also a point of contention. The school staff also has a relatively high turnover rate and is largely uninvolved with the community outside of the school. The 1987 fire also seriously disrupted the educational program, although the decision was made to keep the students in **Wainwright** with their families rather than move them elsewhere.

SECTION IV: CULTURAL ISSUES AND INFORMAL INSTITUTIONS

A. Patterns of Change in Informal Institutions

Patterns of change in informal institutions relating to subsistence activities such as whaling are examined in **Luton** (1985), **Smythe** and **Worl** (1985), and Nelson (1981). Information on informal voluntary associations such as the Wainwright Whaling Captains Association, Mothers' Club, and Motor Musers' Club are discussed in **Luton** (1985) and **Smythe** and **Worl** (1985). For example, **Smythe** and **Worl** discuss changes in the social organization of bowhead whaling in terms of quotas established by the International Whaling Commission in 1977 (**Smythe** and **Worl** 1985:100). They suggest that these quotas resulted in a shifting of crews such that experienced whalers are spread throughout the whaling fleet to maximize the strike and kill ratio. Through this process the role of elders and experienced whalers has been reinforced (**Smythe** and **Worl** 1985:101). Furthermore, they also note that since 1980 whaling crews have increased, with crews doubling in size between 1980 and 1984 (**Smythe** and **Worl** 1985:102). **Luton** (1986) also notes that in recent years whaling crews have become more complex, with a mixture of kin and non-kin, from within and outside of Wainwright.

Like the Whaling Captains Association, there are other groups that have formed around activities that were previously integrated differently into **Inupiat** culture. For example, the Wainwright Dance Group performs native Eskimo dances, formalizing an activity that was previously part of the usual cultural life of the **Inupiat**. The same can be said of the Search and Rescue Club and the Motor Musers' Club. Searching for those lost was formerly integral to the daily life of the **Inupiat** rather than 'being expressed in a formalized institution such as the Search and Rescue Club. On the other hand, organizations such as the Women's Club have the character of a local social service club: 'They give food and clothing to the families in need' (**Smythe** and **Worl** 1985:116).

B. Subsistence

1. Organization of Subsistence Activities

The people of Wainwright are **hunters**. They may also be construction workers, mechanics, health aides, and any number of other occupations, but an essential element of Wainwrighter identity is that of the hunter. Nelson (1969, 1982) and **Luton** (1985, 1986) provide substantial detail regarding what and when the **Inupiat** of Wainwright hunt. A normative "seasonal round" is presented in **Ivie** and **Schneider** 1979. Among the most important natural resources pursued are bowhead whale, caribou, fish, and waterfowl. Of somewhat lesser importance are seals, walrus, **belugas**, and polar bear. The factors that influence the taking of each of these species are environmental, cultural, social, and more recently sometimes political. Nelson (1982.) and **Luton** (1985) provide extended discussions of the concatenation of these various factors in determining the taking of each species. What they emphasize is that resources availability can change, the technology of taking a resource may improve or become too expensive, or preferences may be altered with other social, political, or technological changes. Thus, characterizing subsistence at any one point in time is likely to miss the essential interaction of man, society, and environment that structures **Inupiat** harvesting of wild resources. Furthermore, subsistence is more than hunting to feed the family. It is infused with a moral and spiritual dimension in which man is related to the animals he hunts by a bond not to

waste the resources and to follow all of the rules that attend to hunting and, importantly, to sharing the rewards of the hunt. That is, subsistence has important social and cultural meaning beyond the economic value of the resources taken.

The seasonal round in Wainwright is described succinctly by Nelson (1981) and is quoted in full here:

Fall. Fishing in the upper Kuuk and **Utugqaq** Rivers is a major activity, with many families staying in fish camps for periods of several days to two months or more. Caribou hunting intensifies as the fall migrations pass in September and October. Other fall activities include waterfowl hunting before freeze-up, and hunting for polar bears when the pack ice **first** comes ashore.

Winter. Fishing activities shift from the upper river to the Kuuk Lagoon near **Wainwright**, where smelt and **tomcod** are abundant. Men travel widely inland and near the coast, trapping foxes and hunting caribou. Polar bears and seals are hunted during times favored by the right weather and sea ice conditions.

Spring. Whaling is the hallmark of the season and the most important subsistence activity of the year. Hunters in the offshore camps take bowhead whales, **belugas**, polar bears, seals, and waterfowl. Some people travel widely inland in the spring, searching for caribou, moose, **fox**, and other furbearers. These trips may take them as far as the Brooks Range.

Summer. Early summer is an important season for hunting seals and waterfowl, and families often move to traditional camping sites along the coast at this time. Camps may be occupied into mid-summer, when the main subsistence activities include sealing, fishing, and caribou hunting. Throughout the ice-free season, boats from **Wainwright** ply the coastal waters and especially the Kuuk River, mainly to set fishnets and hunt caribou. These activities **intensify** toward late summer and continue until freeze-up in the fall (Nelson 1981:vi).

As suggested by this description of the seasonal round in Wainwright, various family, kinsmen, and others are involved in the pursuit of subsistence resources; and, as noted by **Luton** (1985), Smythe and Worl (1985), and Nelson (1982) when resources are harvested, they are shared and distributed among family, kinsmen, and others within and beyond the village. The involvement of individuals other than an individual hunter in the pursuit and distribution of subsistence items is often directly related to the nature of the resource. For example, hunting walrus usually requires more than a single individual because of the size of the hauling and butchering task. Similarly, whaling is an impossible task for an individual (except in legend). Yet, what determines the composition of these groups is not the nature of the resource, but cultural and social factors.

Perhaps the single most important determinant of the composition of task groups, as well as the distribution network for subsistence resources, is kinship (Nelson 1981; **Luton** 1985). Yet, there are various types of task groups that form around subsistence activities. **Luton** (1985) suggests the

following categorization of subsistence task groups: (1) *couples and nuclear family* task groups in **which** all able members, including wives, participate; (2) *partners* may be friends or kinsmen, but often they are not close kinsmen; (3) *complex task groups* are especially associated with hunting larger animals such as caribou or walrus and they are usually composed of a core of kinsmen and other non-kinsmen, including individuals who may have a hunting partner relationship with one of the core kinsmen in the group; (4) *whaling crews* in the recent past have been kin-based, but these are now expanding to look more like complex task groups with a mixture of kin and non-kin (1985:180-83). The Barrow-Wainwright Subsistence Study, while not having the nature of such harvesting groups as one of its primary objectives, has collected some information on this topic that should be available in their reports. **As** a preliminary generalization, they have noted the existence of “hunting groups” headed by a whaling captain who provides all the cash and equipment necessary for his crew members to hunt, even out of whaling season. In return, all harvested resources are put in the captain’s ice cellar and crew members are allowed to take what they need. The same central redistribution model is said to hold in Barrow, but to a lesser extent (Loring and Burnham, 1989). Clearly much more work remains to be done in the area of task group formation and the actual mechanics of harvest processing and distribution, but this is quite a different picture from that presented in Point Lay and perhaps other villages on the North Slope.

Tables 23-AIN (below), 4-AIN, and 8-AIN (shown previously) display some characteristics of subsistence consumption and sharing among Wainwright households. Table 23-MN shows that in Inupiat households that are actively involved in subsistence, meat and fish resources account for almost 78% of all such products consumed. At the other extreme, in Inupiat households that are minimally involved in subsistence, fish and meat subsistence resources account for only 6.7% of such products consumed.’ A similar relationship is observed when Inupiat household size and consumption of meat and fish subsistence products is examined. As indicated in Table 10-AIN, small, medium, and large households have subsistence meat and fish as, respectively, 33.2%, 44.9%, and 63.1% of total consumption of such products. This pattern is slightly different when Inupiat household income is examined. As Table 10-AIN shows, subsistence meat and fish account for 40.6% of these products consumed in Inupiat households with incomes under \$20,000 and in 47.2% of Inupiat households with incomes over \$60,000. Households in the \$20,000-\$40,000 range consume 40.5% of their total intake of meat and fish from subsistence sources, but in the \$40,000-\$60,000 bracket, only 34.9% of total intake is from subsistence resources harvested by the Inupiat households. What each of these tables also shows is that all Inupiat households consume subsistence meat and fish that is shared by other households and that all Inupiat households who engage in subsistence share the resources harvested.

Table 23-AIN

Wainwright Household Characteristics - 1988
By Levels of Subsistence Participation

	DEGREE OF SUBSISTENCE PARTICIPATION			
	MINIMAL	MODERATE	ACTIVE	ALL HHs
Average HH Income (\$):				
Inupiat HHs	\$29,602	\$28,333	\$33,512	
Non-Inupiat HHs	\$46,500			
All HHs	\$29,602	\$28,333	\$33,512	\$30,888
Cases:	44	21	42	107
Average HH Size (# Persons per HH):				
Inupiat HHs	3.2	3.3	4.9	
Non-Inupiat HHs	3.4			
All HHs	3.3	3.3	4.9	3.9
Cases:	47	21	48	116
Average Meat & Fish Csmptn from Own HH Subsistence (%):				
Inupiat HHs	6.7%	34.3%	77.6%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	7.0%			
All HHs	6.7%	34.3%	77.6%	41.1%
Cases:	47	21	46	116
Average Meat & Fish Csmptn from Other HH Subsistence (%):				
Inupiat HHs	12.0%	9.5%	15.1%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	2.2%			
All HHs	10.9%	9.5%	15.1%	12.4%
Cases:	46	21	48	115
Average Meat & Fish Harvested and Given Away (%):				
Inupiat HHs	5.3%	27.4%	31.3%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	1.2%			
All HHs	4.8%	27.4%	31.3%	20.0%
Cases:	46	21	48	115
Average Proportion HH Income Spent in Village (%):				
Inupiat HHs	68.1%	67.1%	72.9%	
Non-Inupiat HHs	21.0%			
All HHs	63.1%	67.1%	72.9%	67.9%
Cases:	47	21	48	116

Notes: Degree of subsistence participation measured on the basis of how much HH meat & fish consumption was from the HHs own subsistence activities; where
 MINIMAL Under 20% meat & fish from own HH subsistence
 MODERATE: 20-40% meat & fish from own HH subsistence
 ACTIVE Over 40% meat & fish from own HH subsistence.
 Total cases (households)= 127.

Source: NSB Department of Planning and Community Services
 Census of Population and Economy

Subsistence resources are shared in formal and informal ways. With some resources, such as bowhead whales, there are social norms that prescribe which part of the animal goes to whom (Luton 1985). However, subsistence resources are usually shared among close kinsmen, they are also given to the “old people,” and they are shared more widely through pan-community celebrations such as feasts at Thanksgiving, Christmas, and at the *Nalukataq*, the feast associated with the taking of bowhead whales (Luton 1985:239-60). Among the most widely shared, and highly valued resources, are caribou and whale -- both bowhead and **beluga**. Caribou is widely shared. For example, Luton quotes one informant as saying, “Inupiat are all related. We share with our relatives. You have to **give** some caribou to the bums who don’t hunt. Everybody shares caribou even if they aren’t related” (1985:273). This is a suggestive quotation, which will be interpreted in more **detail** below.

Several authors have noted how modern technology, such as rifles, outboard motors, **snowmachines**, and aluminum **skiffs** have changed subsistence activities in Wainwright (Nelson 1969, 1982; Luton 1985; Ivie and Schneider 1978). The following are some of consequences of such technological developments cited by these authors:

(1) When snowmachines replaced dog teams as the vehicles for hunting, there was a corresponding decrease in the amount of seal and walrus taken for dog meat. Luton (1985) suggests that hunters had to take only 60% of the meat they previously harvested without reducing the human consumption of meat.

(2) Use of snowmachines opened up hunting areas that had not been exploited for some time because of the travel limits of dog teams from the village (Nelson 1981).

(3) Use of **snowmachines** has also limited the use of certain areas (and the harvest of certain resources) due to the nature of the machine. Its centralized weight and difficulty on rough ice make its use in many ice conditions impractical or dangerous (Braund and Burnham 1984).

(4) Women and other family members accompany men more often now with the increased use of snowmachines and skiffs (Nelson 1981).

(5) The use of aluminum **skiffs** that can be operated by a smaller group has “individualized” hunting groups more than when other sea-hunting technology was used (Nelson 1981:107).

(6) Bird hunting has increased because people have more time and mobility to do it with snowmachines.

For a thorough discussion of the effects of modern technology on subsistence activities, the reader should consult the sources cited above.

2. Inupiat Subsistence Ideology

Traditional ideology about subsistence is rich in information about places to hunt, **beliefs** about hunting and whaling practices, expectations about sharing resources, and tales about the relationships between animals and men (cf. Nelson 1982). However, among the most important elements of this ideology are ones that concern the meaning of subsistence hunting for the identity of the **Inupiat** and the significance of sharing subsistence harvests. Nelson cites a comment that simply, but eloquently states the essence of this point about **Inupiat** identity “I have to hunt . . . because I am an Eskimo” (Nelson 1981:113). Indeed, Nelson also notes that “the measure of a man derives heavily from his participation and skill in subsistence pursuits, and for women it is partially based on ability in working with the products of these pursuits” (Nelson 1981:12). Hunting gives the **Inupiat** a sense of continuity with their past and a vision of their future. It is a central cultural institution whose meaning extends beyond the food value and economic implications of the resources harvested. As **Luton** (1985), Nelson (1969, 1982), and **Smythe** and Worl (1985) note, this significant cultural value is perhaps best expressed in the social and cultural importance of bowhead whale hunting in **Wainwright**. The significance of sharing and the mutual dependence among the **Inupiat** is suggested in the wide sharing of whale and caribou. The **Inupiat** depend upon one another and they also rely upon the generosity of the successful hunter.

Subsistence pursuits remain important in the modern-day cash economy of **Wainwright** both because they are markers of cultural identity and because subsistence resources provide essential and preferred food **stuffs** for **villagers**. In other words, subsistence is perceived as money in the bank, or as one individual said, “Jobs come and go, but the hunting is always there . . .” (Nelson 1981:v). Yet, even the **Inupiat** ideal of sharing has undergone some changes with the development of the cash economy and the presence of alcohol. **Luton** (1985) notes -- in the quotation cited above -- that there is some inhibition of sharing caribou with individuals who could hunt but do not because they are drinking. Similarly, he also notes that there is some sense that caribou should be shared with those who need it most, and in families where someone has a job making more than \$1,000 per month, then perhaps caribou should not be shared with them. However, he notes these are eddies of disturbance in **Wainwright** and not strong currents of change (**Luton 1985:263**).

Along with development on the North Slope and in the **Wainwright** area has come noise and increased traffic. Some **Wainwrighters** interpret shifts in natural resources to the presence of these new elements in the **Wainwright** landscape. For example, in describing the increase in salmon fishing in the **Wainwright** area, he notes that some villagers suggest that the presence of these fish . . . which have been minimal in the past -- indicates that the salmon are disturbed by the economic development in the south and they are seeking new undisturbed areas (**Luton 1985:403**). Thus, the explanations about resource presence (as well as absence) are incorporating the social and cultural developments in the experience of present-day **Wainwrighters**.

3. Issues

Elsewhere in this discussion the significance of wage labor for the pursuit of subsistence is discussed and this will not be reviewed again here (see especially the comparative and regional discussions). What we emphasize here is that as wage labor has increased there has been a concomitant decrease in the amount of time available for people to go hunting. At the same time there are accommodations in the wage labor system that allow individuals some leave time to engage in subsistence. Also, the increased use of modern technology has resulted in a greater efficiency in the harvesting of resources, both on the individual (caribou, waterfowl) and collective (**bowhead**, **beluga**, walrus, bearded seal) levels.

Among **Wainwrighters** there are concerns regarding the regulation of resources, especially caribou and whales, by external agencies. Indeed, the Eskimo Whaling Commission is one response of North Slope residents to pressures to regulate the taking of whales and other marine mammals (cf. Nelson 1981). Some of the concern of the external regulators derives from the effect of technology on Eskimo whaling practices. For example, Luton observes, “the relatively large amounts of money brought into the economics of the North Slope Borough and the funding of the CIP allowed more and more whaling crews to be fielded. This, in turn, led to more bowheads taken and struck. The numbers grew so rapidly that the International Whaling Commission, which hitherto had not regulated the subsistence whaling activities of Alaskan Eskimos, stepped in to limit their take” (Luton 1985:215). Thus, the **Eskimo Whaling Commission** works with the external regulators to ensure that local interests are heard. Also, recent attempts to control the taking of caribou has left many **Wainwrighters** suspicious of any efforts to gather information about natural resource harvests, especially caribou

“The State of Alaska fearing for the biological viability of the drastically reduced caribou herd, stepped in to regulate local subsistence hunting by imposing seasons and bag limits. Apparently, many **Wainwright** families attempted to follow the letter of the law and ran out of meat during the winter . . . The whole experience has left many people embittered about attempts to regulate subsistence hunting. It has left everyone in Wainwright suspicious of all attempts to gather information about harvest data . . .” (Luton 1985:205)

Another area of concern for the **Inupiat** of Wainwright is the cause of shifts in natural resources. An informant, quoted by Nelson, simply states this concern: “Every kind of animal knows what the land looks like. My Dad told me this. When they change the looks of the land, the animals go someplace else” (Nelson 1981:109). In the past, the animals knew the place, the territory of the **Inupiat**. The **Inupiat** also know their territory through the many traditional place-names that are attached to their environment. Both the **Inupiat** and the animals know the place through their own ways. However, as recent political events have drawn boundaries where they did not exist before, and the people have settled in places they did not before, there is a tendency for Wainwrighters to explain the shortages of certain animals and the abundance of others in terms of the animals no longer recognizing the place because it has changed (Nelson 1981). And, we can speculate that the **Inupiat's** concern about the effects of these political and other boundaries are expressed in these explanations of shifting resources patterns.

C. Traditional Sharing and Kinship Behaviors

1. Kinship Organization

In **pre-contact** times kinship was fundamental to most aspects of **Inupiat** life, structuring residence patterns, marriage, trading and exchange, the structure of task groups, and other essential components of daily life (cf. Spencer 1959; **Burch** 1975). Kinship persists in **Wainwright** as a salient institution structuring many but not all aspects of community life (cf. **Luton** 1985). Kinship in **Wainwright** society -- like many other institutions in Arctic societies -- has a character of adaptability and flexibility that is expressed **in** several ways. For example, it is observable in the traditional structure of adoption wherein families, in the past, extended or altered membership according to preferences or needs. Also, as **Luton** notes, "Adoptions, wife exchanges, and partnerships expanded the circle of kin and accommodated kinship to a variety of social situations" (1985:139). **Luton** (1985) thoughtfully discusses the adaptability and flexibility of **Inupiat** kinship in modern-day **Wainwright**, suggesting that although primary kin ties are important, there is a wider sense of kinship among **Wainwrighters**: kinship is extended to all **Inupiat** (**Luton** 1985:139-42). This is expressed in statements such as one quoted earlier in this report in which an informant discusses sharing of caribou, saying, "**Inupiat** are all related. We share with our relatives. You have to give some caribou to the bums who don't hunt. Everybody shares caribou even if they aren't related" (1985:273). At the risk of overinterpreting this quotation, it indicates at once the sense of flexibility that "all **Inupiat** are kin" and that kinsmen take care of one another; at the same time, the mutual dependency that characterizes **beliefs** about kinship and sharing is violated by the "bums" who appear not to uphold their -- not to hunt -- obligations of mutual dependency. Yet, the **Wainwrighter** quoted here ends his statement with, "everybody shares caribou, even if they aren't related," thus once again affirming the significance of the value of sharing, even when it is divorced from the idiom of kinship. Nonetheless, this discussion emphasizes that kinship and mutual dependency are intimately interwoven in **Wainwright beliefs** and these traditions remain significant in the daily lives of these villagers. And, this discussion also emphasizes the extended nature of **Inupiat** kinship that binds individuals within a community into a set of moral relationships and obligations.

This flexibility and adaptability of **Inupiat** kinship is also observed in the structure of **Wainwright** households. For example, **Luton** notes, "in some households membership fluctuates almost from week to week. In others it changes hardly at all from year to year. The important point is that the tendency is toward smaller families and smaller households, but not necessary [sic] toward less elasticity, or more formal rules of membership and behavior, or less sharing of resources and skills among households" (1985:146). Thus, although there are more and smaller households -- in part owing to more money to build houses and thus extended families splitting into several households -- kinship and **mutual** dependency remains integral to relationships among **Wainwrighters**. But, the change in, household composition indicates an emerging trend in the social organization of households towards simpler households than previously existed (cf. **Milan** 1964; **Luton** 1985).

Yet, times have changed and the adaptability of **Inupiat** kinship is evident in **Wainwright**. There are a number of new forms of social activity, stores, clubs, political entities, and religious institutions; and, while these may have tendencies toward expressing some basis in kinship (cf. **Smythe** and **Worl** 1985), it is **Luton's** suggestion that kinship does not dominate the structuring of these newer developments (**Luton** 1985:172 ff.) However, kinship is dominant in three specific

areas: (1) subsistence activities are described as kin-based; (2) the sharing of subsistence items is perceived of as kin-based; and (3) the pursuit of subsistence activities is an inherited right from one's parents (**Luton 1985:172**).

2. Formal and Informal Sharing

In Geertz's terms (1973), an important "primordial sentiment" among **Wainwrighters** is that of sharing subsistence resources. Primordial sentiments are those that define the essence of a social and cultural group. As observers of **Inupiat** society have noted, sharing of subsistence resources is pervasive among Wainwrighters (Nelson 1982; **Luton 1985**). There is **formal** sharing according to expectations and norms regarding how a particular resource should be divided. This is well illustrated in the instance of taking a whale. For example, Nelson notes: "When an individual hunter takes a **beluga**, he usually tries to share it in small portions among many people, especially the elders. **Belugas** caught by whaling crews are divided among the members. Large catches from summer drives should be shared equally among all of the village households, 'even though right now we have so many houses that you usually wouldn't get much'" (**1982:78**). These resources are often widely shared. Packages of whale meat may be sent to relatives or friends living in other villages. According to Nelson, it is usually the larger resources for which there are formal rules regarding sharing of resources and the smaller resources such as birds and fish are shared among immediate family or friends (Nelson 1981:114). Formal distributions also occur at formal ceremonial events such as **Nalukataq**, Thanksgiving, Christmas, and when a young hunter takes his first catch of a particular species. A thorough discussion of the sharing at such formal events is presented in Luton's extensive discussion of **Nalukataq** in **Wainwright (1985:241 ff.)**.

Luton (1985) also notes the significance of giving "to the old people." These old people may not be relatives, but there is a cultural value placed upon providing for those who may not be able to provide for themselves, and this is well expressed in the sharing of subsistence resources with the elders in the village of Wainwright.

Otherwise, the patterns of sharing in Wainwright are in the taking of meat to another household for a dinner, sending a soup to another household, and otherwise informally distributing subsistence resources to kinsmen, partners, and friends in the village.

Tables **7-AIN**, **9-AIN**, and **23-AIN** display characteristics of sharing in Wainwright households as indicated by the 1988 NSB Census of Population and Economy. As these tables show, generally there is a direct relationship between the involvement in subsistence, household size, household income, and the degree of subsistence resources shared. Table **23-AIN** shows a wide range (5.3-31.3%) of resources given away among those **Inupiat** households who are, respectively, minimally and actively involved in subsistence. On the other hand, there is less difference in levels of consumption of resources from other households among those that are minimally (12.0%), moderately (9.5%), and actively (15.1%) involved in subsistence.

A similar pattern emerges when the relationship between household size and sharing of resources is examined. Among small, medium, and **large Inupiat** households, the percentage of harvested resources shared is, respectively, **15.6%**, **20.1%**, and **32.2%**. And, the **amount of resources** received by these same size households is, 11.6%, 13.55%, and 14.5% respectively. However, a slightly

different pattern emerges when household income is examined as displayed in Table 7-AIN. Households with incomes below \$20,000 give away approximately 21.4% of the meat and fish they harvest and they receive an average of 13.1% of the meat and fish they consume from other households. Households with incomes in the range of \$20,000 to \$60,000 give away a smaller percentage (about 16%) of the resources they harvest, and households with incomes above \$60,000 give away 35.7% of harvested resources. Similarly, this table also shows that at the extremes of this income range, individuals tend to have the highest levels of subsistence meat and fish received.

3. Ideology of Kinship and Sharing

Luton suggests that kinship in modern-day Wainwright does not dominate the more recent institutional developments in the village: “Today, one can look at almost any formal social institution in Wainwright -- the stores, the churches, the schools, the bodies of government -- and find some way in which its operations are affected by kinship considerations of its employees or members. Nevertheless, kinship no longer provides their organizational basis” (1985:171). Smythe and Worl have a similar observation: “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 appears that in the more recent past, friendships have become an important factor” (1985:28-29). From these observations, it can be concluded that while kinship principles may not structure these newer institutions, kinship still has great importance in who gets hired and in most other aspects of daily life as well.

The Inupiat ideology of sharing among kinsmen and friends remains integral to modern-day Wainwright society. The significance of sharing is reinforced by beliefs such as described by Milan:

“Among the unipqaat at Wainwright is a tale which relates the story of a whale that was caught by various villagers. The gist of the tale is that this whale preferred being caught by the villagers who were most appreciative of their good fortune. This appreciation was shown by generosity to their fellow villagers by sharing whale meat. . . Today generosity is a highly esteemed virtue in a rich and successful Eskimo and his wealth must be used for the common good . . .” (Milan 1964:41)

This theme is echoed in other scholars’ accounts of the rewards that accrue to those who share. For example, Nelson notes, “some people emphasize that traditional rules for division of whales must be strictly followed, because doing otherwise can offend and alienate the animals. Improper division is sometimes blamed for poor or unsuccessful seasons: ‘The whales know . . . and when we do things more the old way, we do better on the whaling’”(Nelson 1981:92). With the increase in the number of Wainwright households and other changes in community, there are tendencies to not share resources according to the traditional patterns and beliefs, but again, such alternations from the traditional patterns are proscribed by powerful beliefs. For example, Nelson suggests, “deviations have been made, limiting shares to those who helped with the drive and subsequent handling of the catch. But this created some dissention in the village and was cited as the reason

for poor harvests in following years. The breach of traditional sharing practice apparently made **belugas** unwilling to allow themselves to be taken” (Nelson 1981:78). Thus, although there is a tendency toward a shift in the ideology and practice of sharing subsistence resources, traditional **beliefs** work against this tendency.

D. Attitudes Toward Development

The paradox of development is that it has at once improved and threatened the way of life of the **Inupiat** in **Wainwright**. The benefits of electricity, **snowmachines**, airplanes, and the other technology that comes with development have made **life** easier and, in some instances, it has allowed the **Inupiat** to hunt in areas they could not reach with dog teams, and to include **members** of their families in subsistence activities that could not be included when only dog teams were used. There are perhaps few who wish to abandon modern-day improvements to life in the community. Yet, with this technology there are, from the perspective of Wainwrighters, negative effects. For example, Nelson quotes several villagers who express concern that the noise and traffic that have come with development are scaring and frightening away the sea and land mammals that Wainwrighters depend upon for the major portion of their diet. Furthermore, there is directly expressed concern about the potential effects of oil development: “If the oil people ever find oil in the ocean around here, they’re going to wreck our livelihood. If oil gets spilled on the ocean, going to kill everything - seals, whales, birds, everything. That ocean out there is a good cold storage for our way of life. Whenever the time comes for getting something, you can always get them fresh . . . All we want is protection for our way of living” (Nelson 1981:109). There is some expressed opinion that oil development is not favored by Wainwrighters, but the **extent** of this view is not indicated in the literature (Nelson 1981:109). A glimpse of this paradox is contained in the following quotation from one of Nelson’s informants:

“When I camp in these places where our old people -- our ancestors -- used to live, it makes me think of who I am, where I came from. For a while my family let go of that; we didn’t **go** back there. But in these years lately, I always try to stay there every year. It’s good to do that; even if **I** don’t catch much I still feel good that I’m there” (Nelson 1981:102).

Here, this elderly woman expresses other primordial sentiments (**Geertz** 1973) or essential feelings of attachment to family, group, and place that relate the individual to their past and their present, and -- **in** this instance -- the significance of camping **in** the old way where the old **people** used to hunt and fish. **And**, even if there are no fish caught, the activity is important for it evokes the **sentiments** that **give** meaning to who the **Inupiat** are. The paradox **in** this **is** that **it is** through the development of modern technology that the **Inupiat** have been able to once again reach the hunting and fishing camps of their elders. Thus, the problems of development will continue to be filled with contradictions and they will **defy** simplistic explanations of “it’s good” or “it’s bad.” According **to** one recent researcher in Wainwright, local informants are only too aware of the extent to which they are committed to an **oil** economy. If forced to choose between development and its problems of local oversight and environmental protection or no development and the resulting loss of jobs and available cash, it is his opinion that most would choose the former, This

was not the topic of his research and he does not have systematic information on this question, so he does not really wish to be cited directly.

E. Attitudes About Local Control of Schools

Before the institution of the NSB, **Wainwright** has always had a local school, including a **BIA** school that was built in the 1960s. With the incorporation of the NSB, there was a shift in some aspects of the control of the schools to Barrow. One of the only references to attitudes about local schools is described by Alaska Consultants et al. (1984) in which they note that 10 individuals were asked if the local school was meeting the needs of the people (p. 390). Of these 10 persons, seven expressed some negative view of the school, one indicated that the school did not discipline children enough, and the remaining two indicated that keeping children near home was important. These data are insufficient to make any more than speculative inferences regarding concerns about local control of schools.

F. Secularization

1. Public Celebrations

Public celebrations in **Wainwright** focus around traditional American holidays such as Thanksgiving, Christmas, and July 4th (cf. Milan 1964:40). The traditional whaling festival, the **Nalukataq**, is another significant **Inupiat** holiday that also involves public feasting and celebration. Milan (1964:40) notes that in 1955 the Messenger Festival was held in the week between Christmas and New Years, although more recent **ethnographers** make no note of the Messenger Feast in **Wainwright** (cf. Luton 1986; Nelson 1981). What is evident is that some of the public celebrations in **Wainwright** have an integral religious or spiritual message. The evidence of this in Thanksgiving and Christmas is clear, and Nelson suggests that in the celebration of the **Nalukataq** there is a spiritual theme based in traditional **Inupiat beliefs** about human relationship with the bowhead whales (Nelson 1981:96).

2. Role of the Church in Everyday Life

Nelson (1981), Luton (1986), Milan (1964) and other **ethnographers** comment on the devout character of **Wainwright** Christian religiosity. Milan (1964) also suggests that in earlier times the church played a role as the enforcer of Christian morality, particularly in regard to sexual conduct. The role is somewhat apparent in Luton's discussion of local church opposition to alcohol (1986: Chapter 6).

Otherwise there is little information with which to judge the role of the church as an institution in the everyday life of **Wainwright**. We do know that in contrast to the depiction of individual and family devotion to Christianity, Luton reports that “. . . except at special times like during whaling, Thanksgiving, or Christmas seasons, actual church attendance appeared to be low. Regular attendance at services or contact with clergy for counseling and guidance seemed to be characteristic of only a few families” (1986: Chapter 6.12). Thus, the actual role of the church in

Wainwright life is not clear, and we should perhaps distinguish the role of the church from the role of individual religious belief such as that stressed by Nelson (1961).

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APPENDICES

**Appendix A:
List of Primary Occupation Categories
NSB Census of Population and Economy**

**Appendix B:
List of Primary Industry Categories
NSB Census of Population and Economy**

**Appendix C:
Methodology and Quality Control
NSB Census of Population and Economy**

**Appendix D:
Updated Household Income and Spending Data**

APPENDIX A

LIST OF PRIMARY OCCUPATION CATEGORIES NSB Census of Population and Economy

Executive, Administrative, Managerial

Professional

Lawyer
Doctor
Engineer

Teacher

Teacher's Aide

Support

Technician

Surveyor
Health Aide

Administrative Support

Office Worker
Clerk
Secretary

Service

Care-giver
Guide
Hotel
Police
Restaurant
Janitor

Construction, Trades

Operator

Heavy equipment
Machinist
Truck driver

APPENDIX A, continued

LIST OF PRIMARY OCCUPATION CATEGORIES
NSB Census of Population and Economy

P i l o t

Laborer

Semi-skilled general construction work

Craftsman

Foreman
Plumber
Carpenter
Electrician

Other

Artisan

Ivory carver
Mask or basket maker
Skin sewer

Armed Forces

National Guard

Trapper, Hunter

Houseperson

Takes care of family

Other

Not in Labor Force

Retired, Disabled, or Does Not Want Job
Student

Unemployed

Underemployed¹

*"Underemployment" included in "Other" category when not otherwise accounted for in a more defined **labor** classification.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF PRIMARY INDUSTRY CATEGORIES NSB *Census* of Population and Economy

Fisheries

Mining (Oil, Coal, **Hardrock**)

Construction

Transportation, Communication, Public Utilities

Trade (sells goods)

Finance, insurance, real estate

Business and Repair Services

Entertainment, Recreation, Tourist Services

Health and Social Services

Legal, Engineering, and Other Professional **Services**

Educational Services

North Slope Borough (Specify Department)

Health Department

Public Safety

Public Utilities

Public Works

Fire Department

Search and Rescue

Wildlife

RELI

Mayor's Office

Law Department

Admin & Finance

Planning

Industrial Development

School District

Assembly

Mayor's Job Program

Other **Local** Government

State Government

Federal Government

Armed Forces

Native Village/Regional Corporation

Working without pay in family business

Other

Self Employed

APPENDIX C

METHODOLOGY AND QUALITY CONTROL NSB Census of Population and Economy

A considerable portion of the most current data published in this study is based on demographic and economic data collected by the North Slope Borough in connection with its Census of Population and Economy. The NSB Census project was designed and administered by the Department of Planning and Community Services in 1988-89. The NSB Census data are based on face-to-face household **interviews** conducted in all eight NSB villages between July 1988 and April 1989. The methods used by the NSB to **collect** and process these data are reviewed in this appendix.

Interviewer Training and Public Outreach

The **interview** questionnaire used for the NSB Census was modeled in part after the federal census with adaptations consistent with the lifestyles of NSB residents. All NSB residential households were canvassed by interviewers hired locally and trained to administer an extensive interview questionnaire. Successful interviewer candidates completed a three-day training course that was conducted onsite in each NSB village by the project manager. Interviewer training involved (1) a review of general interviewer concepts and procedures, (2) a review of the NSB Census questionnaire, (3) practice **interviewing**, and (4) village mapping. A **25-page** training manual was developed to facilitate training and as a reference document for **interviewers**.

Interviewer **training** was preceded by **public hiring** notices for NSB household interviewers and by a letter of notification about the NSB Census project from the NSB Mayor George Ahmaogak sent to **all** NSB households. In certain cases, interviewers from one village were sent to help facilitate completion of the face-to-face interviews **in** other NSB villages.

Database Management

Townsite maps depicting the dwelling composition were used as the basis for defining the universe of households for each NSB community. These maps were available from the Department of Planning and Community Services Geographic Information System (**GIS**) Division. The GIS maps show the legal and physical layout of parcels in each **townsite**. These maps were divided into smaller geographic segments that functioned as management units for interviewer contact. The *typical* NSB village was divided into between six and eight geographic segments. Barrow, by far the largest NSB community, was divided into 36 map segments. A final step in interviewer training involved **classifying** dwellings according to their occupancy status: occupied residential dwelling, vacant residential dwelling, and commercial dwelling.

Face-to-face household interviews began in Anaktuvuk Pass in June 1988. Between June 1988 and April 1989, 1,581 household interviews were conducted by a total of 78 interviewers. The data from each household questionnaire were entered into a computer database using **SPSSPC+** Data

Entry II software (**see** discussion below). These data were organized in community-specific computer files. The SPSS data entry software made **it** possible to replicate the form of the interview questionnaire on the computer screen. **This** helped **minimize** page-by-page recording errors associated with hundreds **of** interview booklets, each having 175 variables. In addition, each variable in the data entry form was programmed to **reject** responses outside of an acceptable range, as dictated by the response codes **in** the questionnaire **itself**. The skip patterns **implicit** in the questionnaire were replicated **in** the data entry form as **well**. The **data-entry** staff were instructed to flag questions **in** completed **interview booklets** that were confusing or non-standard. Prior to data entry, completed **interview** booklets were logged for record-keeping purposes and **edited** for coding consistency. A preliminary report that summarized the results of the NSB Census was prepared **in** May 1989.

During July 1989 a series of steps were taken to ensure completeness and quality control. First, SPSS computer records containing demographic characteristics of cases (household members) were converted to a special computer database using software ("**Q&A**") that provided better search and update capabilities than those available in SPSS. These records were systematically checked against records contained in the **physical** completed interview booklets. (First and last names were recorded by the interviewer, however, names were specifically excluded from the SPSS data files that contain specific attributes of the individuals.) A data-entry technician cross-checked the birth dates (day, month, and year) in the computer database against records in the **interview** booklets. Discrepancies between information contained in the **Q&A file** and those in the physical booklets were noted. Such discrepancies typically included:

- o Missing cases for specific household members,
- o Duplicate cases (within and across villages), and
- o Missing or incorrect observations about specific cases.

All discrepancies were resolved by checking hard-copy records in the completed interview booklets. In some cases follow-up contact was conducted with respondent households.

Second, once **all** discrepancies outlined above were resolved, a **final** mapping inventory was conducted. Here, the physical addresses associated with completed interviews were recorded on the GIS townsite maps. These were classified as occupied residential dwellings. Windshield surveys were conducted in each community to classify the remaining structures on the maps as commercial structures, unoccupied structures (outbuildings, sheds, and warehouses), and vacant residential dwellings. In Barrow, about 75 unclassified structures emerged from this mapping inventory (those that appeared to be occupied but for which interviewer contact was not made). All unclassified residential dwellings were contacted by **interviewers** for follow-up interviews.

A total of 1,625 completed **interviews** were logged across the eight NSB communities. The number of completed household **interviews** in Barrow increased from 988 to 1031. Approximately 30 Barrow households refused to participate in the NSB Census. The **NSB** Census findings indicate a count of 61 vacant households in Barrow during the 1988-89 period. The incidence of vacancies in the remaining NSB villages was negligible.

Response rates for most questions in the NSB **Census** questionnaire were above 80%. For example, the relatively-sensitive, household-income question registered a total of 298 missing observations, representing 18% of total occupied households for the entire NSB region.

Third, diagnostic tests were administered to check for errors in content. Here a series of SPSS macros were developed that produced basic frequency distributions and cross-tabulations for a wide range of demographic and economic variables in the NSB Census database. The purpose of these tests was to expose inaccurate and inconsistent results and identify the study number and person number (**ie.**, the case) for which an apparent error may exist. Discrepancies were cross-checked against hardcopy records in the interview booklets. For example, highest level of education was cross-tabulated with age. The study number and person number of (for instance) a seven-year-old high-school graduate would be reported and that case double-checked against actual hard-copy records; the age or education status would be corrected in the computer database. These procedures were administered systematically for NSB Census data in **all** eight NSB communities. Several hundred errors of this nature were resolved.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND SPENDING -1988
NSB REGION

HOUSEHOLD INCOME CATEGORY	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS			
	<u>INUPIAT</u>	NON- <u>INUPIAT</u>	<u>T O T A L</u>	% <u>TOTAL</u>
UNDER \$20,000	239	28	267	20.1%
\$20,000 - \$40,000	257	78	335	25.2%
\$40,000-\$50,000	191	112	303	22.8%
\$60,000 & ABOVE	171	251	422	31.8%
TOTAL	656	469	1327	100.070
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS			29s	
TOTAL OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS			1625	

	VILLAGE HOUSEHOLDS		
	<u>INUPIAT</u>	<u>NON-INUPIAT</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD INCOME	\$44,532	\$73,323	\$53,138
PROPORTION OF TOTAL HH INCOME SPENT IN VILLAGE (1)	624%.	30.9%	53.3%
AVERAGE MONTHLY HOUSING PAYMENT(2)	\$354	\$623	\$442
AVERAGE MONTHLY HEATING COSTS	\$142	\$115	\$12-s
AVERAGE MONTHLY ELECTRICITY COSTS	\$73	\$56	\$71
AVERAGE FLOOR AREA (SQFT)	1,000	925	963

Notes: (1) For food, clothing, and other household goods.
(2) Includes rent and mortgage.

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1969.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND SPENDING -1988
ANAKTUVUK PASS

HOUSEHOLD INCOME CATEGORY	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS			
	INUIPIAT	NON- INUIPIAT	T O T A L	% TOTAL
UNDER \$20,000	22	2	24	33.8%
\$20,000 - \$40,000	17	4	21	29.6%
\$40,000 - \$60,000	14	3	17	23.9%
\$60,000 & ABOVE	4	5	9	12.7%
TOTAL	57	14	71	100.0%
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS			2	
TOTAL OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS			73	

	VILLAGE HOUSEHOLDS		
	INUIPIAT	NON-INUIPIAT	TOTAL
AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD INCOME	\$31,447	\$52,321	\$35,563
PROPORTION OF TOTAL HH INCOME SPENT IN VILLAGE (1)	67.4%	23.1%	57.6%
AVERAGE MONTHLY HOUSING PAYMENT (2)	\$113	\$494	\$190
AVERAGE MONTHLY HEATING COSTS	\$216	\$108	\$196
AVERAGE MONTHLY ELECTRICITY COSTS	\$100	\$80	\$97
AVERAGE FLOOR AREA (SQ FT)	833	781	814

Notes: (1) For food, clothing, and other household goods.
(2) Includes rent and mortgage.

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND SPENDING -1988
ATQASUK

HOUSEHOLD INCOME CATEGORY	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS			
	<u>INUPIAT</u>	NON- <u>INUPIAT</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	% <u>TOTAL</u>
UNDER \$20,000	14		14	31.8%
\$20,000 - \$40,000	16		16	36.4%
\$40,000 - \$80,000	4	5	9	20.5%
\$80,000 & ABOVE	2	3	5	11.4%
TOTAL	38	8	44	100.0%
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS			10	
TOTAL OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS			54	

	VILLAGE HOUSEHOLDS		
	<u>INUPIAT</u>	<u>NON-INUPIAT</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD INCOME	\$28,944	\$71,563	\$35,057
PROPORTION OF TOTAL HH INCOME SPENT IN VILLAGE (1)	79.9%	27.5%	71.0%
AVERAGE MONTHLY HOUSING PAYMENT (2)	\$148	\$453	\$190
AVERAGE MONTHLY HEATING COSTS	\$259	\$400	\$269
AVERAGE MONTHLY ELECTRICITY COSTS	\$107	\$112	\$107
AVERAGE FLOOR AREA (SQ FT)	1,310	1,200	1,291

Notes: (1) For food, clothing, and other household goods.
(2) Includes rent and mortgage.

Sours NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND SPENDING -1988
BARROW

HOUSEHOLD INCOME CATEGORY	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS			
	INUPIAT	NON- INUPIAT	T O T A L	% TOTAL
UNDER \$20,000	103	23	126	15.1%
\$20,000 - \$40,000	95	68	163	19.5%
\$40,000 - \$60,000	95	93	188	22.5%
\$60,0008 ABOVE	143	216	359	42.9%
TOTAL	436	400	836	100.0%
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS			195	
TOTAL OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS			1031	

	VILLAGE HOUSEHOLDS		
	INUPIAT	NON-INUPIAT	TOTAL
AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD INCOME	\$52,219	\$73,738	\$62,515
PROPORTION OF TOTAL HH INCOME SPENT IN VILLAGE (1)	59.3%	35.7%	48.1%
AVERAGE MONTHLY HOUSING PAYMENT (2)	\$475	\$665	\$579
AVERAGE MONTHLY HEATING COSTS	\$84	\$73	\$80
AVERAGE MONTHLY ELECTRICITY COSTS	\$63	\$56	\$60
AVERAGE FLOOR AREA (SQFT)	1,003	885	947

Notes: (1) For food, dothing, and other household goods.
(2) Includes rent and mortgage.

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND SPENDING -1988
KAKTOVIK

HOUSEHOLD INCOME CATEGORY	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS			
	INUPIAT	NON- INUPIAT	T O T A L	% TOTAL
UNDER \$20,000	13		13	24.1%
\$20,000 - \$40,000	12	1	13	24.1%
\$40,000 - \$60,000	11	3	14	25.9%
\$60,000 & ABOVE	?	?	14	25.9%
TOTAL	43	11	54	100.0%
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS			11	
TOTAL OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS			65	

	VILLAGEHOUSEHOLDS		
	INUPIAT	NON-INUPIAT	TOTAL
AVERAGE OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME	\$35,465	\$95,000	\$47,592
PROPORTION OF TOTAL HH INCOME SPENT IN VILLAGE (1)	70.7%	20.3%	61.7%
AVERAGE MONTHLY HOUSING PAYMENT (2)	\$152	\$521	\$227
AVERAGE MONTHLY HEATING COSTS	\$214	\$216	\$215
AVERAGE MONTHLY ELECTRICITY COSTS	\$67	\$38	\$65
AVERAGE FLOOR AREA (SQFT)	1,121	914	1,091

Notes (1) For food, clothing, and other household goods,
(2) Includes rent and mortgage.

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1969,

HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND SPENDING • 1988

NUIQSUT

HOUSEHOLD INCOME CATEGORY	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS			% TOTAL
	NON- INUPIAT	INUPIAT	TOTAL	
UNDER \$20,000	15		15	22.7%
\$20,000 - \$40,000	22		22	33.3%
\$40,000 - \$60,000	20	1	21	31.8%
\$60,000 & ABOVE	2	6	8	12.1%
TOTAL	59	7	66	100.0%
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS			15	
TOTAL OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS			81	

	VILLAGE HOUSEHOLDS		
	INUPIAT	NON-INUPIAT	TOTAL
AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD INCOME	\$34,025	\$101,071	\$41,136
PROPORTION OF TOTAL HH INCOME SPENT IN VILLAGE (1)	58.2%	7.1%	53.4%
AVERAGE MONTHLY HOUSING PAYMENT (2)	\$123	\$663	\$183
AVERAGE MONTHLY HEATING COSTS	\$221	\$156	\$215
AVERAGE MONTHLY ELECTRICITY COSTS	\$118	\$32	\$114
AVERAGE FLOOR AREA (SQ FT)	1,113	900	1,095

Notes: (1) For food, clothing, and other household goods.
(2) Includes rent and mortgage.

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND SPENDING -1988
POINT HOPE

HOUSEHOLD INCOME CATEGORY	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS			% TOTAL
	INUPIAT	NON- INUPIAT	TOTAL	
UNDER \$20,000"	30		30	27.3%
\$20,000 - \$40,000	45	2	47	42.7%
\$40,000-\$60,000	16	4	20	18.2%
\$50,000 & ABOVE	5	8	13	11.8%
TOTAL	96	14	110	100.0%
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS			34	
TOTAL OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS			144	

	VILLAGE HOUSEHOLDS		
	INUPIAT	NON-INUPIAT	TOTAL
AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD INCOME	\$30,599	\$78,571	\$36,70s
PROPORTION OF TOTAL HH INCOME SPENT IN VILLAGE (1)	71.2%	29.1%	66.3%
AVERAGE MONTHLY HOUSING PAYMENT (2)	\$142	\$697	\$212
AVERAGE MONTHLY HEATING COSTS	\$254	\$196	\$252
AVERAGE MONTHLY ELECTRICITY COSTS \$96		\$53	\$96
AVERAGE FLOOR AREA (SQFT)	1,023	1,137	1,035

Notes: (1) For food, clothing, and other household goods.
(2) Includes rent and mortgage.

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1969.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND SPENDING -1988
POINT LAY

HOUSEHOLD INCOME CATEGORY	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS			
	INUPIAT	NON- INUPIAT	TOTAL	% TOTAL
UNDER \$20,000	7	3	10	29.4%
\$20,000 - \$40,000	11		11	32.4%
\$40,000 - \$60,000	8	2	10	29.4%
\$60,000 & ABOVE	1	2	3	8.8%
TOTAL	27	7	34	100.0%
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS			12	
TOTAL OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS			4s	

	VILLAGE HOUSEHOLDS		
	INUPIAT	NON-INUPIAT	TOTAL
AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD INCOME	\$31,111	\$43,214	\$33,603
PROPORTION OF TOTAL HH INCOME SPENT IN VILLAGE (1)	51.0%	31.6%	47.3%
AVERAGE MONTHLY HOUSING PAYMENT (2)	\$200	\$455	\$346
AVERAGE MONTHLY HEATING COSTS	\$241	\$187	\$230
AVERAGE MONTHLY ELECTRICITY COSTS	\$47	\$46	\$47
AVERAGE FLOOR AREA (SQ FT)	755	929	798

Notes: (1) For food, clothing, and other household goods.
(2) Includes rent and mortgage.

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND SPENDING -1988
WAINWRIGHT

HOUSEHOLD INCOME CATEGORY	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS			
	<u>INUPIAT</u>	<u>NON- INUPIAT</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>% TOTAL</u>
UNDER \$20,000.	35		35	31.3%
\$20,000 - \$40,000	39	3	42	37.5%
\$40,000-\$60,000	23	1	24	21.4%
\$60,000 & ABOVE	7	4	11	9.8%
TOTAL	104	8	112	100.0%
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS			19	
TOTAL OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS			131	

	VILLAGE HOUSEHOLDS		
	<u>INUPIAT</u>	<u>NON-INUPIAT</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD INCOME	\$30,216	\$59,375	\$32,299
PROPORTION OF TOTAL HH INCOME SPENT IN VILLAGE (1)	70.0%	21.0%	67.9%
AVERAGE MONTHLY HOUSING PAYMENT (2)	\$141	\$438	\$158
AVERAGE MONTHLY HEATING COSTS	\$261	\$140	\$260
AVERAGE MONTHLY ELECTRICITY COSTS	\$71	\$44	\$70
AVERAGE FLOOR AREA (SQFT)	872	938	875

Notes: (1) For food, dothing, end other household goods.
(2) Includes rent and mortgage.

Source: NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989.

As the Nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering the wisest use of our land and water resources, protecting our fish and wildlife, **preserving** the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places, and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The Department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to assure that their development is in the best interest of all our people. The Department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in Island Territories under U.S. Administration.

