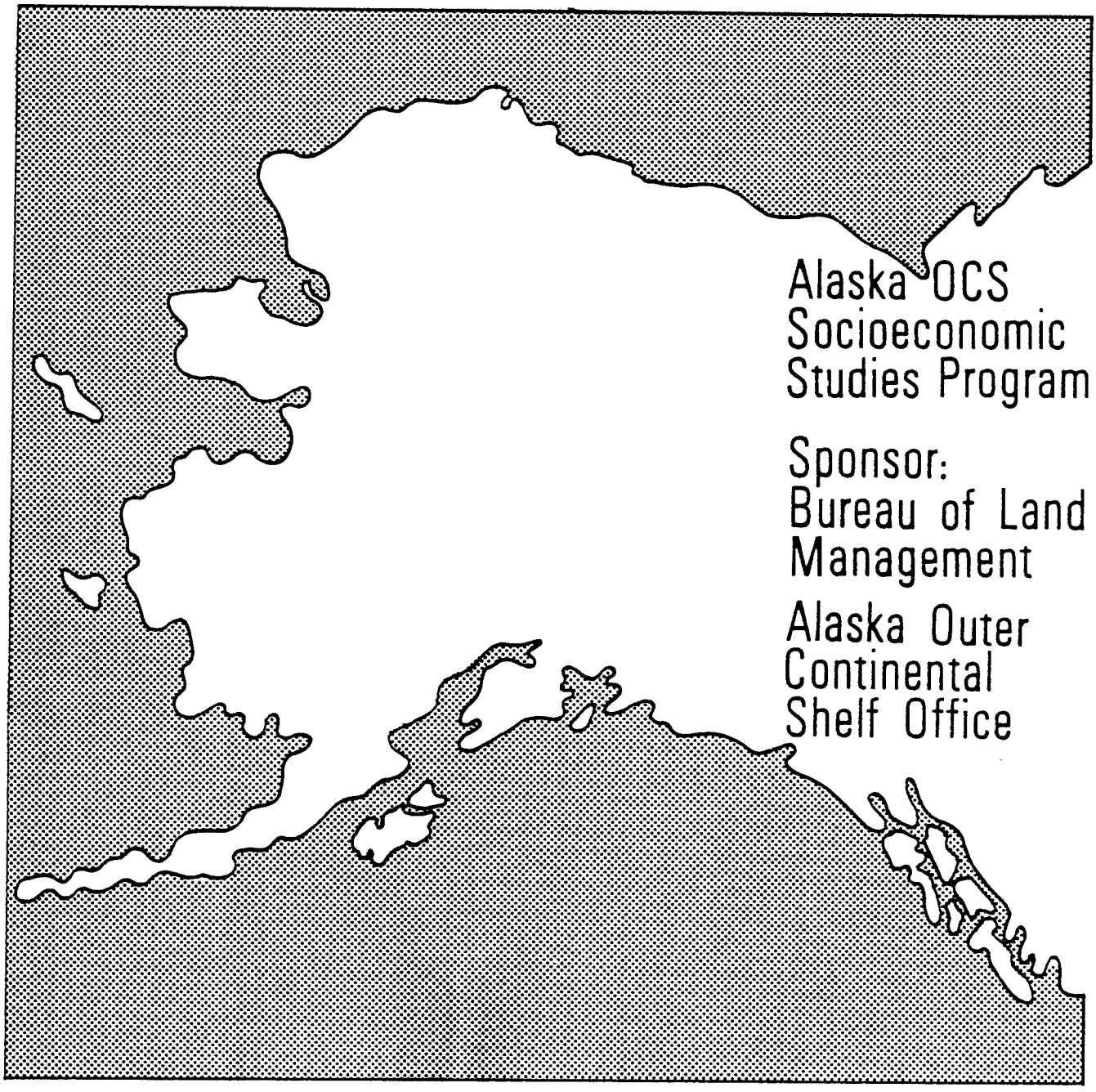
TECHNICAL REPORT NUMBER 64



Alaska OCS
Socioeconomic
Studies Program

Sponsor:
Bureau of Land
Management

Alaska Outer
Continental
Shelf Office

BEAUFORT SEA SOCIOCULTURAL SYSTEMS UPDATE ANALYSIS

The United States Department of the Interior was designated by the Outer Continental Shelf (OCS) Lands Act of 1953 to carry out the majority of the Act's provisions for administering the mineral leasing and development of offshore areas of the United States under federal jurisdiction. Within the Department, the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) has the responsibility to meet requirements of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA) as well as other legislation and regulations dealing with the effects of offshore development. In Alaska, unique cultural differences and climatic conditions create a need for developing additional socioeconomic and environmental information to improve OCS decision making at all governmental levels. In fulfillment of its federal responsibilities and with an awareness of these additional information needs, the BLM has initiated several investigative programs, one of which is the Alaska OCS Socioeconomic Studies Program (SESP).

The Alaska OCS Socioeconomic Studies Program is a multi-year research effort which attempts to predict and evaluate the effects of Alaska OCS Petroleum Development upon the physical, social, and economic environments within the state. The overall methodology is divided into three broad research components. The first component identifies an alternative set of assumptions regarding the location, the nature, and the timing of future petroleum events and related activities. In this component, the program takes into account the particular needs of the petroleum industry and projects the human, technological, economic, and environmental offshore and onshore development requirements of the regional petroleum industry.

The second component focuses on data gathering that identifies those quantifiable and qualifiable facts by which OCS-induced changes can be assessed. The critical community and regional components are identified and evaluated. Current endogenous and exogenous sources of change and functional organization among different sectors of community and regional life are analyzed. Susceptible community relationships, values, activities, and processes also are included.

The third research component focuses on an evaluation of the changes that could occur due to the potential oil and gas development. Impact evaluation concentrates on an analysis of the impacts at the statewide, regional, and local level.

In general, program products are sequentially arranged in accordance with BLM's proposed OCS lease sale schedule, so that information is timely to decisionmaking. Reports are available through the National Technical Information Service, and the BLM has a limited number of copies available through the Alaska OCS Office. Inquiries for information should be directed to: Program Coordinator (COAR), Socioeconomic Studies Program, Alaska OCS Office, P. O. Box 1159, Anchorage, Alaska 99510.

TECHNICAL REPORT NO. 64 CONTRACT NO.: AA851-CTO-57

ALASKA OCS SOCIOECONOMIC STUDIES PROGRAM

BEAUFORT SEA

SOCIOCULTURAL SYSTEMS UPDATE ANALYSIS

Prepared by:

Robert Worl
Rosita Worl
Thomas Lonner

Prepared for

Bureau of Land Management

Alaska Outer Continental Shelf Office

November 13, 1981.

NOTICE

This document is disseminated under the sponsorship of the U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, Alaska Outer Continental Shelf Office in the interest of information exchange. The United States Government assumes no liability for its contents or use thereof.

Alaska OCS Socioeconomic Studies Program

Prepared by: Robert Worl
Rosita Worl
Thomas Lonner

November]3,]98]

ABSTRACT

The objectives of the Beaufort Sea Region Sociocultural System Update Analysis are to update previously collected SESP information about contemporary conditions in the sociocultural systems of Barrow and Nuiqsut and to forecast trends in the sociocultural systems without OCS development from Sale No. 71.

Political and economic development within the study communities continued to be rapid and extensive. Overall, the authors noted a remarkable persistence and tenacity of the Inupiat culture as described in the initial Beaufort Sea Sociocultural study. The authors found that the Inupiat expended considerable effort in the political and institutional sphere to protect selected aspects of their culture. In turn, the local institutions were most influential in affecting the daily lives of the residents. The institutions represent a mix of both traditional ideas and values as well as those borrowed from external government and economic enterprises. Their choice of values was found to be critical to the transition currently underway.

The most notable change was found in the social organization of the North Slope. A new social unit comprised of non-Inupiat developed in Barrow. The formation of this group resulted from the increased numbers including the arrival of a significant non-Inupiat female population and family units. The authors assume that should the non-Inupiat population continue their present rate of growth, the non-Inupiat will represent the numerical majority

within the next several years. This situation poses cultural ramifications should Borough policies, particularly those associated with petroleum and mineral development, be altered to represent the interests of the non-Inupiat.

Even without OCS Sale No. 71, The Inupiat sociocultural systems within Barrow and Nuiqsut will be subjected to continuous economic pressures from onshore developments. A decreasing land base, environmental and wildlife disturbances, an increasing non-Inupiat population concurrent with their increasing influence in the political domain pose the consequence for further sociocultural change.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The objectives of this study are: to update previously collected Socioeconomic Studies Program information about contemporary conditions in the sociocultural system of the Beaufort Sea communities and population; to establish an understanding of the cumulative impacts and changes on the inhabitants due to the presence of nontraditional authority and economic development; and to produce an analytical forecast of trends in the sociocultural systems without OCS development for Sale 71. The primary focus of the study is on the Beaufort Sea communities of Barrow and Nuiqsut. However, because of their intimate interrelationships with other communities in the sociocultural and political spheres and since Barrow comprises the majority of the population and exerts significant political influence throughout all the other communities as the seat of government, analysis of data often appears as regionwide. Sociocultural trends and impacts appear at this time to initially affect Barrow and emanate out to other villages. It is anticipated that future developments which occur close to one of the villages, such as development of west Kuparuk field and the spur road twenty-five miles away from Nuiqsut, will change this.

The initial Beaufort Sea study of the sociocultural systems focused on the historical development of the region as well as on current socioeconomic subsistence patterns. Subsequent studies indicate that the socioeconomic system described in the initial study remains viable. Since the writing of the initial sociocultural study, events and changes in the political sphere and institutional development have been significantly more evident and extensive than in social and cultural realm, and

thus the study significantly expands on analysis of political institutions. Undoubtedly, extensive field work would reveal further changes in the social and cultural spheres which are not as readily apparent from the recent literature.

The report delineates those areas in the social and cultural spheres which were apparently subjected to varying degrees of change and stress during the past three years. Though the authors recognize that in social reality, the social and cultural spheres are integrated, they are conceptually delineated into separate sections in the text. The authors maintain that this distinction will facilitate an analysis that outlines the elements in the social and cultural milieu which are currently experiencing pressures that may result in sociocultural change. The authors are confident of their analysis. Substantiation is based on available documentation and approximately 65 hours of unstructured exploratory interviews with Inupiat and non-Inupiat.

Each of the authors made one or more field trips to the study area and also initiated repeated discussions with Inupiat from Barrow and Nuiqsut, who visit Anchorage on a regular basis. Major events in Barrow which were viewed as potentially having an impact in the sociocultural realm, such as the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Captains meeting in February 1981, were also observed by the investigators. They drew heavily from expanded discussions with key informants, who often held key positions in multiple institutions and could not be referenced by name bcause of the sensitive nature of their comments.

I. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

North Slope Inupiat

The North Slope Inupiat society involves a web of interpersonal relations which serves to unite its components into a distinguishable unit of the larger Alaskan and American society. The social structure of the North Slope Inupiat includes the smaller social units of communities and extended families. Inupiat individuals are bound into multiple relationships by a set of cultural values and ideologies which serve to maintain the social unit. Within the past few years a new social unit comprised of non-Inupiat has developed in Barrow. While economic interests stimulated their initial migration to Barrow, their common culture and interests served to unify this group.

The designation of North Slope or Arctic Slope Inupiat refers to the Inupiat living north of the Brooks Range and within the North Slope Borough (NSB) and Arctic Slope Regional Corporation (ASRC) geopolitical boundaries which are coterminous. Prior to the formation of the organizations, the Inupiat were referred to as northern or northwestern Alaska Eskimos, which included the indigenous population occupying the area from Norton Sound to the Canadian border. Although the Inupiat population possessed a similar culture and common language and maintained extensive contact with one another through kinship networks and trading relations, they were not unified as a political group or tribe. As reported in the initial Beaufort Sea sociocultural study, perceived extraneous threats resulting from state selection of their aboriginal

lands stimulated the formation of a unified central organization, the Arctic Slope Native Association, which encompassed all the communities within the North Slope. This organization ultimately led to the formation of both ASRC and NSB. These centralized organizations and, to a lesser degree, the Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope (ICAS) have served to unify the North Slope communities, and their political and economic activities have reinforced and strengthened cultural bonds between Inupiat living in Point Hope, Point Lay, Wainwright, Barrow, Atqasuk, Nuiqsut, Kaktovik, and Anaktuvuk Pass.

Continual interaction between indiviudals living in different communities occurs through a variety of economic, political, and cultural mechanisms. Residents of different North Slope communities serve on a variety of NSB, ASRC, Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission (AEWC) and ICAS boards, etc.. As will be described in later sections, these organizations focus much of their attention on cultural elements, such as language, and land, sea, sea ice environment and wildlife values. Meetings, generally in Barrow but occasionally in other North Slope communities, bring together individuals who serve on these boards for several days. Also during these periods, kin relationships are reinforced as visitors often stay with members of the extended family. Intervillage trade and barter of subsistance goods continue, and many individuals maintain trading partnerships with individuals in other communities. Whaling feasts and other cultural events bring together relatives, friends, and partners residing in different communities. Churches and schools sponser a number of activities in which groups of individuals visit other communities. Within the last few years the Elders Conferences have

served to bring senior citizens from various communities together. Employment opportunities also promote movement between communities. The increasing and continuing interpersonal, political, and cultural interrelationships between the communities promote a consciousness of a common regional community and perpetuate Inupiat cultural values. Although the focus of the study is limited to Barrow and Nuiqsut, is is imparative to understand that they are part of a larger social and cultural unit. Events which affect one community will probably affect other North Slope communities as well.

Inupiat Communities

Although the Inupiat identify themselves as a regional group, they are also members of a community social unit. They share in common activities, such as those associated with subsistence distribution mechanisms involving sharing of resources within established geographical boundaries. Traditionally the Inupiat lived within several socioterritorial units which include a larger permanent community and satellite camps which maintained an affiliation with the larger community. During the historic period, some villages and affiliated camps consolidated into single, larger communities as happened at Barrow and Wainwright.

Barrow Inupiat still reside in their original area and continue to hunt and fish in their traditional territory. They identify themselves as Utkeavinmiut, or inhabitants of Utkeavik, the Inupiat name for Barrow. A significant portion of the aboriginal population was decimated by disease in the early historic period. The Barrow Inupiat population was maintained through the migration of Inupiat from inland regions and other coastal villages.

Employment opportunities from the historic through the current period have continued to attract Inupiat from other North Slope communities. Although individuals who have recently arrived in Barrow from other Inupiat communities continue to identify themselves with their home village, they participate in communitywide cultural activities. In spite of the heterogeneity of the Inupiat comminity in Barrow, which includes descendants of the original population, long-term residents who migrated from other Inupiat villages, and new arrivals, it is a strong cohesive unit.

Nuiqust residents identify themselves with their new community, which they established in 1973. Twenty-seven families living in Barrow, who still had ties to the Colville River region, returned to their ancestral homeland. They identify themselves as Kuukpikmuit, or People of the lower Colville River. This move by the original settlers, who travelled 150 miles by snow machines and sleds, suggests that modern amenities were not enough to keep them in Barrow. They left the comforts of natural gas heated homes and opportunities for wage employment to live in a tent village and to subsist primarily through hunting and fishing. Though some returned to Barrow as the first arctic winter set in, many remained, living in tents for a year and a half until ASRC constructed houses for them. Although land entitlements under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act is often cited as the basis for the return of Inupiat to Nuiqsut, the 145 people who made the arduous journey represent individuals who made a commitment to a traditional subsistence-

oriented life style.

Membership in the two Inupiat communities is maintained through a variety of mechanisms, activities, and common cultural values. Extended family kinship and marriage and communitywide traditional ceremonies and feasts, particularly those associated with the whaling complex and week-long traditional celebrations which coincide with Thanksgiving and Christmas, serve to unify the communities. Although no formal public announcements of traditional feasts and activities are made, members of the Inupiat community will gather together to participate in ceremonies and feasts. Few non-Inupiat participate in these activities. Their language, participation in a subsistence economy, cultural values which promote cooperative activities and communal sharing of wildlife resources, and their traditional norms which govern distribution of subsistence resources are also indicators of a common community. Membership in traditional and new community organizations, including the Barrow Whaling Captain's Association, Mother's Club, Lion's Club, and city council, also serve to integrate community members. This conservative traditional community is masked by the presence of Western institutions and modern physical changes, particularly housing. However, community solidarity is particularly evident when threats to their traditional life-style and community are perceived. This unity was quite evident when the International Whaling Commission (IWC) attempted to impose a moratorium on bowhead whaling. The perceived threats to the wildlife population also served to unify community members in opposition to OCS exploration and development.

Extended Families

The initial Beaufort Sea sociocultural study reported that the North Slope Inupiat kinship system was bilateral, that is, through both parents. The study also adopted Burch's classification of Eskimo societies, including the interrelated local and domestic family units which together constitute a social network. The domestic family was described as a single conjugal group, including husband, wife, and children living within a single dwelling, but often also including grandparents, parents, and adult offspring and their spouses and children. The local family is identical in structure and composition to domestic families, but membership is distributed among two or more households.

The initial study also maintained that the local family unit serves as the production unit in the subsistence economy and in its interrelationship with the wage economy. The kin-based socioeconomic unit collectively undertakes economic ventures, particularly evident in those associated with whaling.

Worl's survey to assess the impact of the IWC quota on Eskimo communities (1979) found that Barrow whaling crew size ranged from eight to 14 members, and the average and median number of crew members as 10. Barrow's 36 whaling crews involved a minimum of 360 men and women, but significantly more individuals participate in the year-long activities associated with whaling, such as constructing ice trails, ice cellars, sleds, and boat frames; hunting, preparing the ugruk skins for the boat; pulling, butchering, storing, or preparing the whale; serving food,

singing, or drumming at feasts; or providing financial support or supplies and equipment. The number of crews involved in fall whaling in Nuiqsut has varied year to year. Most often men go to Barrow and serve as crew members with their relatives. Crews with a large membership are generally those in which men serve on a rotating basis to allow them to alternate between whaling or working in a cash paying job. Worl also found that although the amounts of whale distributed throughout the community was diminished as a result of the reduced harvest, norms regulating sharing among crews, families, and community remained constant.

Worl (1980) reported that crew membership varies but tends to be drawn from the local family unit; however, it is not uncommon to find crew members from another community who are either related, formal partners, or friends of the captain or his wife. She found that a crew generally is comprised of a captain, his wife, their sons and brothers. In cases in which the wife inherits and owns the whaling equipment, crew members may be drawn predominantly from her family. The captain's domestic family also assumes a major role in whaling activities. The captain's family initiates and supports other economic endeavors necessary to support whaling, including both subsistence and cash employment pursuits. He may also recruit members of the local family to assist in other subsistence activities, such as hunting ugruk or walrus or sewing skins for the whaling boat

The University of Alaska's Institute of Social and Economic

Research, Man in the Arctic Program survey, initiated in 1977 (1981), found that the North Slope Inupiat population participation in subsistence activities remains high. The study focuses on individuals, distinguished by age and sex but independent of their social relationships. However, if we accept that the extended family continues to function as an economic unit, this report does substantiate the viability of the extended family. The report stated that 70 percent of North Slope Inupiat age 18 and older participated in hunting, fishing, or gathering activities or did some craftwork. It also noted that in Barrow, where a larger proportion of adults worked and while at work put in more hours than adults in other villages, 73 percent of adults were involved in some subsistence activity. The report further indicates that whaling activities involved 54 percent of adults. Nuiqsut also demonstrated a high level of subsistence hunting with 80 percent of the Inupiat population over 18 years of age hunting caribou and 65 percent of adults fishing. The ISER survey substantiated that sharing of wild game and fish was prevalent. About 75 percent of households reported that they had received subsistence resources from other households. Villagers reported that the best attributes of community life were the practices of helping each other and sharing resources with one another.

Members of extended families do not necessarily live in single family dwellings; however, data from Alaska Consultants, Inc. housing survey (1980) suggests that a significant number of extended families reside together. They found that of the 706 households surveyed in Barrow, 66 contained more than one nuclear family or were classified as

overcrowded (based on U.S. Housing and Urban Development standards which do not necessarily correspond with Inupiat accepted norms). The report also noted a prevalent pattern of individuals over the age of 18 residing in their parents' or other relatives' homes. In Barrow, Alaska Consultants, Inc. (1980) researchers found 276 single adults over the age of 18 living with relatives or friends. In the 57 households in Nuiqsut the report identified 10 families in houses which contained more than one nuclear family or were overcrowded. The researchers also found 26 single adults over the age of 18 living as part of a larger household.

Non-Inupiat

Since 1978 the number of non-Inupiat has increased substantially in Barrow and to a lesser degree in Nuiqsut. The 1980 population census with a breakdown by ethnic identity is not available, but general indications are that the non-Inupiat population has increased significantly within the past few years. The non-Inupiat population identified in the initial Beaufort Sea Study was comprised primarily of whites, but during the last few years, the growth of an Asian and Spanish-speaking population is evident. Their increased numbers are apparent through observations of major institutional offices, construction projects, and public areas such as the airport, stores, and restaurants. The norm a few years ago was that each office employed one or two non-Inupiat: today some offices are predominantly non-Inupiat. A remark often expressed by both Inupiat and non-Inupiat in Barrow is, "We used to know every white person we saw, but now its a town full of strangers."

The origonal Beaufort Sea sociocultural study classified the non-Inupiat in terms of length of residency and occupation:

1. Resident non-Inupiat
2. Transient non-Inupiat
    a. White collar workers
    b. Blue collar workers

Though this classification of non-Inupiat remained applicable in Barrow, the Nuiqsut non-Inupiat population is characterized by transient construction workers and teachers, not resident non-Inupiat.

RESIDENT NON-INUPIAT

The initial Beaufort Sea sociocultural study reported that most of the resident non-Inupiat were males who had married Inupiat females. They tended to become integrated into the Inupiat society rather than forming a separate social group - perhaps because of their small numbers.

Since 1978, many of the individuals who were classified as "transients" in the first study have entered the sphere of "resident non-Inupiat." In addition, newcomers who have apparently established permanent residency in Barrow have increased the population of this group further. The "resident non-Inupiat" in Barrow also includes non-Inupiat females who began arriving in increasing numbers in the mid-1970's. In addition, a greater number of non-Inupiat families are settling in Barrow. The increasing number of non-Inupiat, their establishment of permanent residency and their social interaction among themselves has resulted in the development of a new social unit. The non-Inupiat social

unit tends to limit its association with members of the Inupiat community to employment and occasional social contact. The resident non-Inupiat social unit is becoming a vital force in the social system in Barrow. The original Beaufort Sea sociocultural study noted that the resident non-Inupiat maintained positions of some influence, and indications are that this influence is increasing as the number and range of the positions of authority held by non-Inupiat expands. Although the Inupiat remain in the numerical majority and continue to hold the elected political offices, the resident non-Inupiat exert considerable economic and political influence both in Barrow and Nuiqsut. A significant number of non-Inupiat receive high salaries and maintain responsibility and authority over large staffs which are frequently Inupiat. Within NSB, the directors of five of the six largest departments are non-Inupiat. Although the Public Works Department, one of the largest, is headed by an Inupiat, the supervisory positions in this office are held by non-Inupiat. The NSB School District administration and teachers are predominantly non-Inupiat. ASRC supervisory positions are generally held by non-Inupiat, and those Inupiat who hold senior positions are principally officers of ASRC or presidents of subsidiary corporations. The ordained ministers who head the churches in Barrow and Nuiqust are also non-Inupiat, though ordained Inupiat ministers are present, they serve in more informal capacities.

The potential effect of the new resident non-Inupiat social unit could stimulate profound changes in the Inupiat culture and society. As will be demonstrated in the chapter on political institutions, NSB

policies and priorities reflect Inupiat concerns. Should the interest of the resident non-Inupiat conflict with the Inupiat, such as in the area of petroleum development, NSB activities and advocacy for Inupiat interest may possible be curtailed. Conceivably, the non-Inupiat, including resident and transient, who are dependent on a capital economy may oppose and reverse the Borough's current opposition to OCS development beyond the barrier islands or the fiscal support of bowhead whale issues contrary to their interests.

TRANSIENT NON-INUPIAT

Prior to the massive NSB Capitol Improvements Program (CIP), social interaction between Inupiat and non-Inupiat tended to be limited to employment-related relationships. The initial sociocultural study characterized the first group of transients as the well-educated professional or highly skilled worker, who initially arrived on the North Slope to work for a few years or less in either the regional corporation or its subsidiaries, the borough, or the school district. At the time the initial report was developed, social interaction between the Inupiat and transient non-Inupiat was reflected in the physical environment of the community. White teachers and health professionals lived in enclave settlements which included the amenities of modern technology that were generally absent in Inupiat housing such as running water and flush toilets. Although only non-Inupiat continue to live in these enclave settlements, other non-Inupiat individuals are currently dispersed throughout the community. The physical integration of non-Inupiat into the community has resulted from more available housing, changing contrac-

tual arrangements between the NSB Health Department, and the Public Health Hospital, and an increasing number of non-Inupiat who are not associated with either the school or hospital. The transient, non-Inupiat, white collar professionals are still present and in greater numbers, but they have tended to increase their association with the Inupiat community. This increased interaction may, in part, be a function of the changing housing patterns associated with the numerous multiple unit facilities being constructed.

The escalation of the CIP and expansion of NSB-sponsored services stimulated greater employment opportunities and high wages and the influx of a colonial male group generally characteristic of frontier societies. The new transient male differed from the pre-CIP transient population. They tended to be single, less educated, and many reportedly had arrest records and lacked work references. This population is generally assumed to be a major source of drugs, violence, and inter-ethnic conflict.

A significant number of white males are marrying Inupiat females. As noted earlier, these males usually become integrated into the Inupiat community. Whether they can continue to be assimilated into the Inupiat society or will form a new social unit or align themselves with the resident non-Inupiat social unit now present in Barrow remains to be determined. The assimilation of a large number of non-Inupiat who possess different cultural values and norms into the Inupiat society would possibly pose the potential of altering the character of the Inupiat

society and culture. A new social unit comprised of individuals involved in these mixed marriages could possibly be further transformed into a distinct social unit - such as the Metis of Canada, who are offsprings of Indian and white marriages.

Private enterprises which could not compete with North Slope Borough or construction wages were largely responsible for the importation of workers who were primarily Asian and Spanish speaking. The small size of the group, their recent arrival in Barrow, and their so far minimal interaction with the Inupiat and other non-Inupiat population limit their social significance other than to add to the diversity of the Barrow population. The potential for the development of significant ethnic minority population should be recognized.

Inupiat/Non-Inupiat Interrelationships

The formation of NSB, ASRC, and other Inupiat controlled businesses provided the basis for the Inupiats increased involvement in the cash economy. The CIP, which involved the construction of schools, housing, and other necessary community facilities, provided a far greater access to cash work and stimulated a "boom" in the North Slope economy. This boom also attracted a large influx of non-Inupiat who were principally interested in the high wages. A relatively stable cash economy also allowed non-Inupiat opportunities to acquire land, houses, and to begin a period of entrepreneurial activity that took advantage of the new economy. As of the 1980 census period, the two study communities have experienced a major influx of non-Inupiat, Barrow currently has 41%

(689 of 2,389) non-Inupiat, and Nuiqsut 32 % (61 of 191) non-Inupiat (Smythe, J. 1981. Personal Communication. Alaska Consultants).

In Nuiqsut the majority of non-Inupiat are transient, construction-related workers, living principally in one of three "camps" which are not a permanent part of the community. At Barrow it is more difficult to assess the degree of permanence, due principally to the extended time frame over which significant employment has and will be available. It is safe to assume that though the individuals may change, there is a long term role for a large number of transient and/or resident non-Inupiat in Barrow, and Nuiqsut could develop a similar pattern depending upon the extent of proximal development and the posture of the community towards new residents, many of whom could be non-Inupiat.

In describing and assessing interethnic relations it is important to consider that interethnic interrelationships are affected by economic and political spheres as well as increases in housing availability. These considerations are summarized:

Economic. The increased number of jobs available within each study community has resulted in at least four significant impact areas:

(1) employment opportunity for Inupiat residents

(2) inmigration of outside non-Inupiat

(3) inmigration to study communities of Inupiat from other villages

(4) increased interaction between ethnic groups on the job and outside of the work environment.

Political. The administration of the NSB under Mayor Jacob Adams proceeded cautiously to implement programs or policies which would curtail inmigration of non-Inupiat to the area and to develop a low profile relationship with components of the construction and petroleum industry. This has engendered a less volatile public setting for development-related public hearings, meetings, and announcements. Non-Inupiat continue to play important roles in the day-to-day management and decision-making processes encumbent to the ASRC, the NSB, as well as the city of Barrow and other institutions which portray, reflect, or affect the North Slope public image. In part these circumstances reflect an alteration of activities of three NSB branches - Administration, Planning Department, and the Planning and Zoning Commission - into a tacit working working group seeking to protect, where possible, conservative values while developing an active role in industrial development activity at Prudhoe Bay, the Haul Road, and in the Beaufort Sea. This reflects the continued development of a more industry-responsive coastal management plan and permanent coastal zone zoning ordinance than that which was originally developed and then withdrawn in December of 1979 in the face of severe opposition from state and federal entities outside the NSB.

Opposition to accelerated development significantly deteriorated as those institutions, village corporations, NSB, and the City of Barrow, initiated or expanded economic relations with industry, began working more productively with some industry representatives, and turned attention to other tasks less public yet equally demanding of institutional attention. Thus, public institutional expression of conservative

Inupiat values, particularly evident under Eben Hposon's NSB administration, appears to have lessened.

Housing availability. Increasing housing has resulted in opportunities for non-Inupiat to reside in Barrow. New housing built by the NSB or private individuals, and is available for rent, offer enticement to non-Inupiat to remain longer in the study area. The new housing offers significant incentives to non-Inupiat and their families to seek work and to remain within the community rather than work which requires staying in a camp situation. Currently, Arctic Slope/Alaska General (AS/AG), a subsidiary of the ASRC, has a 120-man ATCO unit camp about 1 mile from Barrow which houses men working on Barrow area projects. A small number of the employees residing at this camp are Inupiat from various communities within the North Slope region. Similarly, in Nuiqsut, a number of small camps and at least one newly constructed four-plex, house workers from outside Nuiqsut who are involved in construction activity. Again, some resident workers in these camps are Inupiat from other North Slope communities, but most are non-Inupiat from outside the region. The net result of this setting in both communities is increased contact between the ethnic groups via integrated housing, thus enhancing opportunity for interethnic contact outside the work environment.

Associated with continued availability of wage employment within the study area is increased opportunity for inmigration to Barrow and Nuiqsut of Inupiat from other communities. An often expressed value within the study communities is a preference for local community hire, then hire of

Inupiat from the region, and finally non-Inupiat hire. This prioritization often is desired over acquisition of employees who possess high levels of skill in particular trades. Among Inupiat the generally held assumption is that it is possible to find and, if necessary, to train an Inupiat to accomplish any task associated with these projects. Whether true or not is a moot point for, frequently, available jobs exceed the number of Inupiat actively seeking work. This gives further rise to the demand for "outside" labor, thereby increasing non-Inupiat presence and interethnic contact at work sites.

The increased availability of work, the currently stable cash employment outlook, increasing housing availability and changing ethnic ratios all serve to promote an environment which is physically and economically more attractive for a longer residence within the area to the non-Inupiat. The substantially "frontier" environment, i.e., higher wages, varied opportunities for employment, minimal external controls on behavior, and remoteness from many Western amenities, creates an environment attractive to young single males, entrepreneurs, adventurers, and marginal individuals who find the setting conducive to their particular personal and financial desires.

The Inupiat have developed a number of responses to the changing political and economic milieu of the region. Inupiat who work for large institutions travel occasionally (many extensively) to urban areas outside the region and the state. These Inupiat quickly have learned a variety of roles which include managing, marketing, and negotiating on

behalf of corporations and government institutions. As part of these roles, positive working and social relationships have developed with many non-Inupiat from a variety of orientations. Associated with these changing economic and political circumstances, Inupiat have moved to larger urban centers, principally Fairbanks and Anchorage. It is important to note the following four phenomena in this context:

1) urban resident Inupiat maintain close social and cultural ties with home communities.
2) increased travel opportunities, through work and personal income, allow frequent visiting between urban and village friends and relatives.
3) urban-residing Inupiat form a tight, traditional group within the urban community, sharing, socializing, and working together extensively.
4) urban residence and employment is often of limited duration (less than two years) and the Inupiat return to the North Slope, though often initially to the central community of Barrow.

Nuiqsut has also developed a larger, more mobile population since the initial baseline study in 1978. Much of this is associated with involvement in a small village-owned subsidiary, Pingo Corporation, a labor contracting company serving North Slope operators. Increased direct hire of oil field employees form Nuiqsut by North Slope operators is also a factor. The lucrative pay, rotation schedules, and potential long-term employment opportunities attract Inupiat from Nuiqsut.

Positions which are not taken by Inupiat workers are filled by contractors with employees form the non-Inupiat labor pool.

Within the present economic, social and political setting interethnic relations tend to fall into a few discernable patterns. These are proposed as being broad inclusive patterns which can be useful in a) characterizing a variety of actions and values, and b) understanding apparent behavioral inconsistencies by a single individual or group, in different social settings. These perceived variances in interethnic behavioral patterns may be a basis for misunderstandings, validating individuals, stereotyping members of the other group, and potentially escalating hostility at the individual, group, and institutional level. Contrary to widespread negative publicity about Barrow, there is little evidence that this hostility finds physical expression in the form of interethnic violence.

Movement of village resident Inupiat to Barrow and to other villages and industrial sites for employment demands the formulation of interethnic relationships which may cause confirmation or reassessment of values, perceptions, and patterns of behavior patterns. These new or confirmed values, perceptions, and patterns of behavior become shared with peers and may be the basis for expectations and initial reactions to interethnic contacts. This type of sharing can profoundly affect the perceptions and actions of children and young adults whose own experiences may have been limited. The eventual actions of these children and young adults may be affected by the adult-shared perceptions and peer-group interpretations and response patterns.

In this context the tremendous increase of non-Inupiat in the study area must be viewed as having far-reaching consequences for interethnic relations in the variety of social and work settings which exist and will continue to increase.

In the context of non-Inupiat perceptions, values, and actions, those with experience in the study area will, in a fashion similar to that described above, socialize and influence new non-Inupiat inmigrants through verbal expression and behavioral actions in interethnic situations. Currently, interethnic relationships tend to be characterized by contact in a variety of settings, including work, recreation, and social gatherings. This interaction is increasingly precipitated by more non-Inupiat present within the two study communities, continuing and expanding roles for non-Inupiat in management and advisory capacities to an increased number of institutions, integrated housing and landownership patterns, increased length of residence for non-Inupiat, and increased entrepreneurial activities by non-Inupiat--often in conjunction with Inupiat spouses. These circumstances have increased both positive and negative relationships, which can be characterized and understood in the context of the abovementioned value systems and behavior patterns.

Importantly, the increase in contacts and in non-Inupiat presence has not been characterized by an observable increase in overt or physical confrontations between ethnic group members. Rather, the NSB department of Public Safety reports violent confrontations as occurring principally intraethnically. At the same time, assessment of arrest and

contact reports show that Inupiat contacts remain relatively stable. Increases tend to be associated with a small group of the transient, non-Inupiat population. The only reported exception is occasional harrassment of teachers by inebriated and disgruntled individuals in the smaller communities such as Nuiqsut. That increase in criminal and court activity is evidenced by the intent of the State to place a superior court judge in Barrow in 1982 and the two staff members of the district attorney's office in Fairbanks who are assigned to North Slope cases, one to felonies and one to misdemeanors. The caseload prior to 1980 demanded a single half-time assignment from that office. That little or none of this increase results from direct interethnic confrontation clearly indicates continued neutral or positive outward relationships despite frequent expression of hostility and negative feelings towards the opposite group by many Inupiat and non-Inupiat. Hostile expressions by Inupiat are most often expressed in the context of differential access to resources such as land, housing, employment, vehicles, and the burgeoning numbers present within the study area. Hostile expressions by non-Inupiat tend to center around work, such as high turnover rates, ability to miss work without losing jobs, easy access to other jobs, same rates of pay for skill levels perceived as lower than those of many non-Inupiat.

Expression of the above perceptions tends to occur within an intra-ethnic context, seldom finding expression in interethnic settings unless the out-group members are few in number, accepting, or supportive of such views. The shift in population ratios (Barrow going from 90%

Inupiat in 1970 to 59% Inupiat in 1980) to nearer parity and increased socialization must be viewed as having a dampening effect on the open expression of negative stereotypic attitudes and assumptions by both groups.

II. CULTURAL SYSTEM

Cultural Norms and Ideologies

Culture has classically been defined as the modes of thought, ideologies, and total range of customary behavior that is transmitted from one generation to another by a social group, thus enabling the society to maintain life in a particular habitat. A number of recent studies initiated by social scientists under sponsorship of several different agencies, such as U.S. Department of Interior (1979), the North Slope Borough (Brown, 1979; Petersen 1979), and the University of Alaska's Arctic Environmental Information and Data Center (Worl, 1979) and Institute of Social and Economic Research (Kruse, Kleinfield, Travis, 1979) attest to the persistence of various elements of traditional Inupiat culture. Though most would agree that many aboriginal elements have passed into obscurity, others remain in a transformed state as a result of integration or adaptation to modern influences.

SHARING

Although the cultural value of sharing among members of the extended family and community has been subjected to extreme pressure within the last few years under the regulations limiting the harvest of primary food resources (caribou and bowhead whales) traditional patterns have persisted. From earliest childhood, youngsters are socialized to believe that sharing and generosity are values to be esteemed. Young hunters are not allowed to keep any portion of the first whale, caribou,

seal, or walrus they kill. They are expected to distribute it all to relatives and friends. They are taught to remember first the elderly and the needy, who are those families without active hunters. They are reminded that older people fed them when they were children, now it is their turn to feed the elderly.

The value of sharing is so entrenched that it has been translated into formal distribution codes. Worl's (1979) assessment of the impact of the IWC quota on Eskimo communities outlined current distribution patterns of the whale for each of the whaling communities. She noted that norms regulate the initial distribution of the whale among the kin-based whaling crews and the extended family members that assisted in taking the whale and secondary distribution throughout the annual series of community-wide ceremonies. As noted previously, Inupiat from the other communities also participate in those ceremonies. The captain who is successful in taking a whale receives a significantly larger share than his crew members or other crews. However, he only serves as a trustee since his share will be distributed among the community during the feasts. The first whale taken during each season is shared among the entire whaling fleet, even to crews that did not assist in taking the whale or were not present on the ice. As noted earlier, a captain does not share in the first whale he catches. Although he goes through the formality of taking his share, he must immediately distribute his share while he is still on the ice.

Worl was able to document the distribution of Barrow's 1978 whale

harvest among 11 communities, which included five communities outside the North Slope region. Her study found that while there was a significant reduction in the amount of whale shared and dispersed throughout Barrow and other communities, the customary initial and secondary distribution patterns persisted. The cultural norms which regulate sharing of the whale serve to unify the production unit, the extended family, community, the North Slope region, and even individual members residing outside of the region.

A 1977 ISER study also substantiated the persistence of sharing patterns. It found that a majority of Eskimo households in all villages reported receiving some subsistence food from other households in 1977, and half of the households reported that they had given or loaned money or equipment for hunting and fishing to others. In the initial Beaufort Sea sociocultural study, the subsistence sponsor was identified as one who provided cash directly to the subsistence harvester, who furnished equipment and supplies in exchange for sharing in the subsistence harvest. Financial sponsors often establish this relationship with more than one hunter.

The cultural value of sharing also serves to increase the status of the giver. While generosity may bring the hunter personal satisfaction, it also brings him considerable political influence in the community. The Umealik (whaling captain) is, as he was in the past, a leader, provider, and esteemed member of the community. Interlocking membership between whaling captains and leadership positions within the modern

institutions are quite evident. Within the NSB alone, four of the department heads and the mayor are whaling captains.

COOPERATIVE BEHAVIOR

Modern technology has served to decrease the need for large hunting units, such as those which were necessary to corral caribou. However, arctic environmental conditions, the size and migratory nature of the animals, and the need for cash or access to modern equipment and supplies demands that more than one hunter be involved in the subsistence enterprise. Individuals involved in the venture share a mutual orientation directed toward collective and cooperative subsistence harvests and membership in a production unit, extended family, and community.

Although caribou, seals, or furbearers which are hunted or trapped can be taken by a single individual, the extreme environmental conditions, changing sea-ice conditions, the great distances travelled, and the fact that snow machines can be undependable in such circumstances promote the hunting partnership. Some partnerships are permanent affiliations, others are less formal and temporary. When long treks are planned, either inland or onto the sea ice, a hunter will generally travel with another hunter. An individual may hunt alone, but he will inevitably let another hunter know his plans in the event he does not return in a reasonable period of time. Barrow and Nuiqsut also have established procedures for search and rescue teams of hunters, and the North Slope Borough (NSB) recently acquired a helicopter to rescue whalers if the sea ice breaks loose from the shorefast ice.

Another factor which promoted modern hunting partnerships, or perhaps more correctly hunting apprenticeships, was the absence of young hunters from Barrow and other North Slope communities to attend Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools. Many of the young hunters were forced to leave their communities during a time when they would ordinarily learn advanced hunting skills if they wanted secondary schooling or technical skills training. One anthropologist who conducted research in one of the North Slope communities during the 1960's predicted the demise of hunting because the young hunters were not acquiring the necessary knowledge to hunt. However, the young men who returned to their villages began hunting with older men who still possessed the necessary knowledge about the weather, wind, sea ice, and animal behavior. The ISER-MAP study indicated that young Inupiat males did as much or more hunting and fishing as did older men. It found that men from 18 to 24 years of age engaged in more subsistence activities than did all other adult males.

Intervillage trade between formal partners and individuals is still a primary method of obtaining subsistence resources which are not available locally. Individuals who have specialized skills may also establish trading relations, e.g., parka sewing or designing and sewing parka trims in exchange for mukluks (skin boots) or skin sewing for an umiaq (boat) in exchange for subsistence resources. Trading and partnerships reinforce community ties.

Another pattern of cooperative behavior is stimulated by the need

for money to buy equipment, tools, and supplies produced in the cash economy. (Previously referenced is the interrelationship between a financial sponsor and hunter.) The initial Beaufort Sea sociocultural study outlined a number of patterns of interpersonal relationships to acquire cash and equipment which still apply. Hunters continue to receive financial support from their spouses, extended family, relatives, or partners.

The whaling production unit is characterized by three levels of cooperative beahvior--in the whaling crew, the whaling fleet, and the community. At each level social ties are strengthened among the members of the social unit. The smallest unit, the whaling crew, participates in such cooperative activities as preparation for the hunt to insure that the boat, equipment, and supplies are available and ready for the whaling season. The captain may request that crew members assist in hunting ugruk to obtain the skins necessary for the boat.

The relationship between Barrow crews is formalized through the Barrow Whaling Captains Association, which is primarily concerned with production and distribution activities. Meetings are held prior to the whaling season to register property marks, to review regulations, to organize work parties to construct trails over the ice to open water leads, and to discuss any infractions or problems during the previous year. Property marks etched on bombs and other equipment are used to identify crews and to claim and validate possession of a whale. If several bombs with different property marks are found in a whale, the

whale belongs to the crew which fired the first bomb. The owner is determined by matching the property mark with the order of the whaling crews along the lead. Since migration is northward, the southernmost crew is assumed to have made the first strike. The order in which whaling crews arrive to assist the crew which shot the whale determines the share to which they are entitled. Those who arrive first receive the best and largest cuts, and those who arrive last are given the least favored parts. The need for collective behavior among the whaling fleet is well recognized. Crews which deviate from the established codes can expect that they will not reveive the necessary assistance from other crews to land a whale. A single crew would not be able to land and butcher a whale alone.

Although members of the whaling fleet probably could land and butcher a whale without aid, members of the community traditionally come to their assistance. While the men are involved in pulling the whale onto the ice, butchering and transporting the whale to the community, wives of crew members will cook fresh muktuk for the workers. All those who assisted will also receive shares. (the ISER-MAP study indicated that 44%of Eskimo males over the age of 18 who are not on crews will actively assist crews in some way.) Going spring whaling or helping whaling crews was cited as one of the most popular activities among the adults.

CEREMONIES

Another cultural pattern which has persisted into the present period is ceremonialism. In the Inupiat case, ceremonies are characterized by community feasting, dancing, traditional games, and, perhaps the most

distinctive, the blanket toss. Lesser occasions are associated with pre-whaling feasts, which usually include members of the whaling crew and their relatives. These ceremonies serve to maintain and integrate the social organization of the Inupiat.

The Thanksgiving and Christmas holiday seasons coincides with the time of traditional Inupiat feasts. During the Thanksgiving Feast, members of the Inupiat community gather at their respective churches. The gathering is not a Christian service, although prayers may be said. A communal meal of Native food is served to all present. Muktuk, caribou, fish, and other available wildlife resources which were brought to the churches earlier by the whaling captains are distributed equally among the families. After the feast and distribution of food, a traditional dance, which lasts for several hours, is held in the community center. Unlike Western or American dancing, young and old dance together. The Christmas Feast is similar, but in addition to the above activities, week-long games run continuously, 24-hours a day from Christmas until New Year's Day. Games in which the young participate are divided by age and sex. Adult games are divided by sex and marital status. Several adults serve as judges. The games include the knuckle hop; high kick; and the ear, finger, arm, and head pull. Mats are placed on the floor along the walls on which community members sit with their family and friends. Young children will often fall asleep while their parents are watching or competing. Though competitive in nature, social approval is also a strong consideration. For example, if a team doesn't want a particular opponent to win, they will continue to send challengers until

the opponent tires and someone defeats him.

Several ceremonies and feasts are associated with the whaling complex. Prior to the crews moving out to the ice camps, small feasts are held at the captains' homes. Subsistence food, but primarily whale (if available) is served. Crew members, relatives, and friends visit the house to partake of the meal. Once a whale has been taken, feasting begins, first at the ice camps to feed all those who are assisting in the enterprise. A member of the successful crew will rush on his snow machine to raise the flag with the successful captain's property mark over the captain's house. Wives and relatives of the crew members serve fresh muktuk and other parts of the whale to community members. Perhaps the most popular feast, which draws relatives from other communities, is Nalukataq, or Blanket Toss, which is the Captain's Feast. The ceremony is sponsored by whaling captains who took whales during the spring season.

In Barrow, several captains may join together to host a feast which is generally held during the month of June. The "feastivities" begin with a communal meal followed by distribution of muktuk to individual families. After the distribution is completed, the blanket toss begins. Community members hold the edge of ugruk skins, which have been sewn together to form a circular pattern, and toss individuals who jump on the skins into the air, much like a trampoline. Late in the evening, a traditional dance is held. Captains and crew members who took a whale dance together on a large skin. Often, the wives or captain's wife have sewn new matching parkas for all the crew members. The dance will last late

into the evening, and most community members participate.

These ceremonies and feasts are important not only to Barrow and Nuiqsut residents, but also to their relatives who live in other communities and come to participate. The ceremonies serve to distribute whale and other subsistence food to all. Successful captains who have demonstrated their generosity are recognized and respected. The young are socialized into the Inupiat value system. Perhaps the most significant function of the ceremonies and feasts is to reaffirm Inupiat identity and integrate individuals into the Inupiat culture and society. These ceremonies and feasts, which involve entire communities, have been especially significant to the Inupiat during the past few years because of perceived threats to their culture and evident rapid changes in their physical, political, and economic environment. They symbolize the persistence of Inupiat culture.

RELATIONSHIP TO WILDLIFE

The Inupiat believe that whales possess spirits and that the whales give themselves to the hunter. A whaler must never assert that he will take a whale or specified number of whales. The Inupiat viewed the imposition of the IWC quota system on bowhead whale hunting and the establishment of a specific number of whales which could be taken as the assumption of a right held only by the whales. The acceptance of the quota, together with the overconfident attitude of some whalers, was cited by numerous whalers and community members as the cause for the disastrous 1979 spring harvest. An incident occurred in Barrow that

spring which served to reinforce the belief that whales possess spirits and that they alone decide who and when a hunter will take a whale. A whale was struck and a float was attached, but the injured whale was taken away by four other whales (Worl, 1979).

Inupiat believe that whales as well as other wildlife possess high intelligence and spirits which survive the death of their bodies to be born again in another whale. Prior to each season the hunters carefully clean the ice cellars where the whale meat, muktuk, and all whaling equipment are stored as a sign of respect for the whale. Young hunters are told never to boast that they will take a whale because the whales can hear them. Individual hunters reportedly receive symbolic signs from whales, which signal the hunter that they will be allowed to take a whale. Even as this report is drafted, Barrow Inupiat are whispering among themselves that adherence to these beliefs is not being followed, which is the reason Barrow whalers are not successful in their harvest efforts.

During the 1978 Elders Conference in Barrow, a discussion ensued about the rule which dictates that the head of harvested animals must always be severed from the body to allow the spirit to move on. The elders agreed that although many traditional ways are not being followed, severing the head from the body of game taken is still practiced among the hunters. One young hunter reported that his little daughter had reminded him of the custom when he caught a seal. He also noted that she followed another custom by giving the seal a cup of water.

Although the majority of Inupiat are Christian, it is also apparent that some traditional ideological beliefs have persisted. The following is an excerpt from the transcripts of the 1978 Elders Conference (translated into English) which illustrated the survival of a belief that was long thought to be extinct by outsiders and which demonstrates a belief adapted to a modern framework:

> The moon occupant, it is said that there was a person on the moon at that time long ago. Although the astronauts do not talk about whether or not there was anyone on the moon, it is said that at that time long ago the shaman used to visit the moon. We have heard down in Kotzebue that shamans have visited the moon in recent times in his own type of airplane. I guess they must had their own airplanes!

The belief that animals have spirits, that a relationship exists between hunter and animal, and that the hunter is required to treat the animal in a specified manner remains prevalent. As will be noted later, the Inupiat also believe certain land sites, sometimes referred to as "sacred sites," are inhabited by spirits of their ancestors.

Land Use Values

One of the most distinctive aspects of Inupiat culture, which sets them apart from contemporary Euro-American societies, is their continuing relationship and use of their wildlife resources, land, sea, and sea ice environment. Nelson's (1979) study of the interplay between Inupiat culture and land distinguished four specific levels of association between Inupiat people and land, including personal, cultural, economic, and noneconomic; other studies (Lowenstein, 1981 and Worl, 1979, 1980) indicate that the levels of association identified by Nelson

between Inupiat and the marine and ice environment and wildlife are applicable.

Nelson noted that Inupiat individuals continue to play out their lives on a landscape where each place acquires increasingly unique and important values. This association between people and places, which begins when individuals are very young, does not always leave visible traces but is believed to affect the invisible world of human ideas and values. A site at which a child took his first bird, seal, or fish may become especially important to that individual. In subsequent years the individual may establish a permanent hunting camp there, which, in turn, the entire family may utilize.

Cultural associations with land may be contained in recollections of the recent past, stories of remote history, and in the ongoing array of supernatural beliefs. In addition to historic values of sites, supernatural associations affect the ways that modern Inupiat currently use and regard specific sites. According to Nelson, there is a wide array of oral traditions and supernatural beliefs which are specific to features of the landscape. Cultural associations may be connected with locations where remote historical events involving people, animals, and landforms took place, often in a time before the present natural order became established. For example, a rock may be far more than just a landmark. It may become, in effect, a consecrated object. A small mound may be the physical result of a supernatural event recalled in oral traditions, or an ordinary looking area of the landscape may be a focus for various historical-supernatural associations (much as Chris-

tian would regard parts of the Holy Land). Certain landmarks referred to as "sacred areas" are believed to be inhabited by spirits, who sometimes make their presence known to people camping nearby. The Inupiat elected not to nominate these sites to the National Register of Historic Places, since they represent their spiritual relationship to their land and ancestors (ICAS 1979).

An overt manifestation of the Inupiat relationship to the sea, and sea-ice environment is evident through the subsistence economy. Nelson (1979) categorized resources into those which are spatially generalized and those which are site specific. Generalized resources are wide ranging, such as caribou, wolves, and wolverines, and site-specific resources are those which occur in particular localities. In discussing their conceptual land use and orientation (ICAS 1979), the Inupiat divided the Arctic Slope ecosystem into settlement areas and extended subsistence resource areas. The settlement area included the permanent communities, the adjacent campsites, and the high-intensity subsistence zones. There are approximately 450 land use sites within NPR-A alone. Beyond the settlement area is the extended subsistence resource area, which encompasses the vast territorial range that hunters traverse to harvest migratory wildlife, the prime wildlife habitat, and migration routes. Worl (1980) classified the subsistence zones as including the sea-ice environment and coastal and inland regions. The Inupiat themselves assert that their interests in the land includes the entire Arctic Slope because their use overlaps between communities.

Nelson's noneconomic association, which is sometimes referred to as a nonconsumptive or recreational use, refers to leisure activity. He cited such outdoor diversions as dog team, snow machine, and foot races, family outings, and overland explorations as falling within this sphere. He suggested that the races serve to push both hunter and equipment toward a peak of conditioning. Worl, who conducted the preliminary fieldwork for ISER-MAP survey, noted that throughout the interviews, Inupiat repeatedly made reference to overland travel. Although travel was often associated with economic activities, travel throughout the region seemed to have a special significance in itself.

BARROW

Barrow has continued to serve as a focal point of Inupiat culture. Point Barrow, which is probably best known to the public as the northernmost point in Alaska, extends into the Arctic Ocean, separating the Beaufort and Chukchi seas. Early hunters settled in the Barrow area because of the rich marine resources which are readily available. The hunters also had access to the herds of caribou in the interior region. Although federal and state regulations have restricted caribou hunting and bowhead whaling, the natural resources still contribute significantly to the subsistence economy and remain the basis of the traditional culture.

Barrow hunters utilize three distinct subsistence regions--the sea ice, the coastal zone, and inland areas. The sea, whether frozen or open, provides such marine mammals as seals, ugruk, walrus, polar bear, whales,

and migratory waterfowl. During the spring whaling season, camps are established on the sea ice along the edge of the open water, which is called a lead. Hunters can harvest a variety of resources along the coast. Camps are distributed from Peard Bay to Pitt Point. One of the most important areas to Barrow hunters is Piniq, located a few miles north of Barrow. Hunters either commute from Barrow or establish camps at Piniq to hunt ducks. Other coastal activities include hunting seals and gathering eggs and plants. The inland region is used year round for hunting, fishing, and trapping. Many families spend considerable time in their summer camps hunting caribou and fishing. They either dry their fish or store them along with caribou in ice cellars. In addition to a permanent summer camp, some families establish others. These satellite camps are located near favorable hunting or fishing sites. Trapping requires extensive land range with a single line extending up to a hundred miles. According to Pedersen's study (1979), the land area utilized by the Inupiat hunters from Barrow encompasses 29,058 square miles excluding the sea ice zone. Pedersen also reported that the total offshore area utilized by all North Slope communities in gathering products includes 15,886 square miles.

NUIQSUT

The Nuiqsut villagers selected a site where the Colville River provides an excellent travel route inland to the Brooks Range and to the Beaufort Sea approximately 25 miles north. The marine resources of the Beaufort Sea and interior fishing and caribou hunting provide the basis for their subsistence economy. A wide variety of mammals, birds, and

fish is available to the Nuiqsut villagers. Caribou, marine animals (bowhead and beluga whales, spotted and ringed seals and ugruk), and freshwater and ocean fish, such as whitefish, burbot, Arctic char, and grayling, are the most important subsistence resources. The many species of waterfowl, including swans, geese, brants, ducks, loons, are also important resources.

Archeological sites along the Colville River attest to a considerable length of occupancy and continuous use through the historical period. The oral traditions associated with different sites also indicate spiritual and cultural links to the area. One site known as Puviksuk is recognized as the place Aiyagomahala created the Inupiat of the inland regions and taught them how to live and hunt. The snow house on the site turned into a small knoll with a hollow on the top where he had left his pack. The same site also contains the grave of a woman who was beleived to possess supernatural power to change from human to animal form. Aiyagomahala also told the Inupiat he would call another group of people to trade with them. The site which became the intertribal trade and commerce center is Nigiliq, which is now the residence of a Nuiqsut family and one of the most important fish camps on the lower Colville River.

Although the residents live a greater part of the year in Nuiqsut, they also have temporary and seasonal hunting campsites which surround the permanent community. The migratory nature of the wildlife population demands that the hunters be able to extend their territorial range far beyond their permanent community and campsites. A study by Pedersen

(1979) indicated that Nuiqsut hunters and gatherers currently utilize a minimum of 11,280 square miles in their resource gathering activities. One hunter, harvesting marine mammals, caribou, furbearers, and fish, reportedly uses 4,752 square miles.

III. POLITICAL-INSTITUTIONAL SYSTEMS

Introduction

The reader's understanding of this portion of the sociocultural update would be increased to have read Governance in the Beaufort Sea Region: Petroleum Development and the North Slope Borough, Bureau of Land Management, Alaska Outer Continental Shelf Office, Technical Report No. 16, referred to throughout this section as the Governance Study. This report brings into clear focus the functions, relationships, and actions of some of the major insitutions on the North Slope. This section is not an analysis of these institutions, their financial status, or their legal concerns. Instead, it explores the roles and relationships between and among political institutions in terms of their role in directing the future of the residents of the North Slope and the protection and enhancement of their welfare and values.

Institutionalization of Culture

Inupiat culture is different from that of their ancestors, and that their culture continues to change and is subjected to continual forces of change is abundantly clear to the Inupiat. The following excerpts from the 1978 Elders Conference provide unique insights into the Inupiats' admiration for their ancestors, their conflicts with Euro-American culture, and perceptions of change.

The customs of those our ancestors, none can ever surpass them, those who lived without any help from the white man.

When we finally came here from out east there were no big houses, there was nothing made of iron. I mean here at Barrow. But now our land is almost gone. That was how it was prophesied to be once there were white men here. It was predestined that they no longer show consideration for others. When the white people cover the land. That was what I would hear at that time. They have now used our land to the east as far as we can see. All the land. And so they have started using it. Now that we have become the elders. We see the young ones eagerly using all the land. Today people have become contrary, quarrelsome. The white men are beginning to try to take from them their land. Although the white people did not make this land.

. . . and there were no laws. From that time long ago. But now everything is covered with laws. They no longer want us to have anything which is from our land. That was what Eskimos experienced then, where there were no laws and money was never even used.

The spirits-who-have-rounded-the-bend were called preachers. White people, you see . . . this place is now full of white people. The government sending them here like that. They are all over. Those who would deprive us of our land are many.

Were there always white men since time began? Was Jesus then a white man? Then how came the Eskimos long ago from those two first people, Adam and his wife . . . Then we who are Eskimos, when I ponder on this, how did we Eskimos come into being?

Nowadays many of us are gradually forgetting how to make the real parka . . . so many things in our land are changing . . . Today we no longer wear the caribou fur clothing. We now wear parkas made from furs bought from the white man . . . We are maybe going to be no longer Eskimos, we may become like a little white lady next year. High-heeled shoes and all.

And then today we have become so accustomed to following the example of white people that our clothes, as you can see I'm not even wearing one little piece of garment which is of Eskimo style.

As reported in the initial Beaufort Sea sociocultural study, the formation of the NSB was viewed as a mechanism to protect and maintain Inupiat culture. Initially, the primary mechanism to accomplish this objective was through its zoning and planning authority, implemented to protect subsistence hunting and fishing. However, much of the early period was devoted to dealing with extraneous political forces while promoting internal economic development through its own administrative employment needs and a broad CIP. As the Borough developed, both citizens and the administration began to seek ways to address cultural concern. In addition, the NSB expended considerable time, energy, and dollars to respond to a variety of issues which were viewed as threatening to the cultural life-style of its citizens, such as the restrictive caribou relations, the IWC moratorium on bowhead whaling, and the Beaufort Sea OCS lease sale.

The NSB established a number of commissions and committies which would formally deal with cultural elements they believed to be particularly vital and which will be examined in the following sections. One of the first commissions created was the History and Culture Commission. Initially, it focused much of its energies on the Traditional Land Use Inventory, which documented both historical and contemporary campsites, fishing areas, sacred areas, and primary transportation routes that they wanted protected. The commission drafted a cultural plan for Nuiqsut because members believed that at both planning and political levels the people of Nuiqsut wanted to protect their traditional land use areas and perpetuate their subsistence way of life. They also published a number

of books on Inupiat history. The commission organized the Elders Conference in 1978 and 1979 as a means to preserve and transmit the knowledge of the elders. The Inupiat Language Commission was, as the name implies, formed to seek methods to perpetuate the language. As noted in earlier sections, the Fish and Game Committee was set up to protect subsistence hunting and fishing. NSB schools have also adopted a bilingual and bicultural program, which they are attempting to integrate at all levels.

The Nature of Sociocultural Change and Institutions

It was both axiomatic to the method of this study and readily apparent in the data collected for this study that sociocultural change in the region is continuous and ubiquitous. Change appears in every aspect of personal, familial, social, and institutional life. Similarly, there appear to be few significant events which occur without creating sociocultural ripples throughout the region. If sociocultural change is continuous, then the processes through which adaptation is achieved may be more important in creating social order than some unidentified sociocultural constant. To the extent that institutions systematically or routinely embody, mediate, or stymie societal adaptation, the political-institutional arrangements become critical to the analysis of sociocultural change.

The political-institutional directions on the North Slope are complex and difficult both to define and map. Many political-institutional events which have occurred since 1978 could not have easily been pre-

dicted, given the arrangements of persons, sentiments, networks, and powers which were visible. It is only with hindsight that the mechanisms resulting in the event are revealed. Given the complexity and invisibility of these arrangements, it may be no simpler to explain the recent past than to predict the future.

As the Governance Study suggests, the political-institutional world of even such a small community as the North Slope region is in many ways inexplicable. It is replete with centripetal and centrifugal forces, pulling on different institutional and cultural planes at the same time. As noted repeatedly through this section, it does not appear that these forces result from conflicts between vying minorities but exist as warring forces within individuals as they perform their new and traditional roles. It is not suggested that there is no pulse by which to assess the regions. On the contrary, there may be too many pulses - strong and weak, shallow and deep - in a setting of such event-dependent volatility that any one of them could become dominant. All key informants noted the uncertainty of the future and expressed the belief that the next 10 years may bring as extreme and counter-intuitive directions and coalitions as had the past 10 years.

Certain predictions can be made. The region will continue on its course of rapid oil and gas extraction, capital improvements, and institutional growth. Individuals and entire communities will become more closely involved in wage employment and interethnic contact, both as the result of immigration, continuing restraints on subsistence production,

and the spread of mass media. Social and geographic mobility will increase as the result of education, employment and opportunities, and cash availability.

On the other hand, these realities may not be directly and predictably related to changes in the sociocultural world. The various parts of the sociocultural world are engaged differently by changes in the external world and mediated profoundly by the perceptions of different participants in the culture. When we consider the nature of sociocultural change, we tend to think in terms of long spans of time. Elements of culture, such as legend, ritual, language, beliefs, relationships, and so on tend to be persistent. While they appear to be stable and unchanging when viewed across a narrow span of time, many cultures may be considered to be constantly in a state of modification and alteration, as the society which bears the culture encounters new forces of change through, for example, changes in the natural physical environment or contact with other societies and cultures. Thus, were a major change to occur (such as disease, famine, earthquake, war) and a significant part of the society to be lost (such as elders, adults, hunters/warriors), it is possible that the vital, sustaining elements of culture would also be lost.

The initial Beaufort Sea sociocultural study revealed that the Inupiat culture of the North Slope has been under great pressure to change over the last 100 years and has indeed changed. Depending in large part on the viewpoint of the observer, the culture change that has

occurred may be viewed as loss, gain, or adaptative. It is also likely that less functional elements of the older culture have been abandoned in favor of new forms. This is not to say that either the old aspects or the new were either good or bad. It is simply to say that accomodations to new conditions were either found to be less functional or appropriate and therefore abandoned or they were forcibly altered by new and dominant outside efforts and programs to initiate directed change in specific social and cultural spheres, such as in education or religion.

It is relatively easy to examine the routine of everyday life in a given society and identify, over time, how many aspects of that life have changed - tools, foods, language, labor, insitituions, and so on. These aspects are viewed as behavior and many behaviors can be measured. The last 100 years has witnessed many significant changes in the daily behavior of the North Slope Inupiat. In the same vein, many behavioral changes have occurred in the past three years as socioeconomic and sociopolitical events have transpired and institutions have matured. However, it is one thing to say that major socioeconomic and sociopolitical changes have occured and that the sociocultural world has consequently changed; it is not a total overstatement to conclude that societal changes and adjustments are not identical with sociocultural changes. Societal changes may often display remarkably short lifespans, whereas culture change (with the exception of the catastrophes noted above depending on the forces involved) generally takes longer, is less discernible, is more pervasive within a society, and is less reversable. Therefore, if we find a society that abandons spears for rifles, the

behavioral change is generally swift and dramatic, while the potential long-term sociocultural change is less immediate and visible.

It is for this reason that the authors have focused much of their attention on political-institutional change in this study. The degree and direction of sociocultural change on the North Slope during the past three years can be calculated basically only through changing, and possibly short-term, societal indicators. Changes in the locus of control, the persons and processes of decisionmaking, the use of language and ritual, family structure and organization of labor, and statements of concern for the future are all short-term indicators of what could be culture change but may, in fact, not be. To the degree that the North Slope society has the tools to direct change, mediate outside forces, and alter itself, many aspects of the sociocultural world may be protected. Indeed, the more extreme the organizational life, the better protected some of the most critical elements of Inupiat culture may be.

While much of this discussion is a matter of speculation, as will be explored in the ensuing sections, it was not possible for the authors to immediately conclude from the significant events of the past three years that clear sociocultural changes had occurred. The authors submit that there is more than one explanation for each event and that the long-term cultural consequences of any immediate event may be defined and redefined by the societal actors involved. The testimony of key informants indicates that the process of redefining reality is a conscious activity and that residents' perception of problems, solutions, and implications is active; that is, they appear to be constantly

involved in perceiving and explaining behavior in ways that reduce the observed dissonances between action and culture. Actions which appear outside of or antithetical to perceived cultural continuity must be either rejected or conceptually redefined. There are two implications of this argument which the reader should bear in mind: 1) Observed socioeconomic and sociopolitical change can occur without immediate or directly observable sociocultural change and 2) sociocultural change can occur directly, indirectly, and independently of socioeconomic and sociocultural change in a specified short period of time and yet remain unseen by observers outside of the society and culture; that is, sociocultural change can occur without leaving discernable change in societal behavior as perceived from the outside, regardless of the sensitivities of the outside observer.

Since little of sociocultural change can be directly adduced from short-term change, the balance of this section will attempt to adduce the presence and direction of siciocultural change from an admittedly subjective assessment of political-institutional life, and social domain which currently appears most dominant in initiating or mediating change. What is suggested, therefore, to treat the magnitude of the recent changes with the attention they deserve and for the cultural potential which they may carry, is that it is worthwhile to draw inferred sociocultural implications from socioeconomic and sociopolitical changes.

For example, it is clear that Prudhoe Bay, its function as a tax base underlying major capital redistribution, and its role in accelerat-

ing the Native land claims settlement process constitute a great "engine of change," which can be considered external to the sociocultural world of the majority of the region's residents, even while it operates within the boundaries of the region. By comparison, the local institutions as repositories of capital wealth, instruments of political control, conflict resolution, policy direction, protectors of social and cultural well-being, and major employers of residents collectively constitute a potentially far more important sociocultural "engine of change." These institutions may alter the stance of the region toward development from one of passive acceptance to one of active participation and partial self-determination over personal, institutional, cultural, and natural environmental futures.

Major industrial development and associated forms of economic activity pose both opportunities and risks to local residents. In small communities, it is difficult, if not impossible, to ignore the changing socioeconomic condition. Whether persons or communities view the opportunities and risks positively or negatively or choose to actively participate or not, they do respond in some ways. One way of responding is to alter decision-making and decision-management styles. For example, communities may concentrate power in the hands of a few institutions, hire attorneys, form alliances, authorize studies, acquire or zone lands, invest capital, and so on. These actions may permanently alter community traditions and relationships in desirable and undesirable ways. Moving to more formal and specialized relationships, concentrating power in corporate and government bodies, and developing extensive planning,

legal, and financial skills, these communities may be seen as going through unavoidable developmental stages.

Another social domain which commonly undergoes major challenge and change is institutional, community, family, and personal values. Values include orientation to short-term gains, conservation of traditions, personal prestige, material gain, and so on. As individual choices are made, community values tend to become more diffuse and may even come into conflict over such issues as cultural preservation, economic activity, participation in industrial activity, land uses, and so on. Local institutions can create or mediate change or formalize conflict resolution of these issues.

The first salient question of local institutions and communities is whether or not they think and act as if they were in control of their own fates, either as principal decision makers, mediators, or modifiers of the inevitable. If, as is quite common, the response to externally generated change is the concentration of power in leadership and institutions, the next salient questions involve the purpose, organization, network, skills, legitimation, range of power and function, autonomy and accountability, continuity, cohesion, training, and permanence of leadership and their attitude toward the pace, manner, and direction of exogenous and endogenous change. In addition, when power is concentrated in institutions, they often come to serve purposes independent of their charters; that is, they serve primarily the individual and organizational needs of their leaders and employees. They may come to be another source of significant sociocultural change.

To the extent that altered economic, political, or employment situations derive from local political or corporate activity rather than directly from external sources, these local institutions come to occupy a key position in the analysis of change. Economic activity and any major change in its organization will have a profound effect on sociocultural systems. As the direction of this change comes increasingly under the control of local institutions, the forces, values, perspectives, options, skills, and vision which characterize these institutions become critical to the understanding of the emerging future. To the degree that these local institutions meidiate the missions and powers of nonlocal institutions, they become of even greater significance in determining the social health of residents.

Recent Events

A chronicle of significant events in and concerning the North Slope region of Alaska since 1977 would be a large and complex history. Both the roots and the consequences of these events will remain partially hidden for some time to come. While it may appear that the greatest changes due to industrial and governmental development have already occurred or that a series of inevitable trends has begun, the very novelty of these changes and the ways in which they may be handled by new organizations in new arrangements should preclude simple projections about the coming decade.

The events which are outlined below are drawn from public documents. The events are assumed to be of interest not from a historical perspective of what happened, but rather as an expression of what was desired,

what was attempted, how it was attempted, and what can be concluded from the values and trends of these attempts, regardless of whether, in the end, the attempts were successful or unsuccessful. In this way, we can highlight what values were pursued through organizational forms and what parts or forces or methods of the social and cultural world were engaged in organizational response.

It will not be possible in this section to examine in detail those changes for which public documentation does not exist; for example, the role of new employment opportunities available to the Inupiat population, though reported on statistically, has yet to have its meaning explored. At this writing, a number of changes are occurring within the political and administrative world of the North Slope Borough (NSB) due to a change in the mayor's office. These are predictive of profound, but as yet, unclear changes in either direction or emphasis. This section will deal with change in the following major and related areas--the development of NSB planning authority and direction (Beaufort Sea lease sales, coastal zone management (CZM), environmental protection, use of the Haul Road, onshore hydrocarbon development), NSB's acquisition of new and consolidated powers and functions, NSB support of local profit corporations, the growth of relationships with institutions beyond the North Slope, the development of Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission (AEWC), and the change in leadership following the death of Mayor Hopson.

NSB-COASTAL ZONE PLANNING

In the attempt to rationalize its response to the several signifi-

cant environmental issues confronting it (offshore oil and gas development, onshore oil and gas development, Haul Road development, wildlife management, protection of village and local corporate interests), the NSB attempted to tie all planning, development, and protectionist functions to the Coastal Zone Management process (Arctic Coastal Zone Management Newsletter, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 19, 21). This process calls for research-based documentation of land and resource values, the development of master plans for land use, a public hearing process, and review and approval by state authority.

By tying planning to the CZM process, the NSB would gain time in inventorying its major assets and areas to be protected, before committing these values or having the values committed for them. It would also tie federal and state agencies to the data collected. Data collected to respond to planning concerns in one area could also be used to resolve concerns in another management or policy area. For example, data on bowhead whales collected to respond to outer continental shelf (OCS) oil and gas development could be used in whaling planning process, the NSB hoped to be better able to moderate the cumulative impact of a number of discrete actions taken by different agencies.

The CZM process, using the NSB Planning Commission as the CZM board, would retain basic powers and directions within the NSB. In addition, the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation (ASRC) and the village corporations were encouraged to participate actively (ACZMN, No. 2). Another benefit to the residents was a training and employment program through which

local residents would conduct the on-site field work in the basic documentation of CZM products.

The range of CZM by-products was intended to be broad and comprehensive--an outline of potential local powers (8), a role in planning for alternative futures for the National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska (NPRA) with and without oil and gas development (1,3), an inventory of cultural values (7), extension of NSB powers in wildlife management (particularly caribou) and the regional range management (1,5), and documentation of village master plans and land selection.

The potential extension of NSB planning and zoning authority through the CZM process was perceived by both major oil interests and the State as a threat to future resource extraction. Attempts to set aside this authority required a concerted response by rural representatives in the Alaska legislature.

During the interim prior to adoption of a CZM plan, the NSB adopted very conservative interim zoning ordinances under its regular zoning powers. This was partially in recognition of the lack of final control over the adoption of the CZM plan itself (19, 22, 25). During the interim, the NSB pursued other actions to retain and extend authority. It actively pursued zoning authority over the use of the Haul Road, supported both by legal opinion and the state (7, 13), to meet the needs of Anaktuvuk Pass (17) and other NSB objectives. It even explored the possibility of buying back the federal investment in the road to reduce

federal involvement in its final use (10). It offered to support the Fairbanks North Star Borough in its attempt to obtain a petrochemical plant in return for that Burough's support for the NSB position on the use of the Haul Road, the NSB taxing authority, the NSB's CZM plan, joint planning for the pipeline corridor, and support for the development of a Yukon Flats Borough (24).

Also during the interim, the NSB organized its Department of Conservation and Environmental Security (combining game management and CZM environmental protection and planning) to investigate and manage regional and arctic coastal zone management planning, surface disturbance, and caribou and fisheries management (3, 4, 1, 10). The NSB assembly passed ordinance 79-6-1 to require authorization from the NSB Fish and Game Management Committee for federal and state officers to enforce their wildlife regulations (25). In addition, the NSB actively pursued an international caribou and habitat management treaty as well as amendments in migratory bird treaties to decriminalize subsistence violations (3, 4). The NSB also attempted to tie major federal and state legislation dealing with environment to Native legislation and policies (26), to develop a tax policy tying tax rates to rates of environmental degradation (3), and to develop engineering standards based on subsistence requirements (25).

The very conservative and far-reaching components of the draft Coastal Zone Management Plan were perceived as very threatening by major oil interests as well as state government. The NSB, expecting a

rejection of the plan, withdrew it from consideration, pending a redraft (26). It is being reanalyzed, using both culture and environmental protection as keys but within a growth management system (27). Meanwhile, the Fish and Game Committee is continuing to assert its presence in management matters and the Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope (ICAS) is asserting its aboriginal claim to offshore lands and waters out to 63 miles.

NSB-AFFILIATIONS

Though the NSB has the reputation of "going it alone," recent history indicates a growing willingness to affilliate with other institutions and processes to achieve its goals. These affiliations include the opening of a Washington, D.C. office (2), service on the Coastal Policy Council (6) and the interagency planning team for NPRA (7), and considerable support for the Inuit Cimcumpolar Conference (ICC) (5, 6, 20) and the Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement (COPE) in Canada (8, 22, 4). In addition, it worked in the development of OCS standards (3).

Perhaps the most dramatic examples of affiliations occurred with the ICC and Canadian interests. Mayor Hopson was convinced that there was a common regional economic community of interest in the Arctic, based on a healthy Arctic Ocean. The desire to create a single circumpolar community would lead to a single set of rules for offshore development, onshore resources protection, and the development of community-based, scientific, home-rule management of northern affairs.

For this reason, Canadian Inuit and Indian lands claims settlement, international caribou management, international coastal zone resources planning, international fisheries planning and management, and whaling positions were all part of the same overall framework for the future (20, 5, 22, 2, 6, 4, 3).

In addition, the Alaska contingent to the ICC was comprised of representatives of not only the NSB, but of ASRC, the Northwest Alaska Native Association (NANA), Calista, and Bering Straits; in effect, the affiliation included all indigenous coastal Eskimos, thus tying Alaskans together as well as tying Alaskans to Canadians, Greenlanders, and others (27). Though the ICC has continued following the death of Mayor Hopson (29), the type, extent, and direction of NSB participation may have changed somewhat.

The NSB has received support for many of its positions from a variety of state, national, and international affiliations. Examples include support from Governor Hammond on land selections, NSB taxing authority, Haul Road zoning powers, and other legislation (6); support from Jacques Cousteau on a continuance of scientifically consistent subsistence whaling levels (7); support from the Environmental Protection Agency and Greenpeace on offshore oil and gas development concerns in Canadian and U.S. waters (7, 16), support from the National Park Service on village-based cultural inventories (Brown, 1979); support from churches on ICC; and state support in suits challenging federal offshore sales (16). In addition, the NSB and its residents have

received support from Alaska's congressional delegation when the International Whaling Commission attempted to impose a moratorium on bowhead whale hunting in 1977 (30). Finally, the public meetings on the draft environmental impact statement on the Beaufort Sea lease sale, the Beaufort Sea science meeting convened in Barrow attended by the federal Outer Continental Shelf Environmental Assessment Program (OCSEAP), major oil, and NSB representatives, scientists, and community residents (4, 9), and a recent hearing conducted by the Alaska Supreme Court in Barrow have highlighted local investment in major environmental decisions made by distant agencies.

In addition to these affiliations, the NSB has hired consultants to examine environmental impact statements (2) and to participate in National Petroleum Reserve-Alaska (NPR-A) planning (2); has pursued technological alternatives to OCS development plans (2); has pursued policy alternatives to OCS development plans, e.g., increased Prudhoe Bay production, Prudhoe Bay expansion, NPR-A leasing and development, foothill oil field development (25); and engaged with other entities in litigation against offshore development (13, 21, 25, 16, 24).

These actions, singly and in concert, can be considered a learning experience for the NSB, not dissimilar from its development of planning capacity, zoning ordinances, and a CZM plan. Most, if not all of these learning experiences have both positive and negative aspects and have created problems among the NSB, the villages, and local corporations.

In the case of the Point Thompson sale, the City of Nuiqsut, through the Alaska Legal Services attorney in Barrow, passed a resolution opposing the sale; the NSB Assembly followed that action with another, supporting a court challenge to the sale (13). The State subsequently withdrew the sale, partially due to the North Slope residents' response.

Mayor Hopson criticized industry for the secrecy of its work in Point Thompson, saying that its actions cut through cooperation and joint planning with the NSB (14). Later, he protested industry's seismic operations, based on the objections filed by National Marine Fisheries Service, Alaska Department of Fish and Game, and North Slope residents (19). The Mayor began to seriously question the value of NSB cooperation with outside agencies in developing sound plans for the future and promised opposition to all agency actions inconsistent with the developing CZM plan; he was finding it increasingly politically costly to cooperate with industry and agencies (21).

One example of such a cost occurred when the residents of Kaktovik, Nuiqsut, and Barrow sued to close the Beaufort/Exxon well, using as justification the marine mammal crisis portrayed by the federal government (16). Both the NSB and the ASRC opposed the initiation of the suit, asserting that the villages' case was weak and a poor strategy. The NSB failed to convince the villages to drop the suit; the NSB wanted the same goal but felt it could be achieved through negotiation with industry and government. The lack of consensus between the NSB and the villages was exploited by the State in its negotiations with NSB,

according to NSB (25). In order to protect regional solidarity, the NSB, AEWC, the villages, and conservationists convened a meeting to resolve on the form of the joint litigation against the sale (24). It was clear that the NSB had to weigh the political costs of not joining the litigation as well as weighing the costs of the sale itself to the interests of the Inupiat community (25). (It should be noted that ASRC also took a separate stance from the NSB over the CZM plan and OCS development [23]).

The question which must be raised is what was learned from these experiences in terms of actions appropriate to be taken by NSB and/or ASRC and/or individual communities in engaging in joint actions, negotiations, or litigation on development matters; what was learned about the value of North Slope solidarity compared to choice of strategies; what was learned about the competitive values of development and conservation?

NSB-NEW FUNCTIONS

As noted in the Beaufort Sea Region Governance Study, the NSB has a wide array of powers in common with other such regional forms of government and some fairly unique to the region, such as fish and game management. Many of its new functions have resulted from a perceived need and no other agency response. Others have emerged from a desire for increased local self-determination over services such as health and social welfare programs (26).

Among the more innovative or unusual functions attempted were: local postsecondary education (2); educational exchange programs with Greenland (2); promotion of bilingualism within the region and within the NSB staff (6); establishment of the Inupiat Language Commission (4); establishment of a commission on history and culture provision of translation of Inupiaq testimony on federal environmental impact statements; assumption of a major role in public information (3); hiring of experts to prepare village comprehensive plans (18); with the ICC, consideration of organizing arctic oil operators through direct negotiations and voting stock (6); planning to pursue alternative energy and food sources (4); working to protect subsistence whaling against national and international agencies (5); supporting international land claims efforts (2); becoming a major employer in the region and source of $600,000,000 capital improvements program (31); and supporting lands, access, and tax policies most advantageous to local corporate interests (7, 10).

The NSB Capital Improvements Program (CIP) is one of the two major programs of the NSB and perhaps the most important from the standpoint of altering the everyday lives of all local residents (e.g., provision of basic facilities--electrical power, water, sewage, roads, housing, health facilities, etc.), providing an infusion of capital into local construction and maintenance services, and providing important employment opportunities in the villages. In its June 1980 CIP planning document, the NSB asserted that the villages set their own priorities for the construction of basic facilities and services. In Barrow, that includes community roads, a nursing home, and a group home. In Nuiqsut, that includes

an airport and terminal building, teacher housing, and roads to new subdivisions. In addition, the NSB is discussing with the local oil industry and ASRC the possibility of Nuiqsut purchasing natural gas at the wellhead price as the basis of an alternative community fuel source.

Regionwide CIP priorities for 1980 included the purchase of properties for construction projects, new housing in the villages (including rental units), purchase of heavy equipment in the villages for the construction and maintenance of roads, construction of warehouses for heavy equipment storage, development of alternative energy sources, consolidation of village offices in single buildings (leading to increased communications and decreased land use), and improvements to solid waste disposal systems and the regional telecommunication system.

The supportive relationship of ASRC by NSB is a significant one. The NSB supported a very conservative designation for national interest lands, hoping to enhance future development of ASRC lands (7). It accepted controlled tour bus services on the Haul Road; and ASRC subsidiary held the only permit of this kind (10). NSB hired an ASRC subsidiary--Arctic Slope Technical Services (ASTS)--to review various North Slope oil operations, permit applications, major projects, CZM engineering program; ASTS fills in for the lack of NSB technical staff in NSB ordinance implementation (27, 24). ASRC Communications creates television segments, informing the villages of pending applications and interim zoning ordinances and creating a request for village feedback to the NSB (30). The ASRC Media Center provides services to the NSB Language Commission (19). These functions and relationships place the responsibility for local

welfare, mediation of impacts, and cultural protection significantly in the hands of these two as well as other local institutions.

ARCTIC SLOPE REGIONAL CORPORATION (ASRC)

The ASRC has grown markedly in the past few years. It has made major acquisitions of other ongoing business concerns with which it conducted joint or related ventures. Where it could, ASRC placed shareholders on the boards of these businesses, thus leading to shareholder involvement in corporate decisions and providing some shareholder employment. Thouh ASRC had many joint ventures with larger institutions than itself (e.g., Exxon), it tended to desire to purchase its smaller partners outright; this pattern tended to make ASRC a little less dependent on industrial activities within the region only. Its new wholly owned subsidiaries operated extensively not only in other regions of the state, but in other parts of the United States as well. Via its subsidiaries, it acquired many new operations: pipe wrapping, earth moving, road construction, airfield construction, office and retail store construction, housing construction, camp construction, pipeline production, pipeline piling drilling and placement, catering, video program production, freight expediting, remodelling, paint contracting, fuel supply, general contracting hotel management, heavy equipment operation, transportation services, engine maintenance and repair, warm storage construction, cat train operations, oil field cleanup services, oil field communications services, educational television transmission, telex services, microfilming, general and aerial photography, computer services, cable television, electrical engineering, security services, fleet leasing of heavy equipment, geo-technical services and environmental engineering,

and new industrial planning. (Arctic Slope Regional Corporation Shareholders Reports, 1975-1980).

ARCTIC SLOPE TECHNICAL SERVICES (ASTS)

ASTS, one of ASRC's recent acquisitions, brought together the local, national, and international services of widely respected engineering and planning forms such as Fugro, DMJM, and Polarconsult. NSB contracts to ASTS have enabled the NSB to utilize these skills as an adjunct to its planning staff, particularly in assessing and negotiating positions in the review of planned projects, the operating orders of Beaufort Sea development, and so on. This has led to an increase in direct technician-to-technician contacts between NSB and the oil field operators, thus avoiding what might otherwise be major political conflicts.

The net work of ASRC has grown very rapidly, although its distributions have not been particularly large. It has also advanced more than $471,000 to ICAS and ASNA in trespass litigation which has continued for some years. It has direct interests in oil production in the region, has explored joint oil development venture in Greenland, and has also pursued access to Greenlandic fisheries. It has opened up lines of credit to village corporations to aid in their joint ventures. It is also engaged in litigation with Ukpeagvik Inupiat Corporation (UIC, the Barrow village corporation) which will be detailed in the discussion of Barrow and UIC and complex negotiations with other Native regional corporations.

ALASKA ESKIMO WHALING COMMISSION (AEWC)

The institution and maturation of the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission, (AEWC) is a significant development on the North Slope. Subsistence whaling for bowhead whales in arctic Alaska had been under fire for some time by a combination of federal authorities, conservationists, and the International Whaling Commission (IWC). As the United States increased pressure to reduce the commerical harvest of whales worldwide, it became the recipient of increasing international pressure to reduce or eliminate the subsistence harvest of bowheads.

Early in 1977, the NSB considered underwriting studies of the status of the bowhead population (3). In addition, it sought to get support from environmentalists and expressed grave concern with the lack of consultation it was receiving from whale researchers (4). Recognizing the threat of external regulation, the NSB considered taking the responsibility for regulation upon itself (5). In addition to producing and distributing a film on subsistence whaling and asserting vociferously the independence of subsistence whaling from control by the IWC, it participated fully in the creation, along with ASRC, ICAS, and the Barrow Whaling Captains Association, of the AEWC (6). There promptly ensued a complex and heated period of debate and antipathy between the AEWC and the IWC; AEWC received support, variously, from an assistant secretary of state, the Office of the Governor, Friends of the Earth, COPE, and others, all to little avail (7, 8).

AEWC perceived that it was best to assume the functions of whaling

management if it were to successfully withstand the efforts of national and international agencies; this would require an extensive science program and additional funds to develop such programs locally were committed (18). The ties between NSB and AEWC remained close; for example, the NSB mayor and two whaling captains filed a class action suit against the Department of Commerce (13). In addition, the president of the NSB assembly, Jacob Adams, was also the chairman of AEWC, and other overlapping relationships existed between the two organizations (31).

Recently, as the science program of AEWC has grown and the AEWC has become somewhat disenchanted with its relationships with the other institutional players in the whaling question, AEWC has become more independent (30). In 1981 the AEWC is requesting financial support for its science program from the State, but its management functions are supported basically by NSB and ASRC, even though AEWC is not a commission of the NSB.

What is of interest here is not the success or failure of AEWC, but 1) the fact that NSB financially supported the creation of a nonborough commission, 2) that the commission's form and substance are unique not only in the NSB, but also in the state, 3) that the commission tends to deal directly with national and international agencies without reference to or dependence upon state overview, 4) that the commission appears to be an organizational entity that in purpose and design seems culturally consistent, and 5) that the AEWC appears to be a tangible tribal entity, since it contains a representative of each whaling village IRA council,

by resolution. The regional IRA delegates its authority on whaling matters to AEWC. It will be interesting to see whether future organizational responses to perceived needs will follow this more traditional model (e.g., whaling captains' association), rather than the corporate or governmental mode provided by Alaska law.

CHANGE IN LEADERSHIP

There is no doubt that much of the character and direction of NSB derived from the personality and philosophy of Mayor Eben Hopson, now deceased. His vision of what was possible for a North Slope home-rule government, international circumpolar arrangements, and so on created an atmosphere of change, imagination, and boundary testing, but it also led to impatience in those who desired either other goals or a different pace of change. This sometimes caused large schisms between the mayor and other divisions of the NSB government and the mayor and the villages. Although feelings often ran very high during these disagreements, it was not clear whether forces outside the North Slope could capitalize on the differences.

Jacob Adams, the new mayor, had been land manager of ASRC, president of the NSB Assembly, a whaling captain, chairman of the AEWC, and mayor of Barrow. He is now serving out the unexpired term of Mayor Hopson and must stand for election in October 1981. He is a relatively young man for all his experience and has a very different style and somewhat non-confrontative in public, silent, astute, articulate, careful, possessed of much common sense, and flexible in philsophy. His past role as a

mediator has given him the reputation of being a conciliator, and he is viewed as less divisive than Mayor Hopson. He has a good deal of popular support but will, nevertheless, be challenged in the coming election. He has much contact with the people and is seen to be supportive of the conservative Inupiat approach to lands. He possesses the traditional Inupiat demeanor and speaks the language fluently.

Organizationally, since he grew up during a period of great change in social interaction and philosophy, Mayor Adams is likely to be more malleable than Mayor Hopson, tempered by his strong sense of the past and careful observation of the changes around him. It is likely that residents will back Mayor Adams, regardless of differences on individual issues for his remaining encumbancy, since he has a reputation for delivering the right thing at the right time.

Great changes have already begun to occur, the results of which are not yet clear but which, in outline, appear to presage an even greater consolidation and rationalization of North Slope institutions, villages, and values. Mayor Adams has worked hard over the past few years to make millions of dollars for ASRC from oil leases. He has worked equally hard to create a tough and successful CZM program which would place tight restrictions on environmental degradation from oil development. He has also worked hard to build economic cooperation among ASRC, NSB, and village corporations, to get NSB to award construction and service contracts to regional and village corporations and other locally owned businesses. He is, apparently, supportive of a "trickle-down" approach

to North Slope economics, wherein the NSB would transmute its oil field tax base into contracts for local private enterprises, rather than sending these funds out of the region. He also wants village and regional corporations to be involved in oil field operations, even to the extent of developing a locally owned oil and gas industry to further benefit directly from onshore hydrocarbon development. Finally, he wants to develop village coal reserves to lower the cost of local energy, another method for achieving distance from external market situations. Each of these goals and their implementation have profound potential impacts on the sociocultural and institutional-political world of the North Slope, as will be discussed further in this section.

A second area of change is in more positive relationships between the NSB and the villages. This is partially due to the forecfulness of the villages in pursuing their own litigation against the Beaufort Sea lease sale, compelling the NSB to give the villages more recognition and consultation and partially due to village representation on the NSB assembly. In a sense, the courts sustained the essential independence of the villages from the NSB. In addition to this source of change, Mayor Adams established a community relations office within his own office to establish closer linkages among the villages, the village coordinators, and the Mayor's Office. NSB officials are now travelling more to the villages and plans are finalized only with the villages' active concurrence, rather than based only on consultants' reports.

A third area of change appears to be a withdrawing of extraordinary

financial support by the NSB of the ICC, part of a new era of fiscal constraint. It is possible that the new mayor feels that the strategy and philosophy leading directly to his goals for the region do not require international support. There is no indication yet in what other ways the NSB support for or involvement in international affairs will change.

A fourth area of change may be personal at high policy-making levels within the NSB. The new mayor has recently asked for the resignation of Jon Buchholdt, one of Mayor Hopson's closest advisors and has accepted the resignation of Herb Bartel, the director of planning. He is also closing the Washington, D.C. office. Implications of these and other potential changes are not yet clear.

Continuity and Discontinuity of Values and Sentiments

LANGUAGE

The Inupiat of the North Slope have had continuous contact with outsiders since the late 1800's. In spite of decimations brought on by early contact and deaths due to World War II and other recent military service for the United States, the Inupiat society and culture have remained essentially intact. They survived the various booms and bursts of arctic exploration and development. The population survived not only physically, but appears to have a culture and sense of community that remains strong through adaptations and modifications, responding to different exogenous and endogenous forces.

Though significant conflicts pervade this society, as with other homogeneous societies, a loyalty and sense of identity unites the North Slope community, regardless of grave differences on specific issues. This is a community of place and people, similar to what would otherwise be called nationalism, but based on a semiclosed network of persons, families, and sentiments. This network is tied together by language, residency, ethnicity, and activities (e.g., whaling, traditional dances, etc.). To the degree that non-Inupiat have been incorporated into this society, it can be assumed that ethnicity, in the form of blood quantums of Inupiat to non-Inupiat, is less significant than the basic choice to take up long-term residence in the region and participate in aspects of cultural continuity.

Language is more than one of many aspects sustaining culture. It has a value all its own and is an important cultural issue on the North Slope. In times of stress and indecision about certain changes, in times where rhetoric is used to reify values, in times when claims to leadership must validated, the Inupiat, particularly the older, more conservative members of the community turn to the use of Inupiaq as a central issue. Later, we will discuss the importance of the Language Commission, bilingual education programs in the schools and other institutions, and taking public testimony in Inupiaq as important features linking culture and institutions.

CONTINUITY

As noted in the methods, standards, and assumptions report, culture

is constantly changing. The rate, type, and magnitude of change can, however, be altered significantly by conscious individual and collective decisions. Thus, while it may not be either desirable or possible to incorporate into the present many of the best features of the culture no longer carried by the society or even remaining in its living memory, it is possible to revitalize ethnic and cultural consciousness and pride through the manipulation of current forces of change, through what we will call "conservatism". Conservatism, a set of attitudes, values, sentiments, and actions, is not necessarily restricted to the elderly of the society. Among many young, corporate, and well-educated (in both traditional and western ways) young on the North Slope, there is an ability, willingness, and even necessity to espouse the viewpoint that "we want the opportunity to remain Inupiat, as we understand it." It is probable that this attitude is a response to a fear voiced by elders that there may come a period, temporary or permanent, when "we are no longer Inupiat."

Given the rapidity of recent changes (e.g., losses to the variety of dialect and vocabulary in the Inupiaq language, to stories, myths, and legends, to artistic, economic, and familial practices, and so on) in the culture, revitalization is not a return to the "old ways". The cultural substrate has been strongly homogenized through intraregional migration, loss of elders, and technological and economic change.

The cultural or spiritual qualities which bind North Slope residents together are not readily visible. Much appears to survive,

(even among the younger generations who normally display little obvious interest in it) although it is seldom displayed. Even with the new and considerable influence of television, classrooms, and wage employment, the collective memory appears to survive as witnessed in whaling activities, dancing, and so on. This survival, to this point, has not been dependent upon institutions, such as schools and churches, to provide continuity. It also shows no evidence of existing merely as a tool of political assertion or advancement. Continuity can be accounted for through the continuing presence and influence of elders in their communities and families. The elders and their children provide the leadership of the new institutions of the North Slope.

Continuity can also be accounted for in the fact that current institutional leadership in the age group of 30 to 55 have themselves experienced a flow of changes in their own lives and thus have the memory of the good and bad features of each. One does not have to be an old man on the North Slope to have experienced a dozen different and successful modes of generating power and motion--wood, coal, blubber, oil, natural gas, electricity, gasoline, dog power, wind power, solar power, snow machines, airplanes. Though the younger generations will skip these steps in energy acquisition, they will quickly understand the social and economic differences brought about by local generation versus importation.

SUBSISTENCE

Hunting and fishing provide the Inupiat with another important link

with the past and with one another. While hunting is now assisted by some relatively high technology, many of the traditional arts governing its use continue, incorporating complex social, cultural, and behavioral applications. It must be noted here, parenthetically, that much aboriginal hunting and fishing (commonly characterized as "primitive") was accomplished through highly productive and efficient technology (e.g., caribou drives) now prohibited by nonlocal management agencies.

To this hunting and fishing society, many of the traditional elements which may need to be maintained through this industrial and the coming postindustrial periods may be now out of balance. Animal population levels, habitat, and migration patterns may now be significantly altered due to man-made interventions. It is for this reason that there is so much concern expressed by North Slope institutions about habitat protection and environmental standards during subsurface extraction activities.

It cannot be assumed that institutional employment requires the termination of subsistence activities. Direct observation and recent studies (ISER/MAP) indicate that there are sufficient blocks of time available for both wage employment and subsistence, particularly if wage employment allows time out for traditional hunting activity and if subsistence activities utilize the best tools available from modern technology. Thus, wage employment does not result in unproductive time. Subsistence productivity on the North Slope, as measured by output divided by time input, may in fact be increasing. Time unutilized by wage

employment combined with wages capitalizing subsistence activities is probably a significant incentive to pursue wages, even for those who are most attached to conservative values and social organization. Economic need does not appear to be the critical factor in determining participation in the wage economy, nor does such participation indicate a lesser investment in the subsistence economy nor an increased dependency on the wage economy.

It is interesting that though a large number of persons in the region live at or below the poverty level, public assistance participation is low. For many of these people it is simply a matter of pride. They are not deprived of valued things (a place to live, food, clothing, family, friends, social roles) as a result of unemployment in the wage economy. The social world provides for them if that world is not unduly restricted by land or wildlife regulations or natural physical events. Of course, when wildlife resources or accessibility to them decline, then the ability and willingness of the social world to share these resources freely also declines. As a result of this sharing ethic, there are few instances of theft of subsistence products; most thefts of goods and money appear to be less the result of poverty than of the desire for alcohol or drugs.

LAWS AND INSTITUTIONS

One area of human activity that appears to pose a great challenge to cultural continuity is law and its institutions. The growth of institutions which act as a repository for local values and wealth has

occurred in a legal-institutional environment which has no precedent on the North Slope. Leadership, powers relationships, conflict resolutions, participation, and so on are all modelled on an essentially alien set of assumptions and social contracts. We shall return to this problem later in this section.

Social and cultural changes that occur because of changing physical economic, and institutional realities contribute to psychological adaptation and survival in a rapidly changing world. This is not to say that there are not victims or losers in the passage from one set of conditions to another.

THE ELDERS

On the North Slope there appears to be little consensus about who the victims or losers are. To some, it appears that the elders lose the most in terms of leadership, values, and roles. They appear to be reluctant to change, to seek available employment, to alter the use of lands, to loosen their ties to the land.

To many elders, radical conservatism in the face of change appears to be a common response. They emphatically reject the opportunity to be "corporate" and to deal with and even direct change through corporate means. They are conservative not in terms of changing certain external conditions (environment, economy, institutions), but in terms of changing social and cultural traditions. They appear caught in a dilemma. If they adapt themselves to rapid change, they appear to violate many

aspects of their Christian and pre-Christian concepts. If they reject changing themsleves, they lose power to manage change and to perpetuate their traditions in younger generations.

This has resulted in two responses from the elders. One is a rejection of institutional matters and participation in them, and the other is apathy in the face of opportunity. Many believe that they do not have the skills necessary to participate and therefore are automatically excluded.

The new institutional world does not appear to be a flexible mechanism to incorporate their concerns. Management and organizational attempts to control the sociotechnical world are incongruent with their traditional ways and psychology. What power they appear to retain is as individual and collective respositories of cultural traditions and continuity through churches and whaling associations and as witnesses on traditional values in the public hearing process. It is difficult to determine whether this collective activity of elders (e. g., through the annual Elders Conference), has some other and unseen influence on the directions of institutions and political leadership.

The Elders and the Young

The ability of elders to influence the young is attenuated by a number of forces, including school, employment, geographic mobility, and television. This is a source of frustration for many who view it as their social role to inculcate values and impart vital knowledge directly.

An example is drawn from the testimony of Otis Akivgak (North Slope Borough, 1981):

> But the instructions of one who told the story must be heard, you know, by the young. Those who are going to learn how to hunt. They have to attempt their (hunting) while hearing this always in their minds, these ones who are trying to listen (to these instructions). Because these, our young people today, have become so that they now do whatever they feel like doing, because they believe that they can do anything, they are even stubborn in their determination to do things their own way, even when one tried often to talk to them.
>
> When one is one of those who are hunting-by-boat, even when one tries often to talk to them, these young people nowadays, these ones who have become young men, they have begun to respond with retorts which can cause one to become discouraged and quit. Some of them don't even like to be told about the methods used by those of long ago for acquiring game. They have no desire to listen. They don't ever express an earnest desire to listen to these things, some of them consider it to be criticism and therefore act offended.
>
> Some of them even answer me very impudently, 'You should never talk of these things, you all try to make me feel offended when you do so, you try to evoke me to act offended with that criticism.'
>
> I always try very hard to talk to them about the way they did things, their instructions to me, because I grew up and became aware among those who hunted-by-boat; I indeed talk to them. As soon as I am able to go hunting-by-boat I instruct those young men because they are my "men." I don't keep quiet. Those whom I had talked to while they were young people are today still living, they have become young men, they have (fathered) children. Some of them must remember these things sometimes. Because, you see, this animal sometimes does not go looking for a good person. I talk to them while these already capable one are sleeping, of when and where to throw the weapon. (I-165-6)

Some elders are positive about the cultural traditions surviving through the young, particularly those young people exposed to culture programs in the schools, programs based on materials provided by the Elders Conference, the Commission on History and Culture, and the

Commission on Language. These institutions are seen to replace the role of preservation and instruction normally the direct responsibility of elders. Even should an entire generation or two remain unexposed to certain values and traditions, it is hoped that there will remain an institutional memory as continuing resource.

Though it is clear that only some young people cherish their traditions and history, it has been the experience of some middle-aged persons that they too were disinterested in history and traditions until certain real-life issues presented themselves, the solutions to which were sought and found in these traditions. Young people may sustain a loss for certain forms of identity with the past and each other, but through education and employment in nontraditional institutions, they avoid the psychological dissonance and sense of powerlessness expressed by the elders. Perhaps they will be able to combine the most desirable elements of both worlds.

The Middle-Aged

It is possible that those who are most vulnerable to personal losses and conflict through sociocultural change are those middle-aged persons most active in both institutional and traditional roles, caught between conservative and opportunistic values. Conflicts here are not only between institutions or persons expressing opposite values, but opposite values competing within persons, regardless of their locale, income, or employment.

It is common now for large numbers of skilled Inupiat to be returning to the North Slope from other parts of the state or nation, given the increased local employment opportunities. They often express gratification that they not only live, but work, at home now. However, their formal and informal education and skills make them somewhat different from the individuals and communities they now rejoin. They return home with different sets of values and skills than those which prevail at home. Having received their training in the outside world, they introduce and accelerate developmental change in the villages. These "internal agents of change" have created some of the most profound changes in their communities, leading less to culture loss than to political and psychological conflict. Carrying only part of the culture, these returnees unwittingly introduce nontraditional ways of thinking and acting. When they become active in corporate and political affairs and assume representative roles, they often tend to represent themselves rather than the people by whom they were selected. It is also probable that they are at a great psychological risk in their internal and social relationships. It may also be that their influence on sociocultural change is far more profound and pervasive than that caused by non-Inupiats coming to or residing in the region.

There is a term in Inupiaq for an "Eskimo-who-isn't," that is, someone who is an Inupiat but acting outside Inupiat values or modes of expression. This appelation is not applied to persons expressing development interests, profit interests, or institutional interests, but to persons advocating development that is not locally controlled. Thus, the

expression of regional interests is appropriate, if not traditional, if it locates control within rather than without the region. Thus, development, if it is locally controlled, is less demeaning to residents' view of themselves, no matter how pervasive or destructive development becomes. Both the perception and reality of local control neutralizes much of the impact of development. The questions that remain are: how does one differentiate between the perception and the reality of control (i.e., do local institutions really control local events or do they just appear to do so?), how does one differentiate rhetoric from actual power, and how much of the responsibility for sociocultural change is borne by local residents and institutions rather than external persons and institutions?

Values and Institutions

EXPRESSION OF VALUES

Following the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA), Native peoples throughout the state began to protect many of their basic interests through institutions created by the act and under models accepted throughout the Western governmental and corporate systems. The question is whether becoming institutional does not change the sociocultural world drastically in and of itself; that is, does the tool that is used to protect certain values significantly alter those values: Corollary to this question is another: do institutions co-opt people's values, or are their institutions merely projections to the outside world while leaving the sociocultural world essentially intact?

These questions, though lying at the core of the relationships between culture and institutions, cannot be answered directly. Subjective evidence allows only a limited range of inferences to be drawn. If we think of institutions as not having "lives of their own" separate from those of the individuals who comprise them, we can draw some tentative conclusions about the new institutional life of the North Slope.

First, the relationship between individuals and the institutions within which, through which, or over which they function is probably a reflection more of the individual than of the institution. For some individuals, the institution is a vehicle through which many societal objectives are pursued. For them, the institution is a legal and fiscal tool to obtain nonpersonal objective. The institution projects an image of normalcy, an understandable entity for nonlocals, particularly other institutions, to deal with, since other, less formal and more culturally consistent forms of organization and decision making are not acceptable outside of the region.

For the projection to be successful, local directors and managers must know 1) what it is they wish to achieve and 2) how to achieve it through the institutional forms with which they have been provided. With regard to the former requirement, if there is a range of conservative values to be protected, the directors/managers must understand the complexity of the relationships among them and the forces of change. With regard to the latter requirement, the directors/managers must understand the possibilities and limitations of their institutional form and

power, which may require extensive training, trial-and-error experience, and expert assistance. To successfully pursue traditional and local values through complex modern institutions, directors/managers must themselves be somewhat exceptional, living in a sense in very different worlds. Walking a very narrow line between these worlds can make them marginal, i.e., exceptionally vulnerable to social distress, cognitive dissonance, and psychological disarray. The history of local leadership in Alaska has witnessed an unfortunate number of victims of this marginality. Some persons resolve the conflict by simply choosing one side or the other, making them less useful to their constituents. Others leave the political-corporate scene (or, in some cases, the local region itself), thus reducing the level of local talent brought to significant issues. Finally, some suffer significant crises in their personal lives, including alcoholism, divorce, and so on.

Given the quality and amount of the human, fiscal, and natural resources on the North Slope, the remoteness of the region from other centers of institutional life, the suddenness of environmental and economic change unamimity of certain values and expressions of an essentially homogeneous people, through a division of responsibility and purposes among institutions for different, though related, parts of the socioeconomic and sociocultural world, and the desire of the people and their government to remain isolated from many aspects of political and economic involvement, the local institutions have achieved a remarkable degree of maturity and flexibility. This, at least partly, has resulted from the ability of directors/managers to maintain themselves in both

worlds. In addition, it is clear that conservative sentiments are not the same as preservationist sentiments. Residents and their representatives do not desire to create a living museum of their past but something uniquely their own of the future, something that is neither traditional nor modern but an amalgamation of both, tempered by changing perceptions and values.

It is unlikely that there is agreement as to what that future should be. What appears to be important is that the future be a product of local control and that both traditional opportunities (e.g., wage employment, basic public services) be maintained. In this sense, the future is less one of design than one of maintained alternatives.

Given the diversity of legitimate positions tolerated within the large institutions of the North Slope as well as the different functions of each institution, the expression of radical opinions tends to be institutionally channeled. Each institution tends to reflect an association of sentiments. Thus, even though there appear to be great and irreconcilable differences of opinion, there is some institution through which this expression can be made. Of course, given the nature of institutions to absorb human energy and anger, the organizationally patterned ways in which local institutions relate to one another may depress the most radical expressions, leading to a certain degree of constituent passivity. However, given the small population of permanent residents and the number of institutions open to them, no position is without the potential of rapidly becoming the dominant position

(see, for example, the communities' suit against the Beaufort Sea lease sale).

Some residents suggested that the big local institutions are bleeding off the time, energy, cultural anger, and values of the Inupiat by channeling their behavior and expression through institutional means (public hearings, meetings, etc.), thus reducing the potential damage to the institutional goals and environment. Though this may, in fact, be the case on some issues and for some time, it is unlikely that there is a conspiracy among the institutions to accomplish this, given the differences in their chartered responsibilities. For example, the Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope should be the repository for the expression of traditional cultural values. In those instances where residents' skills and values are not at home in other institutions (due to language problems, oral versus written tradition of expression, and limitations on institutional practice), NSB will probably provide a home for demands on a variety of services, jobs, and facilities, while ASRC will probably protect financial holdings of the residents.

CONFLICT OF VALUES

In most North Slope institutions, both development and conservative values coexist and are represented, although not in equal proportion or consistently across all issues. Both positions are legitimate within the region. The question is often less of choosing between them than the strategy used to attain as much as possible of both elements as preceived by different institutional decision makers. For example, the

conflict between the NSB and the communities litigating to set aside the Beaufort Sea lease sale as more a matter of strategy than of substance. It also can be considered a formal representation of the value conflict within individuals, projected onto the institutional world. That is, individual positions on this issue, argued in the institutional arena, did not place individual value sets or relationships to other individuals at great risk. The institutional arena provided a release of tensions built up by impending events but without great personal or community disruption (although Mayor Hopson felt considerable erosion both of his political support on the issue and his bargaining position with industry and agencies). North Slope residents appear to understand and tolerate the conflict within and among their values and also the conflicts that appear within their institutions.

Thus, even when they attack the position of the NSB, they understand that the NSB is their method of turning the products of nonlocal extraction of resources into desired local goods. They also understand that the NSB is one of the mechanisms funneling support into the ASRC, its subsidiaries, and other local businesses, and thus will always be torn between attachment to and rejection of industry. Decisions, then, appear to be the product of a balancing (often unequal) of these concerns within a framework of limited institutional power and minimum institutional risk.

The patterns of decision making often do not operate on the North Slope as many observers suggest they would or should. The role and

values of government cannot be taken at face value. For example, industry has failed to successfully capitalize on conflict between the mayor and the borough assembly. When industry intrudes into the conflict resolution process, it tends to find a coalescence of positions in opposition to that desired by industry and for the sake of unity. It has been noted by observers that decision makers will often vote against their own short-term self-interest or that of their constituents for the sake of unity. There may indeed, be a subconscious willingness to trade an objective goal for the more subjective goal of network and community preservation. By asserting the primacy of community, sentiment, or value, its existence is reified or enhanced; that is, "We are the decisions we make." Such decision making, on behalf of long-term self interest may appear, institutionally, nonlogical and nonrational, particularly when solidarity is such an ephemeral product.

In the quest for solidarity, the actual political position that is taken is most commonly based on conservative, traditional values. Residents who approach local decision makers can expect to find at least a split in opinion, if not direct support for their position if the position they support is couched in a conservative form. The split appears within individuals and within institutions due to the role local people play in their own institutions, family ties among residents and institutional employees and decision makers, and the unique arrangement whereby decision makers wear multiple institutional "hats", which they can change to suit the expression of differing and even absolutely conflicting values, objectives, and strategies. For example, a person can

be, simultaneously, a director of the regional corporation, a member of the borough assembly, an AEWC member, and an employee of ICAS. In addition, he can play multiple roles in the management of village government and village corporations, have an entrepreneurial relationship in oil and gas development, and be a subsistence hunter. As they change hats, they come to represent a slightly or radically different constituency or other objectives and values of the same constituency. Somehow in the process they remain uncompromised by this perceived conflict of interest, particularly when they support very conservative values and are not publically criticized for their shifting loyalties.

To the degree that institutions actually reflect very different values and objectives and that they have veto power over each other, their actions become very problematic for nonlocal institutions. The institutional environment would prefer that the institutions of the North Slope speak with a single voice. On the other hand, if that singularity resulted from the concentration of North Slope power in the hands of the NSB or ICAS, it might create greater rather than less intransigence to outside influences.

It is possible that institutional representatives may be responding to institutional issues with a "set" which is independent of their core cultural values. As survivors, the institutional forum may insulate the decision makers' cultural values from day-to-day decisions. Changing hats and positions without penalty confuses others in the institutional environment, since the position taken in one setting or instance may be absolutely rejected in the next, contrary to normal expectations.

One informant noted that he wrote repeated complaints to the head of a particular local institution but received no reply. When he approached the person directly, he was informed that he did not reply because the recipient was being addressed by the correct name but the wrong title for the complaint. By wearing different "hats," the institutional head could ignore correspondence directed to him incorrectly as if he were, in fact, two different people.

If decision makers perceive their institutional acts as separate from their own values and desires, they can respond to opportunities which are unanticipated and require decisive action without either being bound by prior choices or being personally at risk. This results in the development of a reputation for duplicity. It raises again the question of whether or not these institutions have a heart or core of values, or if they are masks or projections with an appearance of reality, or if their character is dependent only on what each individual invests in the projection. It may be a culturally determined projection on a frame borrowed from Western society to deal with that society at a protective distance. It fulfills Western expectations and demands without engaging the person or his core values. The projection (i.e., the institution) can be destroyed without destroying the people. Attacking the NSB is not directly attacking the Inupiat but only one shield of the Inupiat.

PROTECTION OF TRADITIONAL VALUES

Traditional values are often formally protected by institutional actions (e.g., the NSB through its active support of the Commission on history and Culture, the Language Commission, AEWC, the Traditional Land

Use Inventory, the Elders Conference, and other enterprises). The elders consider it important to place their history and cultural practices on paper and in the schools. Thus, combined NSB and school district efforts, including bilingual education, have in a sense institutionalized the responsibility for cultural education. Since it is not possible for young people to be simultaneously in the classroom and out in the tundra hunting, the schools take up more of the burden of transmitting cultural information. There is no doubt some social loss in this process, that is, between the elders and the young. However, if the interest of the young in many cultural practices declines for a generation or two, given a predictable short intense period of hydrocarbon development, then succeeding generations would not have direct access to the cultural information (the elders having since died) without institutional recording, preservation, and education roles.

In addition, the NSB supports cultural integrity through ordinances protecting the basis of traditional life-styles (e.g., habitat protection) and the remoteness required by that life-style (e.g., tight control over tours on the Haul Road). The Commission of History and Culture, in its meeting of February 14-15, 1979, noted these protections in a comment by one member, "Our land and livelihood is (sic) not for display."

One branch of the NSB that may carry considerable responsibility for protecting the conditions necessary for cultural continuity is the Environmental Protection Office (EPO). Its purpose as enunciated by its director, Lester Suvlu, is to maintain the land of the North Slope as it

is, so that 50 years in the future it remains a base for renewable resources for the residents. It is his hope that subsistence will never disappear and his expectation that the Inupiat will return to it following the end of hydrocarbon development. He also believes that institutionalized cultural education will retain the knowledge for that kind of living.

The EPO is in the awkward position of being in the center of conflicting values and actions. The elders believe that the land is not being adequately protected. They are correct in that development always results in some change and/or damage to the environment. Locals feel that development clearly affects the wildlife, that pipelines act as fences. As development begins to more closely approach existing communities, EPO senses that the biggest battles are yet to come.

Since onshore hydrocarbon development provides the financial basis of the NSB and a large part of the revenues of local corporations, the EPO must be cautious in applying stipulations and requiring changes to development plans; it must also treat local and nonlocal industry using the same standards. This places the EPO in a negotiative rather than adversary stance toward development, working with rather than controlling industrial development. It is doubtful that a less cooperative stance, through much more stringent ordinances, standards, and procedures, would receive popular local support and environmental improvement.

What is most troubling to EPO is that development is somewhat hap-

hazard; that is, there is little coordination among existing Prudhoe Bay developments and pending changes in NPR-A and offshore. The EPO is understaffed should demands increase in all three areas. The lack of a regionwide development plan, which would be developed in concert with industry and local and nonlocal government, creates the greatest difficulty in institutional planning for environmental and, therefore, cultural protection. The failure of the CZM plan has, as a consequence, profound cultural implications. Though there are many institutional efforts to maintain various pieces of the culture, there does not appear to be a coherent amalgamation of them in the face of an also less than coherent development future.

The Fish and Game Management Committee of the EPO, an advisory body, also appears caught on a razor's edge of decision making. Unsure about the future economic basis of the region, the committee is less willing to impose stricter controls on development. Desires to the contrary, some committee members fear that subsistence may evolve away as the region goes through successive stages of industrialization and modernization and that personal gains will move people away from an ideology of distribution of wealth to accumulation of wealth. Ideally, of course, the common desire is to have the best of both worlds. Value and strategy conflicts are strongest at times when this ideal seems the least attainable.

The local corporations of the North Slope have important social and cultural binding functions. For example, NSB contracts let to local contractors and subcontractors contribute to social and economic

cohesion within the region. Though it is often argued in Alaska that cultural continuity and corporate participation are incompatible because corporations have no "soul," this argument is less convincing here, where in local corporations are often simultaneously leaders in other areas of culture and spiritual life as well (e.g., whaling captains and church elders). The questions which persist are: Do people bring their cultural values into their corporations and are corporate actions and outcomes significantly reflective of these values?

There are, of course, many examples of cultural and corporate continuities and discontinuities throughout Alaska. A very articulate Native leader, Willie Hensley, pointed out

> There's such a pervasive pressure to conform and assimilate. . . it's been conveyed that you have to deny who you are. You can go both ways. By going both ways you can accept two cultures at the same time. . . No matter how we (Native regional corporations) do economically and politically we could still fail if all Native cultures and identities dissipate. . . the keys to Native survival are (in) keeping their spirit, identity, language, history, and tradition alive. . . spirit describes attitudes, consciousness, the way they do. . . (with regard to the spirit and Native corporations) my thinking of the spirit emerged because of the economic situation. The first thing you have to do is know thyself and where you're going. When you're developing your corporate policy that (spirit) is going to emerge. . . from the investment standpoint the building of your people is going to affect your money (Tundra Times, March 11, 1981, p.5).

The ASRC, like other regional land local corporations, has played a role in cultural continuity through, for example, its extending lines of credit to COPE (1), its support of ICAS and ANAS litigation, and its

support of the formation of the AEWC (6). In an ASRC election, one of the candidates, Charles Edwardson, Jr., spoke of the ASRC and the NSB as a single "capital engine," with each being a reciprocal part of protecting land surface while yielding subsurface riches (3).

It is clear that where the vital corporate interests of ASRC were not engaged, ASRC could freely support cultural and community vlaues. Though not obvious in public, there is a continuing dialogue within ASRC over conflicts between conservation and development. Conflicts also occur between village sentiments and desires and corporate needs. These conflicts generally are resolved by ASRC in ways to mediate or diminish controversy, but communities are often critical of ASRC's mix of values. Debate is less often about final determinations and more often about the shape, timing, and location of events over which ASRC has control. Much of the debate is a continuation of the problems of ASRC's early days, when it was difficult for the fledgling corporation to inculcate business interests and tradeoffs among those conservative leaders attached more to lands and renewable resources than to subsurface values. While there have been no instances of villages litigating against ASRC to prevent its access to subsurface resources, there have been direct and heated conflicts.

It is possible that ASRC sees it role as preparing residents/shareholders for a different kind of life. There is little indication, for example, that ASRC media products have done much to promote a feeling of solidarity among the residents. It may well be that ASRC is contributing

in various ways to both disintegration and reintegration of social values in the region.

As a tribal entity, the Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope might be expected to be a central repository of the conservative values of the region. ICAS is a smaller, third partner to the other two major institutions of the region but not created in response to either oil and gas development or by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. ANCSA did not appear to contain or provide any basic strategy for the survival of the Inupiat culture nor the physical environment on which it depends. Excessive and haphazard resource development is a source of major concern to this survival; however, the NSB home-rule government, combined with the particular relationship between the tribe, provided a basis for expectations of local self-determination. As one informant noted, "ICAS is not our ace-up-the-sleeve, it is the whole deck."

ICAS has explored a number of potential roles-social service delivery, promotion of local hire, exploration of alternative food sources (Tundra Times, June 25, 1980, p.9), and development of commercial fishing. Perhaps its most dramatic act, in conjunction with Ukpeagvik Inupiat Corporation, was laying an ownership claim on the marine and submerged resources extending from 3 to 65 miles offshore. This is a political assertion derived from customary and traditional use but pursued via litigation. In conjunction with other litigation on offshore oil and gas development, it becomes another mechanism to assert local self-determination.

ICAS was also instrumental in the formation and insulation of the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission through the sovereignty available to tribal entities. There has been a conflict about whether AEWC is more effective as a tribal entity or a nonprofit corporation that could qualify for receipt of scientific funding and other legal purposes. The AEWC may be the most culturally congruent of the new institutions of the region. In some ways, it is an extension of the whaling captains' associations which appear in each whaling village. These associations (not known, of course, by that name) appear to have been in existence for as long as there have been whaling captains. They meet regularly to agree on the rules governing upcoming hunts, particularly hunting methods and means, and the management of product distribution. In addition, they talk over mutual problems, reassert basic hunting and social patterns, and act as a repository of conservative values.

Whaling associations are needed because whaling, unlike the pursuit of walrus or caribou, requires one or more crews and a large investment of time and money, and the loss of a whale, for failure to communicate among crews, can result in a major loss of food. The pursuit of other resources tends to be more individual and the failure of an individual hunt is less likely to result in serious food implications for large numbers of people. The seeds for the organization of walrus or caribou hunters are there, but they are not yet required, due both to the relative availability of these resources and the less pervasive aspects (both nutritional and symbolic) of these resources. (There is, of course, an Eskimo Walrus Commission which may begin to play the same role but

extending its membership and influence from the Aleutian Chain to the Canadian border.)

Much like the villages' whaling captains' associations, the AEWC is one indication of the high degree of institutional organization endemic to the region when the need arises. It even conducts itself by the Roberts' Rules of Order. An extension of the whaling captains' associations, the AEWC is a more regionwide, species-specific community of interest. It may be prototypical for other culturally congruent institutions which emerge to meet perceived needs or external threats. Of necessity it has become more sophisticated in the ways in which it responds to perceived threats. It has developed entities engaged in scientific investigation, management, education, and so on. It more closely resembles a consortium of independent entities operating collectively around a common purpose (like OPEC) than it does a hierarchial institution. It is structurally loose and functionally perhaps less strong than it might have been in the past, when punitive action was simpler to implement.

A significant number of its members are prominent in the NSB and other institutions and thus have great potential for influencing the positions of these institutions. Yet it does not act as a political body except with regard to other agencies exercising management authority over bowhead whales. Political experience, public exposure, and prioritizing of values gained within the AEWC no doubt assist in the grooming of new leadership; in addition, the other institutional roles played by

many members considerably enhance the competence of the AEWC.

Thus, it can be concluded that whaling is not merely seasonal traditional behaviors, but a part of an important institutional training and management process. Altering such traditional institutions to respond to external threats or demands does not occur without some cost. For example, it is both culturally and socially disturbing for members to engage in management functions, such as the setting of quotas for villages. Such actions not only violate the autonomy of each village, but are considered to alter the symbolic relationship between the whaler and and the whale, the hunter and the hunted, the seeker and provider of food. As a consequence, it may be a high-risk institution, potentially viewed as inimical to the interests of certain whalers, whaling communities, or whaling associations. On the other hand, it creates significant pride among residents in terms of assertion of perceived rights and has become a rally point for cultural expression.

As noted earlier, the Commission on History and Culture of the NSB has sponsored an annual Elders Conference since 1978. In some ways, this is an extension of the periodic joining together of geographically scattered villages and families at times of feasting and trading. Currently, the Elders Conference concentrates on documenting cultural practices otherwise appearing only in oral tradition. It is unlikely that it directly or significantly influences the actions of the major institutions of the sentiments of younger people. However, it may provide annual social and cultural continuity among these elders and a body of

cultural knowledge and sentiment available to future generations. For example, the conferences have dealt specifically and in detail with the following topics: geneaology, land movements, ice movements, land use, land and sea survival, identification of artifacts (tools, housewares, clothing, gear, old pictures), traditional ceremonies, trading centers, festivities, legends, stories, amazing and extraordinary experiences, whaling and caribou hunting methods and gear, housework, sewing, cooking, tanning, child-bearing, child-rearing, types and uses of umiats, health practices, plants, charms, idols, amulets, labrets, taboos, and weather.

Another institution of social importance, which is too often overlooked, is the local church. In the North Slope region, the two most popular churches are the Presbyterian Church and the Assembly of God. There is a sizable population of regular churchgoers. Many prominent political leaders are stalwarts of the church.

Church functions are vital to social rather than political or economic organization. They provide a backdrop for social and cultural continuity through visiting and social events, contributing to a reaffirmation of cultural identity. They also provide significant roles for young people and impetus for their social gathering and sharing of their concerns. Churches provide the opportunity for young and old people to engage in common activities. Young people receive both family and peer pressure to be active in the church, particularly in the church-sponsered social gatherings. The churches offer the same opportunities to the non-Inupiat of the region. They also provide networks and methods for

helping troubled persons, in ways that sustain them in their communities and channel their emotional distress. These self-help functions are culturally consistent within the region.

There are many conflicts between the churches' religious precepts and cultural traditions; however, there is also much of culture that can be conceptually incorporated. In addition, there are local adaptations of the church precepts to local custom and belief, binding both spiritual and physical symbols to the traditional culture. The Assembly of God, in particular, appears to be consistent through ritual and belief to many basic aspects of Inupiat culture--dreams, visions, testimony, and faith healing of medical and substance abuse problems. Mutual support groups formed within churches, particularly among the young, discuss individual and mutual problems, and depend upon culturally derived traits such as emotional ties, reintegrations, and the rhetoric of social judgement.

Churches have attempted to influence events and have expressed concerns for traditional vlaues. As conservative instituitons, they have tended to try to preserve both Western and Inupiat values. In these expressions, the ministers may have a large role, particularly among the Inupiat professional and lay ministers. In the pursuit of both Western and Inupiat values, there were some powerful sermons given in support of offshore oil and gas lease sales. These ministers apparently perceived development as the wave of the future, the road to progress, and in the best interest both of the nation and the Inupiat. The churches appear

to view themselves as progressive, modernizing forces for good in this "undeveloped" region; thus, when they saw the residents as impoverished, development providing cash was perceived as a positive opportunity.

Institutions and their Functions

Institutions often perform functions that are either unexpected, given their legal charters, or unintended, both good and bad. The North Slope region has seen the development of a wide range of institutions within the last decade, many of which, individually and collectively, serve unusual social functions.

As has been noted earlier, the NSB is not the only institution of significance in the region. It does provide the instrument to directly tax the severance of local subsurface resources, to provide the funding source to bring housing and basic services to the region, and to create a regulatory environment conducive to the development of local capital. For example, the NSB is engaging in a vast, fast-track capital improvements program during the same period when ASRC assets are not taxable; functionally, NSB acts as a funnel to direct oil revenues to such local corporations. In addition, NSB ordinances, permit authority, and agreements with major oil producers may preclude the easy entry of other nonlocal enterprises into competition with locally-based operations. NSB is also the largest local employer outside of Prudhoe Bay.

EMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

The NSB has grown significantly in every department during the last three years. Some departments have expanded into the villages, making a

serious effort at local hire. Logically, much of the growth has occurred in Barrow, the seat of government. In the development and training of the local manpower pool, there is often provision for double-filling of positions, so that nonlocal supervisors provide direct training to their subordinates/successors. Often, nonlocal subordinates also train their supervisors into their new roles. Whether or not locals are well qualified for their tasks, the NSB appears to be willing to employ underutilized sources of labor and provide increased employment in the villages. Though the NSB is perceived in the villages as the source of new jobs and new facilities, this does not oblige employees to blindly support NSB policies. The NSB appears to be operating as another local resource to be exploited by a surviving people which uses its own institutions to ensure survival. Among the conditions which are required for local employment are approved "time outs," double-staffing, negotiated lines and symbols of authority, all leading diverse people into modern institutions. In some ways, the demands on the highest level of management may be less personally taxing, requiring the time to think, plan, and negotiate but not to do complex technical work. Local people appear to recognize that middle-management is highly technical, underpaid, and burdened with high pressure. For these reasons it appears that local people prefer to seek either high management or seasonal skilled labor jobs, dumping the burdens of middle management on nonlocals.

There are many employment situations where such flexibility as taking time off for whaling, though culturally understandable, becomes organizationally unacceptable. Such flexibility either shifts the

burden directly onto the shoulders of non-Inupiat personnel, who become less enamored of cultural demands, or results in a decline of services as perceived by the Inupiat citizen. The Inupiat citizens have internalized what a Western-style institution is supposed to do. Being an Inupiat employee is not an acceptable excuse to the Inupiat citizen for that employee not performing his task.

Similarly, it is difficult to determine how familial relations affect the application of performance standards to family members. Inupiat managers can apply different standards to this performance within their range of authority, protecting individuals from personal failure. It is also possible that Inupiat managers can use their discretion to protect the interests of Inupiat constituents.

There is much that the NSB has not done that it wished to do to strengthen local control over local events. That it did not achieve all its objectives may be attributed not only to a bifurcated view of the future, but also to a relatively realistic appraisal of what can and cannot be done within the legal role of this form of government. Many of the early objectives of the NSB resulted from the vision of Mayor Hopson. But the strength of his leadership and that of the NSB itself was based on many out-of-court settlements with the State and industry, rather than a definitive and proven array of legal powers. In battles with other institutions the NSB had to be careful not to reopen the legal vulnerability which lay at the foundation of borough formation and power.

Institutions such as the NSB have, in addition to their legal charter, a socializing function within the region. In a human community as small and complex as that within the North Slope region, the overlapping of familial and institutional ties is unavoidable. What appears to be nepotism within institutions is often nothing more than the community attempting to have its own members occupy central policy and administrative roles.

The typical Western institution is often bound together and organized according to rules that have no parallel on the North Slope. If we view the family networking which appears in the NSB as a form of extended family relationships, we find an institutional form which has the potential for cultural congurency. The NSB, and other local institutions may be the sum of familial relationships and networks of social obligations akin to traditional Inupiat social organization.

This does not mean that the higher echelons within these institutions are dominated by interfamily obligations, but there is considerable networking among both officers and employees throughout these institutions which may act to protect common values and family interests. It is probable that these institutions function as a culturally acceptable strategy to acquire legal control over local resources. It is a network based less on friendship than on a common desire to maintain and extend that control and limit entry into that controlling class. Since an outsider has little chance of becoming a participant in this group, the groups do not grow and access to control is restricted. Hiring of

family is an effective method of continuing to maintain control.

In addition to NSB, ICAS, ASRC, and the village corporations are a growing number of private entrepreneurial small building contractors and service providers in the region. Many of these are minority contractors who fill the gaps left by other enterprises. They are usually "equipment poor" but able to readily draw upon a competent labor pool. They, too, rely on NSB contracts; however, NSB is limited in the direct support it can give by its own bonding requirements. In addition, there may be an informal, preferred contractors list which may work to limit access to NSB contracts. On the other hand, NSB has occasionally subsidized one or more of the existing local entrepreneurial air carriers to improve service, to reduce intraregional air fares, and to assist in local acquisition of mail contracts. The function of NSB as a direct supoort to entrepreneurs has to be done carefully to avoid possible conflicts with the entrepreneurial opportunity or advantage of Native corporation shoreholders.

EMPLOYMENT AND LOCAL CONTROL

Commonly, impact analysis focuses on who bears the costs and who reaps the benefits of industrial development. This is a useful analytic mode in that it acknowledges that different people in a community are differently sensitive to the development, and only certain parts of the community may have positive experience with and attitudes toward such development. In addition, the community may not have two factions - one for and the other against development - but may have many populations

displaying different degrees of positivism, depending on individual objectives. Thus, when we look at a community we may find some poeple who perceive themselves as victims of development, some who perceive themselves as beneficiaries of development, some as controllers, and others who find themselves caught between conflicting perceptions of themselves.

For many local people, development of any kind that results in new jobs results in positive feelings. Having local control over such development and other aspects of regional direction should result in positive feelings. Having local control over such development and other aspects of regional direction should result in positive feelings. On the other hand, to the job seeker, having an Inupiat borough, an Inupiat mayor, an Inupiat assembly, and a series of Inupiat corporations does not mean that an Inupiat or non-Inupiat contractor will give him a job. That job seeker may not feel in control of development or that he is benefiting from these institutions. Many Inupiat want jobs in order to raise enough cash to meet immediate needs and have little desire for year-round employment, institutional advancement, or increased responsibility. For them, jobs are a means to an end, not ends in themselves.

Industrial development and governmental growth have provided a large number of new jobs in the region. When they can, the NSB, the local corporations and their subsidiaries, and oil field operators and their support services hire locally for both skilled and unskilled positions, The ratios of local to nonlocal, Inupiat to non-Inupiat, vary from organ-

ization to organization, depending on the size of the project or department, the type of technology required, the skill level required, and the degree of apprenticeship, training, or double-filling provided. One respondent estimated that, given a reduction in requirements within certain job discriptions coupled with increased vocational/occupational educational opportunities, the Inupiat could fill twice the level of local employment they now enjoy. However, there will, no doubt, always be a reluctance to fill many of the institutional opportunities available now or in the future. This reluctance is the result of many different forces, including a lack of history of institutional roles providing rearding personal or social roles, economic conflicts between institutional demands and traditional activities, and a disinclination to be personally identified with institutional decisions and performance.

Informants note that there are three basic kinds of wage employment in the region. The first is essentially seasonal industrial work, providing relatively high pay for skills not requiring formal education, a number of potential local employers, and the availability of time off for traditional activities. The second kind of employment opportunity is year-round work in local institutions with less flexibility in educational experience requirements, somewhat less well paying, and involved in direct service or paperwork. The third kind of employment is institutional management, requiring more advanced education and experience, less time flexibility, and considerable greater political responsibility, exposure, and risk. As a consequence, local men tend to seek skilled labor employment in large numbers, local non-Inupiat and

women tend to seek the middle and lower institutional roles, and only a small number of Inupiat accept the rewards, risks, and potential losses of higher institutional management.

These patterns have some direct influence on the perception and reality of local control through direct management and operations of local institutions. For example, the NSB has a considerable number of Inupiat employees at the direct service level, but a considerable number of non-Inupiat occupy skilled middle-management positions. There are indications from recent actions of the mayor that the NSB intends to reduce this reliance on non-Inupiat, particularly in policy-making areas; the resignation of the borough planner, the firing of the special assistant in Anchorage, and the reported closure of the Washington, D.C. office may be predictors of Inupiat attempting to acquire more direct control over important policy matters or reduce the influence of non-Inupiat.

One informant noted that the immediate effect of such a pattern will be a decline in the effectiveness of NSB functioning, that the NSB will not be functioning as well or as aggressively with other institutions. The region may be willing to accept such losses for a time if the more important purpose is to consolidate local Inupiat control over vital institutional functions.

It is not likely that the Inupiat will soon replace the large number of non-Inupiat middle management class for some time nor does there appear to be any great call for such a replacement. Indeed, the numbers,

visibility, and certain power of the non-Inupiat middle management class appear to be on the increase, but whether this growth is due to general growth of institutions or some other factor is unclear. There is no doubt that the demand for qualified persons providing necessary services, as made both by the local residents and by current managers, would tend to select for non-Inupiat candidates.

It is likely, however, that any time non-Inupiat middle managers become perceived as insulating themselves and their programs from Inupiat values and control, their continued tenure would come into doubt. Some of the non-Inupiat appear to be more marginal to the region than some others. They appear to be well-paid trainers of future local generations of managers. They are also marginal because of their inherent transiency (many remain for a very short time) and their identification with institutions that are not as culturally congruent nor held in as high esteem as some others.

Still, the trend is for retaining large numbers of non-Inupiat middle managers. Reasons include the following:

1) Some Inupiat have held important positions but found them alien, resulting in short tenures.

2) Other positions within the region paid more and required less time and responsibility.

3) Numerous middle managers are now well entrenched in both their institutions and the community.

4) Political shakeups within local institutions are relatively uncommon and less often involve middle managers than top managers.

5) Some of the institutions do not lie at the core of local values, and, therefore, qualified local residents tend to gravitate to institutions providing more prestige, power, pay, or "action."

6) The constituency of some institutions is willing to trade off Inupiat for non-Inupiat personnel if the quality and accountability of a services is seen to improve.

7) Consultants often occupy considerable influence over policy without, in fact, being directly under organizational control.

8) Though many non-Inupiat are out of the direct sight of local residents, corporate joint ventures often involve unseen nonlocal managers and policy makers.

The NSB and ASRC both recognized that they needed and often did not have a college-educated constituent interested in full-time institutional positions. Interests, of course, can be raised in these positions by

increasing the benefits--pay, training, travel, promotion. Both institutions recognized that they needed a private school, specialized in motivating, training, and graduating local people into highly technical positions. As a consequence, both backed the creation of the Inupiat University of the North. In addition, the ASRC created a grants and scholarships program. The Inupiat University has, thus far, totally failed to create and maintain programs to fill this vital need.

A critical component of training programs in technology and management is a culturally transmitted attitude that learning is best accomplished by doing, that formal classroom training is less direct than climbing on a piece of heavy equipment and driving it under the eye of someone more experienced. Is is a "can-do" attitude derived from generations inventing or learning and passing on survival techniques in response to rapidly changing circumstances.

A reasonable formula for development of a cadre of trained persons suited to the institutions they run or work in follows:

1) Initially, a small institution with time to work out its organization and functions before assuming larger responsibilities.

2) Sufficient funds to go through a few generations of double-filled positions, on-the-job training of specialties, and losses of good personnel to other institutions.

3) A local educational facility geared to provide the training directly needed by local institutions and of sufficient quality to match standards common within the greater institutional environment.

Employment in Nonlocal Institutions

There appear to be growing economic ties between the oil field operators, support services, and the local corporations and their subsidiaries. Local hire provisions create many opportunities for shareholders to be directly employed by industry. The affiliation or identification of local residents with external institutions may become a source of powerful attitudinal change within the region. Such affiliation or identification, of course, usually occurs on an individual basis; that is, it is individuals acting in aggregate whose perceptions and values become directly and immediately altered rather than entire families or communities. Thus, one's individual employment and economic conditions and experience tends to be a major mediating force in the acceptance or rejection of change.

Employment in industry tends to create a softening effect on attitudes toward industrial development. This softening effect is furthered by the fact that the employers are not the big oil companies but smaller and often local contractors, even though overall policies and procedures are set by big oil companies in their subcontracts. Whether local labor is union or nonunion, local hire policies are usually part of most development agreements. In terms of local union participation, many unions

allow their standards to reflect differences in locale. An isolated locale with a small population and an industry wealthy enough to tolerate certain inefficiencies combine to create a good employment environment in the region. It contributes to the building of direct skills and a sense of self-esteem among the workers. Being at home in the region, receiving on-the-job training, and feeling comfortable in the harsh physical environment, workers tend to create good employee records. One informant noted that, as industry is more interested in outcomes, how the work was done, how the skills were learned, or how long one has been doing the work becomes less significant measures of accomplishment.

There does not appear to be a high level of local employment by industry in the region at any one time. What is more important, however, is that a large number of villagers commonly are wage earners some time during the year to the degree that they want to be. The pattern of local employment appears to be set less by the availability of local jobs than by the desire of local residents to engage in wage employment. It is probable that industry both could and would hire all those local persons wishing to be employed. Of course, as each phase of the development occurs, different skills are required. In operational phases, new opportunities may now be constricting somewhat, given increasing national unemployment rates and increased competition for year-round skilled operational jobs. But what may have been most important to this point was that industrial development brought with it cash opportunities which did not require the abandonment of subisitence activities or a commitment to a full-time, year-round employment.

The employment of Inupiat directly by industry was important not only to individuals, but also to local corporations. For example, if the success of local minority-owned contractors resulted solely form 100% recruitment from outside the region, local residents/shareholders would profit little from development. Of course, shareholders want a return on their investment in their corporations; however, profits seldom provide a significant contribution to their ability to survive. Thus, shareholders want both a return on investment and the social and economic benefits of employemnt. Local minority labor contracting also adds weight to the corporate rhetoric that "Eskimos can do it," that is, succeed in the modern world.

The ties between industry and the NSB (planning, permits), between local corporations and industry (contracts), and between individuals and industry (direct employment) all contribute to binding the region and its values and attitudes to onshore industry. These relationships are enhanced when industry employs local prominent citizens in resident public relations functions. These persons become the touchpoint for recruiting other locals into direct employment by industry, for acting as a conduit for information from industry to local institutions (on industry-initiated efforts), for providing an industry presence at local meetings, and for placing a burden on industry to respond to individual concerns of residents (e.g., information on development, potential employment, complaints). Industry also serves itself well when it places personnel with real field expertise in public relations roles in the region, so that local people can receive immediate and definitive answers to their basic technical questions.

Local Control over Vital Local Services

SCHOOLS

To insure that local values are incorporated into the objectives and practices of local institutions often requires the active participation of local residents either as private citizens or on governing boards. Among informants there is concurrence that there has been a general decline of local participation in and attendance at school board meetings, assembly meetings, and other meetings of public interest. This decline has been attributed to the delegation of authority to oversight bodies, the rejection by appointed or elected authorities of public contribution, and a perceived manipulation of procedures to diminish participation.

Local control over major departments and programs is often difficult to acquire and maintain. Even sitting on the oversight board, controlling hiring and firing, does not insure control. Control and interest in control are often lost due to the resulting high turnover and chaos created by repeated firings and consequent searches for new personnel.

One of the most important public services intertwined with the traditional values is the education of the young. One of the principl purposes leading to the formulation of the NSB was to acquire local control of education from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. However, management of school operations resided in the resulting school district and school board rather than directly under the NSB and the Mayor's office. Mayor Hopson was disappointed at the lack of NSB control over schools and by what he perceived as major program failures, such as heavy admin-

istrative costs, the recruitment of teachers who were preceived as less responsive than BIA teachers, and the creation of a large and independent monied empire impervious to NSB direct influence.

The school district is funded by NSB, state, and federal sources but is accountable only to the school board. It is a costly enterprise in terms of both capital and operating budgets, but it does pass through much construction and maintenance funding to local contractors. Although the district depends on NSB assembly approval of funding, it has its own treasury and accounting system.

Informants were quite critical of the role of the district in maintaining conservative values, arguing that its rhetoric in support of local culture was, in reality, belied by actual programs. What was desired by the Inupiat was an Inupiat-responsive curriculum and teachers; community-sympathetic teachers; bilingualism in all classes; a constant cultural component in the schools; and the Inupiat participation in directing the school system, its programs, and calendar. If, as noted earlier in this section, the schools were to bear the burden of providing through cultural continuity through one or more generations of great economic, social, and industrial change, it is clear that these Inupiat desires were critical to their view of the future of their offspring. In addition, the Inupiat wished high-quality education to exploit the occupational opportunities within the region.

One indication of lack of Inupiat confidence in the district is

that some students still leave the region to seek a better education. Some parents are reported to perceive that the district is teaching to the lowest common denominator, meeting the demands of the most poorly motivated student, rather than the demands of the community. These parents and the students themselves see their educational system as insufficient to prepare them to become managers of local institutions. It was reported that real vocational education was lacking, thus denying them skills necessary to real jobs in the region. Parents of students sent outside the region wanted their children to try out, if not succeed in, the challenge of a college education.

That these concerns are not translated into political acitvity to change the district is probably due, in part, to a lack of concern by many parents that their children drop out of school, which is not a culturally significant event. The fact that a poor education diminishes the opportunity of functioning successfully in a local institution may also not be culturally relevant since the institutions may not be perceived as being culturally relevant. If they are considered only another government or another employer, their standards for employment become no more relevant than those of any other institution.

The lack of participation by the public, the discrepancy between desired and achieved programs, and the lack of apparent control over the future of the district is accounted for, in large part, by the history of the district. Initially, the school board had no expertise in programmatic features of the district's decision making. It tended to focus on those aspects of the district's functioning that were provided by the

district's administrators (e.g., budgets). It is reported that administrators considered extended public participation as disruptive to board deliberations, so they altered the agenda to delay such participation until late in the evenings. Making the board dependent upon the district administration removes the board from its intimate involvement in such questions as why the bilingual program appears primarily in the lower grades and as only an elective in higher grades, why recruitment for teachers appears to bypass Alaskan sources in favor of colleges in the Lower 48, and why vocational education is borne more by a private contractors conducting on-the-job training for employees rather than by the district.

Informants noted that the perceived inadequacies of the district can be corrected in only two ways. The first way is by replacing less assertive with more assertive board members, capable of and willing to act in concert to make major changes. This pattern appears to some observers to be beginning now and may result in changes not only to critical decisions, but to the decision-making process itself. The second way is to destroy major portions of the district itself through budget cuts, firings, and so on. This is a less likely occurrence without a preceding major negative event directly attributable to current personnel.

The purpose of this discussion is not to indict the district, but to point out how a nonlocal orientation in a local institution, funded through local sources, with a local oversight board representing a

homogeneous local constituency may be seen to avoid or stymie local desires to maintain cultural aspects of their lives. Not only may this occur in spite of concern by the NSB, but may continue even in the face of a challenge that might be mounted by the tribal organization.

The delegation of powers and responsibilities to institutions which develop their own direction, inertia, insulation, and are self-replacing through their recruitment processes is a critical judgement in retaining or relinquishing control over basic services. It is also the case that sheer numbers of locals as opposed to nonlocals do not determine relative powers. A nonlocal minority which controls administration, accounting, and other critical functions can control the direction of an entire institutional enterprise. Locals can reap the benefit of local hire within their own institutions without concomitant local control over objectives and programs.

PUBLIC SAFETY

There has been a considerable growth in the presence of policing and other public safety functions in the region in the last few years. Earlier policing functions were provided by a variety of sources. Barrow had a small police force that was supported by tax revenues from the liquor store. There were, in addition, a number of village constables (some of whom were Inupiat) resident in the villages, supplemented by an often unpaid person, as necessary. Finally, there was a state trooper stationed in Barrow.

When Barrow voted to go dry, the tax base supporting the city police also disappeared. The NSB saw the public safety function as a legitimate borough function and created a department of public safety (DPS). The village constable program disappeared as well, and the DPS began to rotate pairs of public safety officers (PSO) through the villages. As the department began to grow, a larger number of cases began to be identified, leading in turn to a perceived need for more officers. Higher rates of crime, violence, suicide, and drunkeness were reported by the department. This, in turn, resulted in department requests for increased and improved technology.

The department is under the direct control of the Mayor's Office and the assembly, and there is no police review board other than the NSB. At the department's inception, the state trooper left Barrow. Most of the PSO's are now recruited outside the region, unlike former village constables. Six of the current staff of PSO's and support staff are Inupiat (Department of Public Safety, Personnel Status, July 7, 1980), two or three of these are from outside the region.

There is no evidence that Inupiat PSO's are better or worse in terms of community legitimation than non-Inupiat PSO's. They tend, according to informants, to be more assertive and dominant in interpersonal style than most Inupiat and more interested in status and authority. There is some opinion that the village constables were better for the region since they came from the region, often resided in the villages, were members of the social group being policed or protected, often were

present on those occasions when policing was required (thus their mere presence often sufficed), and they were not perceived as being an external form of social control.

On the other hand, the PSO's are now merely officers, not family, friends, and counselors. They are largely recruited from outside the region (often from outside the state as well), and most of them have had some police experience in other settings. They are trained in the trooper academy for a wide range of public safety duties. Ethnically different from the local residents, they represent an institution about which locals are largely indifferent except for those who have considerable contact with PSO's, particularly the young. PSO's are viewed much like the troopers were before them.

Informants note that some PSO's have or develop hostile ethnic views but tend to control them in their interactions. It is perceived that they occasionally take sides between Inupiat and non-Inupiat persons, which may become a problem as the non-Inupiat population grows in size. On the other hand, many inmigrants have criminal backgrounds that require serious attention from the PSO's.

The NSB Department of Public Safety is also charged with responsibility for the conduct of an alcohol detention center and an alcoholism treatment program. As a result, PSO's receive many calls about drunks, and some PSO's are unhappy that they must expend so much time and effort on drunks, taking them away from other PSO activities (e.g., crime,

accidents, fires).

Beyond policing, informants believe that the PSO program provides good social rescue functions, particularly in uncovering instances of spousal and child abuse. Such a program, to be successful, will require continuous training and recruitment of personnel willing to provide more than policing functions.

The major conflict between residents and their PSO's often occurs when PSO's are perceived to use unnecessary or abusive physical force in dealing with residents. Using physical force is often perceived as a challenge which must be responded to in kind. One informant noted that when Inupiat residents physically assault PSO's, their intention is not assault on PSO's in their official capacity but as non-Inupiat.

What can be concluded from this brief analysis of public safety services is that the function is under direct NSB control, there may have been a decline in less formal forms of social control, no large-scale effort has been made to recruit and train PSO's locally, and the service functions of public safety officers have expanded. Additionally, communities may perceive that they are controlled somewhat more by external forces, but also may be safer in terms of having effective response to their calls. Finally, young people and those who are intoxicated may feel that they are unnecessarily circumscribed by PSO's.

HEALTH SERVICES

The NSB Health Department has contracted to take responsibility for delivery of a wide array of health services. Like the school district, there is a significant middle-management structure in the health department. The Inupiat 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.

The health department has not found it is possible to offset the social health impacts of rapid development. Residents often express the desire to transfer social health responsibilities to the health department; like other helping institutions, such service entities seem to solicit the transfer of responsibility from the individual, the family, and the community. They also seem to uncover what were, heretofore, "hidden" pockets of social health problems. There is some concern that the socially and culturally patterned methods of response should be supported rather than replaced by such formal service institutions.

There is some desire in the region to acquire control over social services in addition to health services. There is some expressed dismay over the lack of responsiveness of existing social service programs.

This may become a conflict area between NSB and ICAS should such services be contracted to a local agency from state and federal agencies.

LEGAL SERVICES

Legal services to residents, other than those provided by private attorneys, are provided by the Alaska Legal Services Corporation (ALSC) in Barrow. Services include important matters like wills, adoptions, and other vital documemtation. In addition, the ALSC office has played key roles in representing village interests in offshore lease sale challenges, Native allotment matters, and NPR-A development. ALSC services act as a catalyzing and formalizing force to the expression of, in the main, conservative sentiments.

PUBLIC INFORMATION SERVICES

Given the small, though geographically dispersed population of the region, word-of-mouth appears to be the most effective form of public information dissemination. The power of the press to reach the public is limited by the fact that the resident population does not first reach for a newspaper to get information. Increasingly, residents are turning to the radio and television for general entertainment and information, particularly as these services are improving due to satellite relays and other local advances. Residents seem to be well informed, depending on their desire to be informed and their perception of their ability to effectively participate in decisions. Regional political debates are broadcast on television.

In addition to radio and television, residents receive information through the Arctic Coastal Zone Management Newsletter (prepared by the NSB), excellent high school newspapers produced by students in Nuiqsut and Barrow, newsletters provided by local corporations, and the Community Health Aide Newsletter, and the NSB Health Department Newsletter. No single institution appears to control the flow of information to residents.

Given the wide range of development and institutional issues which flood the region, residents have to limit their exposure to news in order to not be overwhelmed with information and resulting anxiety. It is probable that the various sources of information provide more information than is necessary for residents to act on their own behalf. Indeed, the local public radio station created consternation when it broadcast NSB assembly meeting. Respondents suggested that Mayor Hopson disliked the independent attitude, operations, and objectives of the nonprofit station management and attempted to restrict its functioning. He apparently believed that the station did not cast the local institutions in the best light and created problems they did not need. The broadcasts continued.

The NSB recognized the media as a powerful tool for altering public perceptions outside the region in terms of more clearly stating the concerns of the region and soliciting support. Both the NSB and the ASRC knew the value of major public relations efforts aimed at larger audiences. Taking advantage of technical advances in regional and statewide television broadcast capabilities, of local media subsidiaries, and of

joint ventures with nonlocal media enterprises, the region began to broadcast its message to the outside. As discussed elsewhere in this section, people in the region believed that a recent violent incident in Barrow had been mishandled by the Alaska urban print and broadcast media, whose depictions were then relayed nationwide, causing problems to the public image of the region and concerns about backlash that could affect whaling, caribou hunting, offshore oil and gas development as well as prompting social problems such as crime and alcoholism.

The NSB wanted to improve the public image of the region by communicating directly to the world outside the region, to allow those unfamiliar with the local community to perceive the Inupiat and their concerns the way the Inupiat saw themselves. This led to a film series which displayed the relationship between activities in the natural environment and the Inupiat culture. The films, on such subjects as whaling and marine environmental protection matters, tend to support NSB development positions through the expression of local conservative values. The scripts are often lifted directly from the transcripts of public hearings and Elders Conferences. These materials are then used for political purposes, that is, to effectuate change in the real world.

Similar NSB concerns also led to sending the Arctic Coastal Zone Management Newsletter without cost to anyone who desired it. It detailed NSB positions on a wide array of local issues through extensive editorial comment and historical-scientific-legal background papers. It was aimed at winning friends outside the region.

The Local Institutional Environment

NOVELTY AND RISKS

There is a popular axiom that the most important feature in the environment of an institution is other institutions. There are rules, conflicts, power relationships, agreements, common goals, boundaries, and legal constraints in this environment which are essentially known only to the institutional participants. Often, the constituents of an institution do not understand the ways in which the actions of their institution are less a reflection of constituent desires than one of the institutional environment. Similarly, institutions often project to their constituents a less than frank depiction of what they are willing to risk and able to do in this environment. This results in the rise of institutional rhetoric, constituent expectations, and the potential for deep disappointment and divisions.

The institutions of the North Slope region, because they are very new, are still experimenting with their organization and functions and testing out their boundaries. They are particularly prone to offering more than the institutional environment will allow them to deliver.

Institutions like the NSB use the formality of institutional life to create the semblance or image of power or control they do not have. For example, the NSB asserts paper and procedural control over industrial development, fish and game management, taxation, permitting, zoning, and other matters without necessarily having or exercising such control. Of course, by asserting such authority, other institutions may decide to

concede it without challenge or decide to negotiate that power away in return for some other concession in order to avoid conflict, litigation, and some absolute losses. In some instances, the relative lack of response by the institutional environment to assertion of authority can continue to hang like a cloud over an institution, requiring that institution to use that authority with more caution than it would otherwise for fear of a real challenge and potential loss of authority. The assertion of authority gives institutional constituents a sense that the institution is both in control and making progress toward objectives.

An institution takes many risks when it operates in activities within the institutional environment if it also lacks control over the final product. For example, the NSB and ASRC have both participated in offshore and onshore study and planning team efforts with both federal and state agencies. Though such participation may lead to positive assessments about contributions made by local institutions as well as the other institutions, the local institutions may find themselves being held liable by their constituents for perceived major failures, leading to a potential widening gulf between the constituents and their institutions (e.g., if local institutions are perceived to be merely the local hand of external industry and external government).

Though this feature of Western institutional life is a commonplace understanding of Western people, it is not within the expectations of Inupiat to the same degree. Since some of the local institutional referents are different from those of the constituents, the decisions made

by institutions due to institutional necessity may have to be explained in some detail to constituents.

An example of such decision making occurred with the development, submission, and withdrawal of the NSB Coastal Zone Management Plan. Residents invested a great deal of energy and hope into the development of the plan. To have pursued the plan politically and legally in the face of institutional rejection of the plan would have resulted in worsened intergovernmental relations; instead, the planning and zoning commission lost some local prestige when the NSB withdrew the plan and altered its direction significantly.

During this process the NSB had been working closely with technical personnel from the Alaska Department of Natural Resources (DNR). The constructive, personally intense relationships of NSB personnel with DNR and other agency personnel eroded some of the support for planning that was coming from important village constituents, who began to see NSB as a handmaiden to external agencies. The actual achievements of these joint efforts were often overshadowed by the apparent loss of constituent support for final actions. There was also a pervasive feeling of disappointment by constituents who perceived their trusted agents as bargaining away their interests.

As noted often within this section, the issue for constituents is often less whether or not a particular event occurs than whether or not local people and their institutions are in control of the situation.

Local people apparently are willing to view development as an unavoidably mixed blessing as long as they feel they can control its most damaging aspects and reap some compensating benefits. When they perceive that their institutions are unable or unwilling to attempt to control events, they may attempt to exercise independent control, altering events at the least risk to their institutions.

For example, the villages independently initiated legal action to stop the Beaufort Sea lease sale. The NSB entreated the villages to rescind their suit, viewing it as a weak strategy and undercutting the ability of the NSB to negotiate modifications to the offshore activity. Though the institutional environment of the NSB was not obviously damaged by the independent lawsuit, the NSB perceived that it eroded the legitimacy and strength of the NSB within that environment and also its prestige within the region. It is interesting to note that the differences between the litigants and the NSB were more over strategy than over substance and that the actions by external government and industry left the NSB so little room to negotiate that it finally joined in the suit.

It must be noted that the institutional environment among North Slope institutions may be as socially, politically, economically, and culturally significant as relationships with institutions external to the region. In dividing the responsibilities, functions, and authorities of a wide array of new institutions in the region, there have been many institutional, personal, and legal divisions and antagonisms. There is a readiness to litigate, almost literally at the drop of a hat.

Because individuals can wear so many institutional hats, it is not uncommon for a person to be part of both the plaintiff and defendent in a litigation, the final relationship between institutions and their conflicting objectives being left to the court to decide rather than continue a socially destructive internecine warfare. (Some institutional litigation appears to informant to be a way to work out long-standing family rivalries.) On the other hand, a residuum of bitterness and division remains after much of this litigation. Even if litigation is a culturally congruent method for ritualized conflict resolution, the rhetoric may lead to an erosion of confidence in local leadership, the investment of time and money may bleed the critical resources of the institutions, and attention to pressing externally generated changes may be distracted. The long-term effects of litigation on attitudes toward the future, toward confidence in leadership, and toward the value and effectiveness of local institutions cannot be predicted at this time.

JOINT EFFORTS - NSB and ASRC

Local institutions do not necessarily work at cross purposes. For example, the NSB and the ASRC appear to expend some effort in creating and projecting the reality and image of unity. Such unity in and of itself may have a salutary effect on the morale of the region (as it views itself) as well as part of a larger institutional strategy in dealing with the outside institutional world. There is no direct data on these impressions, although there are parallels throughout the institutional world elsewhere.

The NSB has, in one sense, a broader and somewhat different constituency than the ASRC, although at first glance the constituencies appear to be identical. The NSB represents and serves all residents of the region, deals directly with all major and most minor private industry and businesses, and is responsible to and a legal partner of federal and state governments. ASRC, on the other hand, represents an essentially closed class of shareholders, is directly influenced by a smaller number of local residents, and is responsible to and a business partner of many nonlocal as well as local businesses. Informants suggest that the disjunctures in the values of the shareholders (profit versus traditional life-style) are not equally represented within the corporation, nor is it required that they should be, given its mission. Some actions taken by ASRC are best understood by examining certain manifest (chartered) and latent (social by-product) functions. For example, extending credit to COPE in its land claims struggle with the Canadian government can also be read as an investment in future business opportunities within Canada once the land claims are settled.

On the other hand, direct support of certain activities, such as AEWC, in and of itself enhances the image of the corporation at home and contributes to the sense of unity suggested earlier as a social goal itself. Unity of purpose and strategy is easily accomplished when, as in the past and somewhat in the present, there is an overlapping membership between ASRC directors and employees and NSB elected officials, appointed officials, and employees. While the overlap fluctuates due to elections and changing employment, it has served in the past to reduce

the open conflict over real issues dividing the institutions; this has been accomplished, according to observers, by modifying the purposes of each institution considered separately and finding some middle ground of mutual acceptability. It is reported that they tend not to undermine each other's position but to be silent or supportive as appears most appropriate.

There were some areas of initial conflict between the two institutions due in part to personality conflicts and different strategies toward development. In addition, ASRC complained that it had too small a share of major contracts let by NSB. NSB received early and considerable pressure from its constituency to provide services and facilities quickly; ASRC, as a new corporation, could not guarantee that it could deliver in time for NSB to fulfill its promises. In a sense, informants noted, NSB also had very little control over the design, scope, timing, and local hire provisions of its initial contracts; and one consequence was that failures perceived by local residents were placed on the shoulders of the contractors.

There are some indications that the relationship between NSB and ASRC may have improved under the tenure of Mayor Adams, who continued as vice-president of ASRC and was, formerly, ASRC land chief. NSB contracts appeared to be going more frequently to local corporations. Of course, in the interim, local corporations increased in their capacity to perform these contracts in a satisfactory manner. The mingling of capital structures, being represented often by the same attorneys, and the

departure of institutional participants fueling conflicts between the two institutions may be bringing the institutions into better alignment to meet mutual or complementary objectives. Similarly, as ASRC participates in more joint ventures with village corporations, their collective capacity to compete for NSB contracts is considerably improved.

Conflicts, of course, will not completly disappear as ASRC pursues its subsurface development plans, affecting both wildlife habitat and community life. As NSB departments fulfill their protectionist functions, it is likely that "normal" government-corporate disagreements will continue.

ICAS - THE SMALLEST PARTNER

The Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope is the third regionwide institution in the institutional environment of the North Slope. As with NSB and ASRC, the range of its responsibilities and functions is still being tested. It also is a part of the networking of individuals and families which bind these major institutions together. During earlier phases of institutional development, ICAS received less attention due to the role it could play in supplementing the functions of the other two and also independently represent certain values not well represented in the other two. Having been somewhat lost in the shuffle earlier, ICAS now appears to be building its role, partially as a major new partner with a set of peculiar legal and institutional strengths and partially as a potential center of intraregional opposition.

Theoretically, ICAS and NSB share the same tax base, boundaries, and powers over the permanent residents of the region. This could mean some future conflict between the two. On the other hand, tribal government appears to be a safeguard against successful efforts to undermine the NSB's taxing, permitting, or other authorities or a loss of Inupiat control over their regional government.

Informant note that ICAS appears to be a growing organization, with greater ambitions than were apparent three years ago. The ASRC board was at one time the regional IRA board, subsuming the village IRA's as well. (IRA's had been set up as tribal organizations long before ANCSA or the NSB.) During meetings, the ASRC board would recess, reconvene as the IRA board, approve such matters as tribal consent to land conveyances, then reconvene as the ASRC board. Public information and participation were generally limited to the board members and a small number of others. It was probably important at that time not to build ICAS into another major institution 1) as long as its functions could be performed within other institutions and 2) as long as there continued to be severe limitations on available management talent and energy within the region. Competition from other employers continues to limit the ability of ICAS to recruit locally.

During these early days, the more conservative viewpoint inherent in tribal government was expressed by most of the new and old institutions--NSB, ASRC, village corporations, village councils, and the Arctic Slope Native Association. At that time they tended to deal with the same

basic issues and, generally, form a similar perspective. In the past few years, as the division of responsibility and function of other institutions has become more clear, ICAS perceived that it has a separate role after all, particularly in critical service areas, such as education, social services, local hire, cultural revitalization, and so on.

As the regional tribal government, ICAS is responsible for the conduct of federal (BIA, IHS) service contracts. By resolution, ICAS has authorized NSB to perform these contracts on behalf of the tribe, thus funneling significant funds into NSB during its growth period and allowing the creation of the NSB Health Department, for example. Should ICAS view NSB and any other contractor as not performing the contracts satisfactorily, ICAS could withdraw its resolution and perhaps even begin to conduct these services directly. Thus, should the NSB be limited in terms of its legal powers, the region would have alternative ways in receiving a full range of services.

ICAS could as well institute tribal law, tribal courts, and tribal public safety functions. It has laid claim to offshore resources in order to control the severance, financial return, and pace and location of oil and gas development. It has taken this step, in conjunction with Ukpeagvik Inupiat Corporation (the Barrow village corporation), and retained attorneys to pursue this interest. Given a concern with the continuance of subsistence opportunity in the face of a growing non-Inupiat population, ICAS could also press for restriction on hunting rights within the region, a power and policy probably not shared by NSB,

which cannot discriminate according to ethnicity.

There is no evidence that there will be a significant alteration in the distribution of power and functions within and among the institutions in the region; however, it is worth noting that the often conflicting social and cultural values of residents may receive different expression through different institutions and that the power arrangements among institutions are also susceptible to change. When residents feel that their concerns and values are being adequately represented, there is no need for overlapping and costly regional governments. The necessity of investing greater powers in ICAS under these circumstances is not apparent.

Both ICAS and NSB are controlled through direct elections (unlike ASRC which is controlled less directly through proxies). Had the NSB assembly been organized to represent villages rather than individual residents, the preponderance of Barrow representation and interests in the assembly may have been lessened. Structurally, ICAS may offer more direct expression of village concerns without being submerged under the great weight of the Barrow voting constituency. ICAS thus appears to be a reasonable shelter for distinctly village interests. Is is less reliant on oil activities and taxation than NSB and less restricted by state legal constraints than either NSB or ASRC. It is, of course, far more reliant on federal policies, both in funding and in government-to-government relations with the United States.

ICAS presently appears to be operating in two distinct realms. In the area of services, it appears to be trying to become more credible as a service program manager, politically and functionally distinct from the NSB. In this capacity, it could grow as a separate service provider to the point of diminishing services now provided by NSB. It also operates as a critic of both NSB and ASRC policies, arguing for more conservative stances on a range of issues. Given the overlapping memberships and familial relationships among the three institutions, its members probably introduce the expression of these values in the deliberations of NSB and ASRC. By providing each set of values with an appropriate and distinct institutional basis, conflict is formalized. It is not apparent that ICAS influences the other two institutions via some form of threat. There does, however, appear to be some tacit acknowledgement that institutions must respond to the value set expressed by ICAS and thus appear to limit and alter their own activities to avoid direct conflict.

Evidence for this conclusion is the somewhat Byzantine pattern of litigation, funded by these institutions and pursued by the same attorneys, in ways that would appear to limit the powers of these same institutions. One explanation which appears to account for this pattern is the value conflict within institutional leaders individually and collectively and their ability to wear a number of different institutional hats, as necessary.

Thus, when ICAS and other critics claim that the group of core decision makers is overly influenced by external agencies and their

policies and objectives, or by consultants retained to advise them, or are insufficiently responsive to or representative of villages, elders, whalers, and others, the other institutions can respond to recapture solid constituent support.

The Nonlocal Institutional Environment

THE STATE PRESENCE

Though there is not a significant permanent presence of nonlocal institutions (as noted earlier in this section), many nonlocal institutions provide the basic policies and constraints on the choices and future of North Slope institutions and residents. The state and federal governments and their agencies direct land classifications, land uses, wildlife protections and uses, legal and taxation frameworks, public services, and other basic aspects of life in the region. In addition, the oil industry, through its physical presence, hiring policies, and relationships to local corporations and government, forms another part of the institutional environment. A smaller part of the institutional environment is comprised of environmental conservation organizations, the nonlocal press and broadcast media, and other nonlocal Native associations and organizations.

The result of the direct and indirect influences of these institutions also limit the ability of local institutions to take advantage of certain kinds of apparent opportunities. Opportunities are restricted to an often narrow range of choices consistent with the existing

institutional environment.

Given the closed nature of North Slope society, it is unlikely that who becomes a leader or what specific decisions a leader makes are directed by nonlocal institutions. On the other hand, the various relationships among, networks between, and values of North Slope leaders are undoubtedly affected by their contact with external institutions. Not all nonlocals operate or are perceived in the same way. Thus, the institutional arrangements are not NSB, ASRC, ICAS, and the village corporations and councils on one side and external government and industry on the other. There are many combinations, too complex to explore with existing data, and they change constantly as new situations arise. It may be the processes of the dynamics among them that is the best indicator of recent and future change, rather than what appear to be current arrangements.

Two general conclusions are drawn by informants: 1) local residents and their institutions are aware that the nonlocal institutions are not necessarily benign in their actions and 2) nonlocal institutions tend to be unwilling to deal with the complexity and value conflicts as they appear in the region. It is taken for granted that nonlocal institutions make the assumption that with time, "the locals will pursue the same goals and strategies that we do, that the values that the locals will hold are the same ones we now hold."

Local residents, of course attempt to use nonlocal agencies to

attain local ends. For example, the NSB Fish and Game Committee attempts to change policies of the Alaska Department of Fish and Game by threatening to take over management directly. Even when the likelihood of such a threat becoming reality may appear remote, the local institutions can make life very difficult for external agency personnel and diminish their presence significantly. In this arena, parenthetically, local villages appear to be borrowing practices used by Canadian villages which can, apparently, control access to villages, villagers, and hunting areas.

The following pages briefly characterize relationships between and among nonlocal institutions and local institutions and residents, particularly those relationships which affect or are affected by sociocultural values.

Fish and Game Management

Most residents of the region have little idea what the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (ADFG) does since there is little agency presence in the region. ADFG is often characterized as "the ones who tried to keep us from eating caribou," a reflection of major conflicts with ADFG in 1978. The conflicts were not personal but regulatory; that is, the smattering of individual relationships were generally positive, but the regulatory actions were perceived very negatively.

Individual branches of ADFG are more positively perceived, particularly the Habitat Section, which has generally been seen to be an ally of regional environmental concerns, and the Subsistence Section, which has

been seen as an advocate of subsistence hunting and fishing. The Habitat Section is perceived as very politic when dealing with certain environmental implications of a locally directed development. Often, however, these two branches were not even connected by locals of ADFG.

On the other hand, neither the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service nor the Fish and Wildlife Protection Division of the Alaska Department of Public Safety are differentiated from the ADFG. As a consequence, management personnel of ADFG are considered to be wardens more than biologists and, thus, bear the onus of enforcement events. One informant joked that the attitude of some biological managers could be capsulized as, "They should move all the Eskimos off the Slope, they have no business being there, all they do is screw up our management."

The rifts between external agencies and residents can have long-term effects. For example, the increase in state enforcement presence on caribou hunting may have resulted in local residents going out of their was not to comply with the licensing and permitting requirements, although their harvest of caribou may have been curtailed somewhat. Game managers often point to the caribou "crisis" as a good instance of the value of enforcement in resolving wildlife problems; these managers point to increased presence, surveillance of hunters, decreased reports of excessive harvest by informants, and a rise in the caribou population as all being casually linked.

Local residents, on the other hand, note that some of them continued

to harvest in the same manner and with the same productivity as they had in the past, but they became more covert about bringing home the meat. Many residents did attempt to comply with regulations in terms of the number of animals taken, but the methods, seasons, locations, barter, and sale of animal products continued as they had in the past, "people doing what they had to do." There was some peer pressure on certain hunters to reduce the extravagance of their harvest. One informant noted that local residents laughed when they heard the agency say that the herd was coming back because of reduced Native harvest because those residents had not reduced their harvest. The social economy remains unaffected in many ways. Where surveillance was not prominent, resulting unpermitted activities remained overt. Where surveillance was prominent, people became more cautious, reported less harvest, and cached more.

The attitude of local residents toward agency control of subsistence harvest of caribou and whales has many similarities. Residents believe that the agencies are ill-informed about the population status and trends of wildlife populations due in large part to the agency ignoring the naturalist information available from local hunters. Lack of agency presence in the region, combined with onerous regulations and based on assumptions not shared by locals, has led to little mutual respect and responsiveness.

Accusations of waste levelled at local residents did not help the situation, particularly when agency personnel were perceived as disturbing (therefore destroying) cached animals. In addition, there were

reported to be instances of other agency personnel recruiting local hunters to provide meat for themselves, their dogs, and laboratory animals at the same time the wildlife managers were attempting to reduce the subsistence harvest. There were, no doubt, instances of local hunters wasting some of the caribou resource. Most likely, these were persons who were more reliant on wage employment, since subsistence hunters cannot afford to waste; they have too much time and energy invested in the products to throw them away and have little access to replacement resources.

Finally, local residents cannot understand how the same or sister agencies can insist that they reduce their subsistence harvest at the same time permits are being issued for environmental changes the residents see as damaging both marine and terrestrial resources the managers are trying to protect. Since the presence of managers usually occurs when reductions in legal harvest are being considered, local residents view the laws as in violation of local custom, in contradiction to local observations of wildlife, and in ignorance of local involvement in decision making. For these reasons, many residents are very supportive of the NSB taking over the science and management functions of fish and wildlife matters in the region. Similarly, they support the AEWC taking over scientific research and management over the bowhead whale harvest.

The role of subsistence hunting and fishing in the social, economic, nutritional, and cultural life of the region is so significant that it becomes the major arena of conflict between local residents and local

institutions and nonlocal institutions which either attempt to reduce the harvest or alter the habitat significantly. It becomes a major topic in discussions with all land agencies, in addition to fish and wildlife managers. It is one arena where cultural continuity alters the shape of institutional relationships. What is surprising is that all North Slope institutions, each with some role in environmental conservation, have not concentrated their concerns and strategies in a single entity. Perhaps they perceive that the best protection lies in each having a formidable role in the task; but, alternatively, each could consider that such protection is the responsibility of the other or itself solely. If the latter were the case, subsistence and the values it represents would be at some risk.

Health and Social Services

A number of nonlocal agencies have responsibilities for health and social services in the region, including the Alaska Department of Health and Social Services, the Indian Health Service, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and others. The existing programs are relatively small and low key. Those agency personnel who have lived in the region are not readily perceived as part of a larger, nonlocal agency. Residents often assume that these long-term personnel are part of a local agency. Since agencies are perceived through the actions of their local personnel, and a large percentage of these employees are on a one or two year "tour of duty," it is difficult for residents to form positive perceptions of them. This somewhat diminished "human quality: allows local residents to freely criticize all those portions of agencies which seem unresponsive.

Both ICAS and NSB are tempted to take over more of the social service functions under contract to the parent agency. Particularly when agencies are perceived to be not meeting their obligations, NSB acts as an advocate for the client population. A common response from the parent agency reportedly is, "Hey, you guys on the Slope are rich, do it yourself."

NSB is expending its responsibilities into health, public assistance, food stamps, and other service area. One problem with taking over a service such as environmental safety enforcement is that the locus of responsibility is shifted from a distant agency to a local agency which must then enforce regulations in hotels, restaurants, bakeries, and stores, leading to conflict between the local agency and the local village corporation or entrepreneur.

There is an important consequence of providing services through local agencies. When distant agencies appear unresponsive, residents often fall back on their own individual, familial, and community resources. When service responsibility is closer and demands more easily expressed, levels of services may become inflated in comparison to the real unfilled need. One informant noted:

> There is no sense in developing caseloads, programs, and organizations when people are not either in real difficulty or demanding action in significant numbers. The people will tell you when they have a real need, they are not shy. When they meet their needs, however minimally, through their own community and individual resources, that is healthy even when it may not be totally adequate. Building support systems that are not really necessary is not healthy, it has a serious ripple effect into the culture.

In other words, service institutions traditionally uncover greater need as the number of caseworkers grows. It is possible that the cost to culture and losses to the sense of being self-sufficient and in control may be greater in the long run than allowing pockets of need to remain underserved. Similarly, local residents often criticize new service delivery people for either being too distant from the residents or too close to them that is, inappropriately intrusive. It is not clear that there is a happy medium to these various concerns and complaints.

It should be noted that the region cannot realistically be characterized as a "welfare" society. The moderate number of residents on some form of public assistance appears to have remained fairly stable in the last three years, although it is not clear whether the recipients are the same persons as in 1978. Given the great increase in employment opportunities, the fact that the number of recipients has not been reduced substantially is interesting in itself. The authors have no data to explain this phenomenon. The increase in the utilization of food stamps is probably directly due to the fact that the service was taken over locally and conducted by persons who more closely resembled the recipient population (local, Inupiat, etc.)

Planning

Large planning efforts were mounted in the region in response to changing land classifications and onshore and offshore oil and gas development. The Coastal Zone Management Plan involved close relationships among the local institutions and state agencies, such as the Alaska department of Community and Regional Affairs, Department of Natural

Resources, Department of Environmental Conservation, and the Governor's Division of Policy Development and Planning.

The planning process proved divisive within the NSB between personnel of the Mayor's Office and the planning department. Mayor Hopson, a former commissioner of the Department of Community and Regional Affairs (DCRA), saw DCRA as a useful advocate on issues and a conduit for planning funds, such as Coastal Energy Impact Planning funds. However, the CZM planning process highlighted the different philosophies and strategies of not only local and nonlocal agencies, but among the nonlocal agencies within the state administration as well. Thus, the major tool through which local values could be protected by powerful allies through a rational decision-making process among major parties was, at least temporarily lost. In addition, absolute conflicts between the NSB and the Department of Natural Resources on the basic issue of rate and location of development appeared to be permanently irreconcilable, thus placing the region in a position of confronting a strong state government and industry alliance. Negative feelings appear to persist into the present, characterized by adjectives such as "duplicitous."

Other agencies, such as the Alaska Department of Transportation and Public Facilities, are perceived primarily or even entirely only by other institutions, even on such matters as the Haul Road, remote airstrips, and so on. this anonymity probably results from the fact that, in these transportation matters, NSB appears to be the initiator and planner of projects.

Legal Services

Opinion from informants differs on the perception and function of the legal services system in the region. One informant noted that the system improves as residents become more knowledgable about it. Another informant claimed that the system is irrelevant because it is not based on traditional law. This informant suggested that tribal law and tribal courts should replace the current state district courts and local magistrates.

The magistrates and district courts deal with the everyday matters of regional and community life, particularly criminal matters. Jury duty is an interesting phenomenon since there are so many complex family relationships in the region; it is often difficult to achieve a jury that is not related to any of the parties in an issue. Often, the magistrates themselves are related to or have strong attitudes about the individuals and matters involved. Magistrates provide a sense of local self-control, based on their knowledge of the area and the participants and their consequent understanding and sympathy. They often serve as informal family arbitrators and mediators. Magistrates also serve to protect local residents from what are perceived to be irregularities in the actions of public safety officers. By dismissing cases based in improper practices and personal behavior toward the public, the magistrates often act as a public brake on policing.

Perhaps the most significant recent legal event was the convening of the Alaska Supreme Court to hear oral arguments on the Beaufort Sea

lease sale in a hearing held in Barrow on March 25, 1981 (Anchorage Daily News, March 25, 1981, a-4). This was the first time the state's highest court had met in Barrow. The hearing was broadcast statewide and translated by an Inupiat former maigstrate in Barrow.

While the presence of the court caused a great deal of pride and provided an opportunity for local residents to address their concerns to the court directly, the net effect of this event was probably minor. Litigation has taken a great deal of the region's time, energy, money, patience, and expectations. Residents hope that the results of litigation will be clear victories or defeats, providing clear direction to future actions. Residents often suffer a psychological letdown with the time required for litigation, the many losses in court, the large number of outstanding litigations, and the narrow grounds on which much litigation is resolved. This has led, according to informants, to a general feeling of not being in control of major events.

THE FEDERAL PRESENCE

Relationships between federal agencies and local institutions and residents have been characterized as a mixture of positive and negative, with a predominance of negative experiences. Informants feel that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has not met its responsibilities to enhance and protect the trust relationship between the United States and the indigenous people of the North Slope. They also blame the U.S. Department of the Interior and its Bureau of Land Management for their problems in delaying offshore oil and gas activity. These experiences tend to pervade

perceptions of the federal government, regardless of the agency.

Perceived by residents to be lacking a continuous presence in the region, federal land and resource managers are from the viewpoint of locals generally associated with negative messages--restrictions on whaling, rejection of allotment applications, leasing offshore exploration rights. These experiences are viewed as punitive. There have been some exceptions to this pattern in more cooperative, even joint enterprises, particularly in the area of wildlife and other studies. In addition, the National Park Service was singled out as sharing more objectives with the region than other, more development-oriented agencies.

Studies

Studies constitute a unique arena for both cooperation and conflict. Scientists who spent time in the region making independent observations and interviewing local residents often ended up in major disputes over the interpretation of data with local residents. Grounds for the disputes included the greater time depth of locals in making observations, other pragmatic ways of viewing and understanding the environment, and the symbolic and cultural implications of scientific characterizations. In order to be able to continue to collect information from locals and to respond to criticism, the agency personnel have had to become more responsive to public comment and locally retained scientific expertise. The formal public involvement process (e.g., hearings) has become larger and more mechanical in recent years.

The number of studies performed by different, unrelated agencies has resulted in a large body of scientific information which is not always coherent. Information developed in one study for one agency commonly exposes the weaknesses in the studies and policies of another agency, particularly in the area of environmental practices. In addition, it is not uncommon for individuals within agencies to expose the scientific deficiencies in public documents produced by their agencies.

The region as a whole has profited from the volume of studies performed by and for federal agencies. The bank of systematically collected data has grown far more rapidly than it would have under sponsorship of local institutions only. Joint efforts between local and nonlocal institutions and separate efforts investigating similar phenomena have contributed to a scientific credibility that also would have taken longer to achieve.

The NSB is an active participant in studies, whether conducted directly and solely by its various departments, or under contract to outside agencies (e.g., Bureau of the Census), or joint efforts with outside agencies (e.g., NPR-A). NSB concern over and direct involvement in studies resulted in greater organized involvement by residents who were curious about the issues under investigation and critical of the studies' findings. It has also become somewhat easier to find local persons to participate in studies due to this interest and also due to a new ordinance which requires that informants be compensated for their work as "consultants."

As the NSB has acquired more expertise in research, agencies have come to NSB to conduct studies due to the literal impossibility of their own acquisition of access to the people, the language, or the information. The protocol of gaining entrance has also changed recently. Previously, researchers could go to any individual in any community and ask questions. Then it became the practice to first seek the permission of the village council to conduct studies. Now it appears that the NSB is the first point of entry for research in the region. This does not imply that the NSB requires control over the contents of products but that there is some legitimate purpose to the proposed activity and that residents are compensated for the usurption of time that would otherwise be devoted to nonwage employment or important social activities.

The acceptability of studies and of researchers depends a great deal on the attitude, skill, and openness of the individual researcher. Social scientists generally find a much higher percentage of willing respondents in the villages than they do in urban settings. However, a negative response from even a small number of villagers can be crippling to a research project. Having the NSB as a silent adversary to a project or researcher or having a single bad experience in a village can completely stymie a project.

Generally speaking, there is a relatively limited local interest in or understanding of the products of social research or environmental research. There is little personal or institutional response to research reports unless they appear in the news media. NSB, in particular, has

tended to withdraw somewhat from its very heavy involvement in studies, but perhaps placed itself in a more tactically advantageous position in terms of nonattachment to research findings and policy conclusions. NSB appears to express a greater distance now from both studies and hearings which do not appear to really affect the final decisions made by agencies more powerful than the NSB.

Task Forces

The NSB now appears to participate primarily through interagency task forces which are chartered to conduct oversight, control, and negotiation. The NSB is commonly represented in these task forces by an official from the Mayor's Office, who is authorized to act on behalf of the NSB. Because of this the NSB is less willing to participate in task forces whose members cannot commit the agencies they represent. Pro forma participation, which appears to commit the NSB but does not actually allow real input into final decisions, appears to be no longer acceptable to NSB.

Having an NSB official act as a conduit of information to and from the task force is an important function both for the institutions involved and for residents who can receive and contribute information and alternatives, thus generating a sense of cooperation and control. It also allows for the correction of inaccurate perceptions about each other among the institutions involved.

Naval Arctic Research Laboratory (NARL)

The Federal presence in the region was significantly diminished by

the closure of the Naval Arctic Research Laboratory (NARL), a process of phased shutdown that began in 1978. Of interest here is the timing of the closure - the only permanent U.S. scientific research facility in the Arctic. The facility was closed simultaneously with the greatest single domestic offshore industrial development in the area and the peak of the scientific/political controversy over the bowhead whales. Members of the NSB Environmental Protection Office expresses hope that the State of Alaska would reopen NARL as an Arctic Geographical Institute, which would provide a full range of scientific programs in conjunction with the University of Alaska, be eligible for foundation funding and conduct important vocational and scientific training programs for the Inupiat. The failure of the Inupiat University of the North to build such programs is seen as a serious weakness in the region.

NARL had not been as large an employer of residents as it had in the past, but some permanent employment was lost. NARL was the largest enclave of non-Inupiat in the region until the buildup at Prudhoe Bay. It contained the best and sometimes the only facilities in the area, although these were denied to the community of Barrow with very few exceptions; Barrow, on the other hand, was freely used by the staff as a recreation center. Cross-cultural interpersonal conflicts colored much of the relationship between Barrow and NARL. In particular, competition for women was very keen, the relative financial advantage of NARL personnel being perceived by local men looking for wives as unfair competition.

Since NARL was generally closed to the Inupiat, the NARL closure tended to affect the Inupiat less than the non-Inupiat Barrow residents who had been given use privileges. What was lost to the region was the great potential to provide vocational training to local residents, particularly in physical science research. On the other hand, the Ukpeagvik Inupiat Corporation did not oppose the closure of the facility, as it felt it had a valid claim to the NARL lands.

THE OIL INDUSTRY PRESENCE

There is a major presence of oil industry representatives and employees in the region at all times. Industry here refers not only to the oil "majors" but to all of the technical, construction, drilling, pipeline and service contractors and subcontractors. The relationships between local residents and these representatives are discussed elsewhere within this section as well as under interethnic relations.

One informant has typified the relationship between the institutions of the region and the oil majors as "platonic adversaries." By this was meant that there are a large number of areas of concern between the institutions in which there are both implicit and explicit agreements. These agreements occur, of necessity, in substantive areas of activity--water, gravel, habitat, and so on. It is the informants' general conclusion that industry is allowed to do essentially what it wants to do in the region, with their activities moderated only to a minor degree by the actual authority of the NSB, On the other hand, industry appears to have anticipated many local concerns (based on past experience) and has

plans to account for these concerns.

Representation of oil interests in the region, as carried out by both technical and public relations personnel, has increased the number of procedural and interpersonal exchanges among institutional personnel, thus reducing somewhat the amount of unanticipated conflict and dispute over motives and tactics. On the other hand, the companies have continued to conduct a low-key but persistent campaign to reduce the taxing authority and policies of the NSB.

Industry continues to complain to the State about the form of taxation on Prudhoe Bay. At risk may be held of the NSB operating budget (approximately $40 million), half of the NSB employment (approximately 400 persons), and some portion of the capital improvements bonding capacity. The current taxation policy of the NSB was resolved in an out-of-court settlement and subject to special legislation by the State. The policy was based upon a high-growth period for both industrial development and borough government. Borough government felt that it required both an immense start-up program to bring the region's communities to parity of services with other areas of the state and nation and also to conduct certain tasks not commonly a part of borough government. The out-of-court settlement also resolved that Prudhoe Bay employees were not residents of the borough for voting purposes and therefore would not constitute another political force directly on the Borough.

Since both of these issues (taxation and representation) were

resolved out of court, the continuing expression of industry dissent from the settlement hangs over the head of the NSB and may eventually have to be resolved in court. There is a feeling among informants that by keeping these issues alive as threats to the basic resources and autonomy of the NSB, industry is really limiting the current authority of the NSB to curtail or otherwise shape industrial actions. A secondary impact of this limitation on NSB flexibility may be a reduced ability of the NSB to protect habitat and other values essential to maintenance of culture.

OTHER INSTITUTIONS

The other institutions that are part of the external institutional environment include other regional corporations, other boroughs and governmental associations (e.g., the Alaska Association of Coastal Mayors), state and national environmental conservation organizations, Canadian and Greenlandic organizations of indigenous peoples, the International Whaling Commission, members of the state delegation to the United States Congress, appointed members of the federal administration, and the broadcast and print media. It is not possible to characterize all these relationships. Informants noted that though these external agencies have sometimes acted as allies on North Slope concerns and represented North Slope positions within their various spheres, in most instances they also failed to achieve success. Often, either the vital interests of parent agencies militated against success, and at other times support tended to be mainly rhetorical.

The relationship between regional institutions and the press has been extremely poor, particularly the reporting of violence, drugs, and other unfortunate aspects of regional life. The bad press on the region required NSB, ASRC, the City of Barrow, and other institutions to join with the Alaska Federation of Natives to resolve these different views of reality and the responsibility of the press. The outcome of these efforts is not yet clear.

IV. VILLAGES AND THEIR INSTITUTIONS

Villages and the Regional Institutions

One of the major functions of the North Slope Borough (NSB) is the protection of the interests of the several villages contained within the borough boundaries. Barrow is by far the largest. Because if its size and the fact that Barrow is the seat of regional government, residents of more distant villages believe themselves to be less well represented on a number of issues of great importance to them, particularly those related to facilities, services, and nonrenewable resource development impacts. Informants generally agreed that villages have little control over their own fates, given the trends of capital growth and centralization of power and leadership. As a consequence, village efforts to assert power often result in rhetoric only.

Additional complex forces are at work within those villages close to oil and gas development. Some individual (and often influential) residents are willing to invest their future and that of the village in oil and gas development, but others see that development as the greatest threat to their local renewable resources. The complexity of split village sentiment and, often, split regional sentiment, different strategies used to pursue each sentiment, and an unbalanced power relationship between the villages and the NSB are compounded by the presence and strategies of the oil industry as it seeks support and access in its development plan. By employing important local individuals and by improving

the facilities in villages, the oil industry can strongly influence the village sentiments.

The NSB provides basic facilities and services (e.g., schools, water, sewage, energy) in a patterned program to which villages sometimes dissent. On the other hand, they recognize that though they complain about some of these matters, the NSB is the best structure to handle them (financially, operationally, and so on). In this area of village-NSB relationship, the village sacrifices control to avoid the burden of continuing responsibility. Each village appears to work out its own relationship with the NSB on issues of facilities and services. Issues involving development, land, and village corporations are less easily resolved.

Villages are not without power. For example, they have a great deal of control over what happens on lands conveyed to them. In addition, the villages' suit against the Beaufort Sea lease sale provides evidence that, when villages perceive that their vital interests are at stake and that the NSB is not responsive to this concern, they can and will take independent action; that is, even on matters of strategy, they do not place their fate to the judgements of regional authority.

Informants noted that the difference in strategy between the villages and the NSB was due in part to a basic failure to communicate with one another but also, as they saw it, to Mayor Hopson's impatience at the villages' failure to grasp that there was far more complexity and more at risk in a legal challenge to the lease sale than would be gained from litigation. In the end, however, what appeared really to be at risk in

the lack of consensus between the NSB and the villages was the continued legitimacy of regional authority when it was perceived to be failing to agressively protect village vital interests.

It might have been possible for another institution to take advantage of this rift, but there is little indication that any advantage was actually pursued and taken. ICAS and ASRC appear to have remained on the sidelines to watch the forces at work, the sentiments pursued, and the form of the resolution. No external institution seemed to profit from this rift. Though this particular conflict was very heated, it is possible that it was, on one level of a reality, a working out of personal, familial, and institutional power relationships in ways very similar to traditional modes of decision making; that is, while the events themselves and their outcomes were of great importance, what may have been of greater importance was to legitimize traditional values and relationships even within modern institutional life.

There appears to have been a greater involvement of villages in the review process of local and nonlocal decisions since these events of 1977-1978. There seem to have been more face-to-face meetings between the NSB and village residents and greater exchange of opinions and information. It was reported that the increase in exposure to such information in the villages has led to a greater local sophistication about decisions and events and an expanded role that villages must play if they are to protect their vital interests. In addition, the dual economic futures of villages appears to be increasingly evident in NSB planning documents

(Arctic Coastal Zone Management Newsletter, No. 18).

The role of the village coordinator (attached to the NSB Planning Department) has become more significant in the past few years. Originally, the coordinators were to monitor the progress of village CIP projects being constructed by contractors. The coordinators were to provide information to the village residents and relay village sentiments and their own perceptions back to the NSB. The coordinators were hired in situ in their communities following recommendations from the village council. In this way, the NSB would receive information from not only the village council, village residents, and the contractor, but also from its own source in the village. A composite picture of sentiment in that village would then theoretically be available to the NSB. Recently, the village coordinators have been placed under an officer within the Mayor's Office, thus increasing the prestige of the program and shortening the communication lines between the villages and elected NSB political authority.

In addition to conflicts between the villages and NSB , there also have been instances of conflict between the villages and ASRC in which ASRC's business interests have come into conflict with adjacent village desires. There has not been a sufficient number of such instances to draw conclusions about long-term methods of resolution and their outcomes.

BARROW -- THE VILLAGE

It is common, in Alaska, to describe settlements as either towns or villages, usually based on attributes of size, amenities, and functions. Communities such as Barrow with a large population, an airport and other major facilities and amenities, and functioning as the transportation and government center for the region, are commonly referred to as towns. Other such "towns" include Kotzebue, Nome and Bethel. Indeed, such communities are also chartered as cities under state law. Villages are often considered to be much smaller aggregations of persons with far fewer regional functions. Many of these are also chartered as cities, however.

Another way of looking at such communities is whether they have been indentified as villages within the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. Using this act as a guide, most Alaska communities, large and small, are identified as being or containing actual "villages". Villages, in this sense, can be either or both aggregations of Native persons enrolled for the purposes of the act and as areas commonly referred to as the village. Thus, as inmigration occurs, larger communities come to surround historical villages (that is, sites and structures); residents commonly refer to these places as "the old village." As individuals and entire communties relocate voluntarily or involuntarily to new sites and structures, the "village" becomes less a place than a community of persons intimately tied by kinship, a common history and culture, and identification with traditional sites.

Alaska villages, whether defined as specific locations or persons, have tenure over certain lands beyond the close environs of the traditional village site; in some cases, villages also have tribal status under federal law. And, often, villages have conflicts over landownership and land use with city governments extending or expressing use or ownership domain over what villagers consider to be village lands. Barrow is both a village and a town/city in many of the senses suggested above.

Much has been written about Barrow in the popular media. Its reputation includes excessive drinking, violence, racial conflict, and unhealthy living conditions. Though these reports are often exaggerated, they are also not untypical of what could be said about many larger towns in Alaska, particularly those undergoing major transitions in size and function. In particular, these reports ignore those other aspects of Barrow which make it a livable and attractive place for regional and extraregional persons to work and live.

When one walks through Barrow, it does not "feel" like a village. Like Kotzebue, Nome, Bethel, and other large villages, it is a hub for transportation, communications, and government and therefore has the pace, traffic, and infrastructure associated with what are called "regional centers" in Alaska. On the other hand, Barrow does not "feel" like a town either, particularly when one assesses the available services--no movie theater, one hotel, few restaurants, no bowling alley or other recreational facility, and so on. It may be deprived even in comparison with the other communities noted above.

Barrow residents reportedly think of Barrow more as a village than a town or city. Other villages in the region see Barrow as the recreational spot in the region, while Barrow residents view Fairbanks and Anchorage as recreational spots. In sum, Barrow fills a variety of different needs for different people and leaves many needs unfilled.

Barrow is an industrious place, given the amount of government and business services that occurs there. One informant depicted Barrow as "a phenomenon, the plethora of Western and traditional institutions that surround a traditional Eskimo community, or a series of communities." In many ways, the new functions and subcommunities of Barrow are only part of and quite consistent with the traditional pattern of growth and consolidation of Barrow, which has historically contained and welded together parts of other villages.

Within the collectivity of persons and networks that make up modern Barrow, a Barrow village still exists as a set of common attitudes, relationships, and responses that interacts with Barrow the "phenomenon." Traditional modes of governing the village of Barrow are still relatively intact, in terms of how and through whom access is acquired, which in turn is determined by scarcely visible family arrangements. Village aspects have become less visible due to the changing housing patterns; that is, nuclear elements of extended families now live in geographically dispersed patterns due to Barrow housing programs. This does not necessarily mean that the ties which make up the Barrow village are disturbed.

Persons of other villages play an important role in Barrow and tend to be treated the same way as other long-term Barrow residents. It is only in the village corporation of Barrow that non-Barrow enrollees are unrepresented. The subcommunities of Barrow which are made up of inmigrants from other villages do not appear to operate as distinct communities or villages in and of themselves. Many members of these subcommunities have an opportunity to return to the parent village often enough to maintain their village ties in the parent communities. Thus, the identity of the Barrow Eskimo village is not dissimilar in value, organization, or patterns from other villages in the region.

BARROW--THE TOWN

Because of its size, the village of Barrow is different from the town of Barrow and in this way is different than other regional villages. For example, the Barrow City Council does not have the same constituency as Ukpeagvik Inupiat Corporation (UIC), the Barrow village corporation. In addition, the City of Barrow is unlike many other cities in the state because almost all of its original functions have now been taken over by the NSB; the City of Barrow does not operate its own utilities, police, school, or other services. Until recently, its only functions were the volunteer fire department, certain youth programs, and the management of city-owned property. Very recently, it turned over the volunteer fire department to NSB authority. In terms of the future of Barrow, the City could quite easily merge completely with the NSB since the NSB planning capacity could handle remaining land use and planning matters.

The NSB Capital Improvements Program calls for additions to the school complex, expanded electrical servcies, construction of a daycare center, a new public safety building, a health center, 150 new housing units, a library, a museum, and $120 million in improvements to the water and sewer systems (Arctic Coastal Zone Management Newsletter, No.32). According to some informants there are positive signs in the social health of Barrow, including better education, better recreation, increased legal services, increased voice in governmental and agency affairs, a new alcohol detoxification program, and the former liquor store now housing a new teen center.

As oil and gas development moves closer to Barrow, Barrow may be the only community for long-term (but not permanent) residents to settle with their families. This would follow the pattern of oil industry employees in many frontier development areas throughout the nonindustrial world in which entire enclaves of temporary residents are established for long periods. This would probably result in the creation of additional subdivisions and the construction of many multiple-unit dwellings. Since oil workers, like many human service workers, serve a "tour of duty" in the region and form relatively few social ties to the region or the community, it is unlikely that new residential enclaves would form permanent communities of their own. There is probably insufficient opportunity for new people to acquire land and insufficient economic diversity to support a large new permanent population.

BARROW AND THE VILLAGE CORPORATION

According to informants, UIC has made significant strides in the last year, particularly in the stabilization of its management and, with a few critical exceptions, in its relationships with NSB and ASRC. It has secured a number of new construction contracts, has diversified its investments across a broad range of enterprises, has resolved through litigation some outstanding points of contention on ownership of local resources, has profited from its joint ventures with both larger and smaller local corporations, and continues to run Stuakpak, a large and highly competitive department store in Barrow. It has also dissolved some joint ventures, either acquiring or relinquishing total interests in various enterprises.

Unlike ASRC, which had a considerable direct interest in oil resources and thus made regular distributions to its shareowners, UIC has yet to make a distribution. The tangible benefits UIC has brought to its shareholders have been in the form of conveyed lands and homesites and employment related to the store and other enterprises. (Elders in Barrow have asked UIC for a discount in the store since they have received no distributions from UIC and have a difficult time finding employment that does not require English proficiency.)

UIC wants to train local people as mechanics and operators since no local agency is currently meeting vocational education requirements. Initially, such vocational training was to have been a part of all local contracts, but this generally proved to be a failure. Even with the

failure, there is a large, trained pool of skilled labor in the region and in Barrow. Informants noted that the smaller corporations appear to be trying harder to recruit, hire, and train local people than the larger institutions.

UIC is currently embroiled in a number of significant areas of conflict with major institutional and sociocultural implications. The first involves the use of Native lands for oil development and whether 1) ASRC has the right to use these lands for subsurface values, and 2) ASRC has failed to distribute its oil profits with the village corporations according to law (letter from Arnold Brower, Sr., UIC President to ASRC shareholders, March 1981). The basic questions here, if resolved in favor of UIC and other corporations, could have profound impacts on the size and power of each institution.

UIC also has conflicts with the City of Barrow over village corporations selections within the core township. In addition, UIC is concerned that the City, in surplusing some if its lands, is selling land at prices that local residents and UIC shareholders who have failed to receive homesites within the township cannot afford. As a consequence, UIC is critical of the fact that vital Barrow properties are being sold to outsiders, as if the function of the City of Barrow were to be a profit-oriented, land development company. UIC questions why the land should be sold at the highest price when the services provided by the City had declined so markedly. Since the City of Barrow was formed by the State, Barrow, unlike the other villages, has no IRA council.

Thus, conflicts involve the village corporation, the City, and the regional IRA--ICAS--to some extent. This makes resolution of local matters much more complex.

UIC has had conflicts with NSB on the protection of shareholders' property on UIC and other private lands. UIC claims that high-salaried transient workers were unlawfully putting buildings on private land, trespassing with vehicles on subsistence lands, disturbing private cabins and fish camps, damaging or stealing gear (cached snow machines, fuel, traps, and traplines, survival clothing) and products (furs). In addition, there are complaints that caribou are being shot along Cat train routes and left unsalvaged. UIC is demanding more policing, more local regulation setting and enforcement on the nonwasteful use of caribou, and a more intensive public information effort explaining private versus public lands and their use.

UIC officials reported that UIC shareholders understand and support those UIC actions which seem to lack a profit motive but protect general local interests (e.g., hunting and fishing rights, whaling, fishing, trespass). UIC officials noted that the general corporate enterprise is a bit fraudulent; that is, they are operating under and within a body of law which they see as antithetical to their traditional uses and rights that go with them. They believe that there is some conflict within the corporation between their chartered profit motive and the protection of local rights, culture, values, sites, and relationships. Thie requires them to become creative in reconciling one set of shareholder concerns with another opposing or competitive set.

Nuiqsut

The village of Nuiqsut has been the topic of a number of reports and meetings, most resulting from studies of development of offshore oil and gas resources. Readers interested in the history and values of Nuiqsut may find that A Study of Land Use Values through Time (David Hoffman, et al., Cooperative Park Studies Unit, University of Alaska, Occasional Paper No. 12) and Nuiqsut Paisanich, Nuiqsut Heritage: A Cultural Plan (Village of Nuiqsut and North Slope Borough Planning Commission , 1979) will be helpful as guides to understanding the objectives and history of the relocation and growth of this village.

Nuiqsut has witnessed phenomenal growth in the past three years in population, facilities, and services. Its 1980 capital improvements program projects included a new air field, a new terminal, an access road, streets to and through its new subdivision, a sewage treatment plant, a fire station, electrical generator, storage buildings, and new housing units. Though the village and the NSB appear to be planning for the future of the community, its unique position adjacent to Prudhoe Bay extension and National Petroleum Reserve-Alaska oil and gas development creates a great deal of uncertainty about its future. Informants differed in their opinions of that future; some stated that Nuiqsut has nothing to attract oil industry presence, but others believed that its geography makes such involvement unavoidable.

Nuiqsut informants suggested that Nuiqsut may replace Barrow in

the next 20 or 30 years as the dominant Inupiat community in the region. They believed that as more non-Inupiat settle in Barrow, more Inupiat from Barrow and elsewhere will find Nuiqsut a far more socially and physically congenial and rewarding community. The new subdivisions within the core townsite, they suggested, are intended to provide housing for these Inupiat, both inmigrants from other communities in the region and state and from nuclear families formed within the community.

Discussions with persons close to Nuiqsut provided no support for the often repeated suggestion that Nuiqsut was reestablished at its present site in order to take advantage of inevitable oil and gas development. These persons noted that the desire to reestablish Nuiqsut has deep historical roots and that the reestablishment itself occurred far in advance of the development pattern that is now emerging. The purpose of the reestablishment was the preservation of cultural heritage and more direct access to and use of wildlife resources, particularly fish resources.

Nuiqsut informants believed that the village itself and the physical environment arount it are better and more closely protected than the community and environs of Barrow. They suggested that the relationships between Nuiqsut and the oil industry are based on direct and personal dealings and negotiations with the industry rather than litigation. They also suggested that industry is more responsive to their cultural concerns.

Many expressed the belief that oil and gas will be an economic base for the community into the distant future in addition to contracts for

construction and services received from the NSB. Although the village could become an oil "industry town" for awhile, informants believed that the values that have brought people to Nuiqsut will remain through that period and after.

Thus it is thought that the older people who reestablished the community will not be disappointed, since their values are retained, and the younger people, who will take direct advantage of the development, will change the community of the future to suit their own changing values. This desired and hoped-for ability to walk a narrow line between one generation and another, one set of values and another, one set of environmental conditions and another is admittedly a risky undertaking. The choices the community must make are strategic and perhaps irreversible. Its growing skilled manpower pool, transportation facilities and potential roadway links to industrial areas could combine to attract industry to the community in a large way; whether it could sustain control over the number, pace, and demographic characteristics of inmigrants is unknown.

Residents believed that the local renewable resources alone could not support the existing or potential Inupiat community. In addition, the history of NSB, ASRC, and the village's own enterprises is so short that the village cannot depend on these institutions to both provide jobs and offset the extremely high cost of imported fuel, food, and materials upon which the residents depend. The dual values--traditional life-styles and wage employment--do not tend to divide the young from the old in

Nuiqsut. There appears to be a significant class of middle-aged Inupiat at the core of Nuiqsut who have a long wage employment history in the region and who also wish to pursue traditional practices. It is their experience, to this point, that both sets of values and practices can exist simultaneously.

One prerequisite for this to occur is to have a relatively clean extractive industry at some distance from the village but connected by road and other infrastructure to the community. How close the industry can or should be is unclear to residents. A recent vote by the village council was to reject a proposed road between the village and the Prudhoe Bay road system, which, in turn, is connected to major cities and ports; however, the margin of the vote was very small and did not indicate a rejection of the road in the foreseeable future. It is probable that a similar vote taken two or three years ago would have totally rejected such a road. This probable shift in outlook is due both to an examination of other reqards generated by a road and a fairly aggressive public relations effort by the oil industry.

A road would, in the minds of some, provide a set of important contributions to the village. The road could improve the likelihood that the Prudhoe Bay topping plant would provide natural gas and other fuels directly to Nuiqsut at a very low rate. (Currently, oil to serve community needs is purchased from Seattle.) This low rate on energy would make the community more economically sound and more attractive to intra-regional migrants. Secondly, the road would make the local hire of

Nuiqsut residents by the oil field operators more likely. (Currently, they often have to charter aircraft to travel from Nuiqsut to the oil field operations.) Thirdly, a road would allow exploration for oil and gas closer to Nuiqsut, which would be desirable if Nuiqsut had direct access to and control over the use and/or sale of extracted resources.

The oil industry has not yet been specific whether or not it wants, needs, or intends to construct such a road; much of the industry's interest is dictated by the pace and location of development. The problem for Nuiqsut is whether the village should wait until the industry decides what it wants to do or for the village to take its own action and thereby direct its own future.

Geographic proximity of facilities and activities is a matter of serious concern to the village. Doubts have been expressed even about the placement of the airfield so close to town thus influencing the location of new subdivisions. Having oil rigs in similar proximity would cause significant village concern. In addition, offshore oil devleopment is viewed with great alarm by the village as so much of its nutritional and cultural dependency is on marine resources, both fish and mammals.

The village has its own corporation--Kuukpik Corporation--which owns and operates the local store and fuel concession. This "internal investment" has caused some problems for the community, since its profit-making corporation could then profit only on sales to village residents, thus increasing the local cost of living. In conjunction with other village corporations, Kuukpik Corporation founded Pingo Corporation, a

labor and construction contractor to directly serve the needs of oil field operations. It was intended that Pingo would generate nonlocal dollars through direct employment of Inupiat in the region and profits on imported labor.

The villages, of course, look to Pingo Corporation as a conduit for local employment. Although it is an equal opportunity employment contractor, in May 1981, 66% of its 99 employees was Native (although not necessarily local or Inupiat), The employment ratios vary according to the skills and timing demanded for certain projects. The long-term maintenance work tends to attract more Natives, and the short-term, high-skill jobs attract more non-Natives.

With full-scale CIP projects in Nuïqsut during the early summer of 1981, the bulk of Pingo Corporation employment of Nuiqsut residents was in construction projects under contracts or subcontracts for the NSB. Local residents prefer to work for the NSB in local projects which allow them to remain close to their homes and families. When such opportunity declines, they then seek work anywhere in the region, including oil field operations and services. Pingo Corporation would like to have larger numbers of local residents working through it on oil industry jobs, but only four residents fo Nuiqsut had been so employed as of this writing. Pingo Corporation, then, must seek labor and labor opportunities anywhere it can in order to serve the interests of its shareholders. While Pingo Corporation is not politically active in the matter, a road between Nuiqsut and the oil fields would enhance its ability to deliver local labor without excessive transportation costs.

While Pingo Corporation has the potential for providing a full range of oil field services (it was, formerly, Eskimo Oil Field Services, Inc.), meets the requirement for minority contracting, fills a real void in providing short-term skilled labor locally and reduces much of the administrative overhead of local oil field operators, there is such a large current supply of other local employment opportunities that Pingo Corporation has a difficult time recruiting for many skilled jobs locally.

NUIQSUT AND NEW INMIGRANTS

Nuiqsut, as noted earlier, has grown rapidly from its founding 27 families to (estimated) more than 60. Informants suggest that a shortage of housing stock constitutes the most severe limitation on new inmigration, and that hundreds of houses could be filled in a relatively short time. Given the uncertain pattern of oil and gas development, it is unlikely that there will be a flood of new residents moving to Nuiqsut in anticipation of obtaining Prudhoe Bay employment. However, a sizable new oil development, combined with a road connecting the village to the oil field system, and an indication from Nuiqsut that it wished to support that development (e.g., through the construction of more housing) could significantly alter that situation.

Currently, the large number of inmigrants have been both young and old persons who were actually enrolled to the village of Nuiqsut; they were returning to find their roots in the land. New young residents then to bring their families with them and a number of elders bring succeeding generations with them, many of them of marriageable and child-

bearing age. Young people tend to move back and forth between Nuiqsut and other villages, pursuing employment and other opportunities. Residents live an economically marginal life, at least by comparison with Barrow, where money and jobs are more plentiful. There do not appear to be the same differences in income and housing as appears among residents of Barrow.

Informants noted that while a large number of inmigrants is flooding into the region, Nuiqsut is growing due to internal migration (i.e., within the villages of the region), return migration of enrollees, and the inmigration of Inupiat who have been working and living outside of the region for some time. These latter people, it is suggested, choose not to live in Barrow because they perceive it as distant from their heritage with the land, and they encounter too many non-Inupiat in the street and out hunting.

A large number of Inupiat inmigrants have returned from Fairbanks and elsewhere in search of the opportunity to continue wage employment but to also live in the Arctic. They were accustomed to the amenities of city living and bring with them the desire to continue to have those amenities. As one informant noted;

> Fairbanks people hope to take the white culture back to the Native people. That is very hard for us to live with. We have to count on the NSB to help us solve this (shortage of amenities). Both these people and the younger generation desire to have the benefits that exist in other parts of the world, and we cannot hold them back regardless of what we desire. We have to do it as it comes, but only in ways we can afford (to maintain). We have to be careful these poeple don't get these things through (based on increasing influence in municipal government) and then find out it doesn't work or we can't afford it. That would do damage for another 20 years. It can work, if done in the proper way.

Informants expect that there will be many differences in opinion and approach between the old population and the new. Informants noted that returning Inupiat are different from permanent villagers in terms of education and experience. While informants concede that the influence of inmigrants would grow, the most important task now is for the inmigrants to talk to and learn from the permanent residents about the way life is lived in Nuiqsut. Informants believed that the majority will be sensitive to the needs of the minority and that conflicts can be resolved. They expect that soon the new residents will have a greater say in village affairs than older residents. Old-timers, they suggest, could start and direct a small village but other people will have to direct it as it becomes 500 persons, then a thousand, and more. "Our kids will be running the place. They studied the law, they studied the /Alaska Native Claims Settlement/ Act. When we pass away, they will run it."

NUIQSUT AND CONTROL OVER ITS FUTURE

Nuiqsut has some control over its future through its ability to control land and, to a lesser extent, water and gravel. Through manipulation of its lands and housing subdivisions it can control the rate and characteristics of inmigration. By making critical decisions about a road to the oil fields, it can increase or decrease its interactions with the oil industry. Through litigation and alliances within the region, it can attempt to alter the development of offshore oil and gas and, through negotiation, can alter the shape of some onshore development. But the changes are occurring so quickly that they may be outstripping the ability of the community to plan and act. This could

commit the community to development even without forces in the village actually encouraging such development. In addition, by planning to meet the demands and economic base of a future village population, the village may be committing itself to creating that population and demand. Thus, by desiring to see the community as a haven for as many Inupiat as wish to work and live in that environment, they may be creating demand where only a small amount currently exists.

The community asserts itself through the village council. As interpreted by Mayor Thomas Napagiak, Nuiqsut is pursuing both traditional ways and values and some degree of economic development. The apparent conflicts between the two objectives are not uncommon to Alaska villages and tend to be resolved in Nuiqsut through conflict resolution methods available to people with strong family and locational ties. There is some concern that with extensive inmigration these methods and ties will prove insufficient to resolve critical issues.

Currently, issues between the city government and the village enterprises are relatively easily resolved because of the small number of persons involved, the ties among them, and the multiple hats worn by key individuals. For example, the mayor is also the president of Pingo Corporation and represents the community concerns to the ASRC; he has other duties as called upon. He has occupied these and other roles simultaneously for a number of years. Undoubtedly, his philosophy, as it is shared by the sentiments of the community (as represented on the village council), will have a powerful institutional influence on the future of

Nuiqsut. The burden of wearing these different hats sequentially and simultaneously has provided him with a significant opportunity to shape the future of the village and has also placed stressful burdens on him.

Successful in a number of different traditional and modern institutional roles, Mayor Napagiak expressed some optimism that future leaders will be better prepared and formally trained to take over the major leadership roles in the community and the region. As more talented and educated young people become available to play these roles, there should be less of the "multiple hat" phenomenon, thus reducing the stresses on individuals but also segregating their concerns, awareness, loyalties, and values. It is the opinion of a number of informants that the "best" people do not want to take the responsibility for directing the major institutions through taking direct managerial or policy direction of them. They express some confidence that on-the-job and formal training now being provided to individuals within institutions will furnish a sufficient base to replace old leaders and meet new demands, but informants in Nuiqsut and elsewhere expressed deep concern about the "hired guns" that have been employed to build the new institutions, provide technical expertise to them, and in some cases occupy the major policy-setting roles within them. Thus, for example, since Mayor Napagiak resides in Anchorage in order to run the affairs of Pingo Corporation, he finds that he must exercise great caution in selecting a resident city administrator who can carry out the village council's policies without altering them.

To control its future, the village of Nuiqsut may have to turn to

the NSB for protection through the exercise of borough planning and zoning powers. They also count on continuing contracts from the NSB to maintain the economic base of the community. There is some local feeling that the village may become too dependent on both the NSB and the ASRC and must come to rely more on the village human resources to resolve issues, to plan for the future, and to be critical of the actions of regionwide institutions. However, there is still confidence that the NSB, particularly through the assembly, is cognizant of and generally responsive to the needs and desires of Nuiqsut. Informants have generally agreed that the institutions representing both the villages and the regions are so new that basic relationships are still being worked out, including who is responsible for the protection of vital local interests, and that it may be better for this responsibility somehow to appear to reside with all of them.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND CONDITIONS WITHOUT SALE NO. 71

Social Organization

Within the past few years, increasing intervillage contact and movement has apparently served to strengthen the Inupiat identity as a member of the regionwide community known as the North Slope Inupiat who share common interests, concerns, and cultural values. As noted, the NSB and ASRC have provided a number of mechanisms and employment opportunities for intervillage travel. Often, business travel is scheduled to coincide with the traditional cultural activities. In addition, these organizations send individuals outside the region as their representatives to business meetings with non-North Slope Inupiat, which also reinforces their regionwide identity and consciousness and sets them apart from outsiders. The potential expansion of ICAS services and activities on a regionwide basis would further serve to solidify a regional identity. The contact and interaction between community members serve to reinforce the social bonds uniting the North Slope Inupiat. Their interaction in cultural activities, such as whaling feasts, aslo perpetuates their common cultural values, such as sharing.

Conditions without Sale No. 71 are not anticipated to affect the development of a regional identity. Activities which promote the North Slope Inupiat contact, interaction, and integration are not anticipated to alter the social organization. Revenues generated by NSB who facilitated continuous contact and interaction among North Slope communities are anticipated to continue. ASRC has the potential to continue as a successful regional

corporation, which should also provide the opportunity for social interaction among North Slope Inupiat. The present direction of the administration is to reduce federal expenditures in human services upon which ICAS is dependent. This poses the possibility of ICAS limiting its region-wide services. Intervillage movement and marriage should continue to strengthen interrelated extended family networks throughout the region as well as cultural bonds and values they share through the participation in ceremonial activities. It is also assumed that an anticipated increase of non-Inupiat population will only serve to solidify the Inupiat community as the Inupiat identify themselves apart from the non-Inupiat.

Factors which could possibly weaken regional bonds are related to intervillage conflicts or, more probably, village conflicts with Barrow. If villagers perceive ASRC or NSB activities peferentially benefitting Barrow, which in fact has the largest population and the ability to exert the greatest political influence, conflicts between villages or villages and Barrow may develop. The strengthening of village organizations, such as the village council and corporation, also poses the potential for stressing regional bonds should the village elect and successfully oppose NSB policies.

Village councils could be strengthened if a mechanism could be developed to insure adequate revenue sharing from NSB or if NSB programs and services could be administered locally. Village corporations could also be more viable through increased profitmaking ventures. Nuiqsut's village corporation and subisidiaries have the potential to generate profits and employment opportunity because of the proximity to exisitng and potential petroleum

developments. At this time, the village corporation rather than village council has the greater opportunity to strengthen its community-based organization. The strength and viability of the regional community appears to be stable and not in imminent danger of collapsing.

Inupiat extended families appear to be healthy and function primarily through activities associated with the subsistence economy. In addition, cultural values, particularly those associated with sharing and cooperative activities and kinship obligations, have continued to unify extended families and communitywide interrelated families. Although an increasing number of nuclear families are living in single-family dwellings, a significant number of houses both in Barrow and Nuiqsut contain more than one family. Contrary to prevalent assumptions which hold that nuclear family residency patterns would weaken extended family bonds, indications are that nuclear families living in single-family dwellings continue to interact as members of extended families particularly evident through their cooperative subsistance activities. Kinship ties and the cultural values of sharing and cooperation continue to integrate the nuclear family into the extended family.

Conditions without Sale No. 71 are not anticipated to affect the extended family social unit. Probable negative impacts on extended families are associated with environmental impacts which result in decreased wildlife populations which have the consequence of limiting social interaction through reduced subsistence activities.

The most evident change in social organization is development of a unit classified as the resident non-Inupiat. As noted in the interethnic section, the formation of the non-Inupiat social unit has altered the social dynamics. Although this new unit has not challenged the survival and strength of Inupiat social entities, it is anticipated that this social unit will gain in strength as well as numerically without Sale No. 71. If NSB continued its CIP at the present level, it is possible that within five years the number of non-Inupiat population could be greater than the Inupiat population. It should be noted that the transient non-Inupiat would constitute a significant number of this population. The non-Inupiat transient population is not anticipated to organize themselves or politically align themselves with the resident non-Inupiat since they are characterized as temporary and lack commitment of interest in North Slope affairs. However, the potential does exist for the resident non-Inupiat to convince a sufficient number of transient non-Inupiat that they share common interests to gain political power should they perceive their interests threatened.

A notable trend is the increasing number of interethnic marriages. Although it is anticipated that members of the marriages will interact with both Inupiat and non-Inupiat groups, it is less likely that large numbers of non-Inupiat can be incorporated into the Inupiat community without seriously altering the characteristics of the Inupiat community.

Given the continuation of conditions noted in the Inupiat/Non-Inupiat interelationships section and the continued increase in the non-Inupiat population, it is assumed that without OCS Sale No. 71, interethnic

relations will be increasingly characterized by overtly positive or neutral actions. Non-Inupiat will continue to play a large role in institutional management and advise Inupiat staff and boards. This action may generate some hostility within the Inupiat population, who will find less institutional support and framework for expression of dissenting views as these entities develop non-Inupiat orientations. While fostering some polarization between individuals within each group, the net result is assumed to be more conducive to the development of apparently harmonious working and social relationships. This may negatively impact the continued holding or growth of conservative, tradition-oriented values and behavior within the Inupiat community.

Increased numbers of Inupiat will be completing college or college level technical programs and may acceed to leadership positions within institutions, possibly replacing some of the non-Inupiat now holding such positions. This may generate jealousy within the non-Inupiat, who may see a threat to their livelihood. Landownership and entrepreneurial activities by non-Inupiat will continue to increase due to a lack of such orientation by members of the Inupiat group. Interethnic socializing, including marriage, will increase, further enhancing the development of an increasing permanent non-Inupiat resident community. Increasing activity within the Prudhoe Bay-Kaparuk Field area and on NPR-A will insure continued economic opportunities for Inupiat workers. At the same time, fear that encroaching development will soon usurp more land and natural resource habitat may increase, thus foreclosing options to participate in subsistence activities now widely engaged in by the Inupiat. Success of small village corporations

(notably Nuiqsut) through industry affiliated endeavors will assist in insuring continued employment and training opportunities for North Slope Inupiat. This may serve to further damage the supportive environment for expression of traditional, conservative Inupiat values. A likely inter-ethnic relationship projection with these conditions and without OCS Sale No. 71 would see outwardly positive interrelationships between Inupiat and non-Inupiat. Commensurate with positive outward relations would be polarization between those who retain a strong conservative cultural orientation and those who are willing to adopt Western values associated the external functions and Western roles of institutions. This increased polarization may serve to enhance the internalization of these conflicts and increase subsequent expression of these conditions through self-destructive behaviors and intragroup conflicts.

Cultural System

Cultural norms and ideologies, particularly those associated with subsistence, wildlife, and land, which are expressed and transmitted through Inupiat individuals and perpetuated through the Inupiat social organization remain viable. Although sharing and cooperative activities and values associated primarily with the subsistence production and distribution have come under extreme pressures with restrictive hunting regulations, they are currently maintained. In fact, the proposed moratorium on bowhead whaling heightened the Inupiat awareness and articulation of its importance to the community. Values and ceremonies associated with the whaling complex became the symbol of Inupiat culture during the political struggle to defeat the proposed IWC moratorium and to obtain a quota. In spite of the reduced harvests of bowhead whales and caribou,

the annual round of ceremonies continue and may in fact have increased participation and strengthened social ties not only within local communities, but with neighboring communities as well. Because some North Slope communities did not obtain whales, such as the case for Nuiqsut for the past two years, neighboring communities such as Barrow and Kaktovik sent shares to Nuiqsut. In this case, cultural values and social bonds were reaffirmed. The difference between the IWC and AEWC quotas did serve to surface cultural ideologies which were previously not known by the general public. Adherence to the lower IWC quota of 18 whales instead of the AEWC quota of 40 whales resulted from poor ice conditions in 1981, however, a prevalent belief was that cultural codes associated with whaling were broken when some hunters vowed they would harvest the number of whales established under the AEWC regulations rather than the IWC quota.

Participation in wage employment has not affected sharing patterns but it has limited cooperative activities to evenings and weekends. Individual hunters apparently maintain flexible wage employment patterns which allow them to participate in cooperative activities. Often these joint activities are initiated during the evening or on a rotating basis with hunters leaving their wage employment position as possible.

It is also apparent from previously referenced data that a differential pattern in wage employment between males and females exists. This difference manifests itself in subsistence-oriented cooperative activities with Inupiat females participating to a lesser degree than men. This is partly due to the fact that much of the clothing and other utilitarian items she previously manufactured have been replaced by commercial products. Older and

knowledgable women are cooperatively involved in sewing skins for the umiaq (Skin boat). Women also provide financial support both directly and indirectly for hunting activities.

Land, sea, and ice environment values continue to play an important role in Inupiat culture. As noted earlier, subsistence activities require a significantly large land base. The NSB Traditional Land Use Inventory identified more than 1,200 sites which demonstrates extensive use and, in some instances, non-use (e.g., sacred sites). Petersen's work (1979) also indicates large areas of the sea and sea ice environment all important to the Inupiat. Inupiat continue to believe these areas are inhabited by ancestral spirits.

The NSB has provided the funds and support to allow the Inupiat the opportunity to form commissions and school programs and to sponsor activities which they feel will preserve and maintain their culture, although the primary objective in some cases is to preserve the knowledge of the elders for future generations. However, these activities not only provide the Inupiat opportunities to interact with one another but also serve to increase awareness and consciousness of Inupiat culture. The public focus on these activities also increases the perceived value of Inupiat culture. An indirect benefit is the increased intervillage contact and socializing which serves to strengthen the Inupiat cultural identity and social organization. One of the most beneficial products of the Commission on History and Culture was the TLUI and subsequent publications which drew on this work. The TLUI identified sites which were to be protected under different management authorities. Moreover, it served to validate allotment claims within NPR-A which were conveyed under the recent Alaska lands bill.

Although the NSB school system does have a bilingual program, English remains the dominant language in the classroom. The Barrow radio and TV station programming are also primarily in English.

Adverse impacts to the environment and wildlife population, restrictive hunting regulations, or increased hunting competition from non-Inupiat that serve to decrease subsistence production and distribution will directly affect cultural norms, ideologies, and values of sharing and cooperative activities and, consequently, the social organization of the Inupiat. It should be noted that although these cultural elements were pereptuated even under the pressures of restrictive caribou and bowhead whale hunting regulations, prohibition of caribou hunting was of limited duration. Degree of participation and time depth are key variables in determining levels of impact. If conditions without Sale No. 71 developed such as to prohibit or severely restrict hunting, impacts would be anticipated to be severe.

Land use values which are cultural in nature could also be adversely affected by decreased land base through the expanding and increasing physical structures and including roads, airports, and gravel and water extraction sites as well as human activity associated with continuing and increasing exploration and development of natural resources.

Institutions which are associated with various aspects of cultural preservation and maintenance and which appear to benefit certain elements of Inupiat culture and social organization could be adversely affected by changes in NSB policies and decreased funding. This is not anticipated in

the forseeable future even with a change in NSB Mayor. However, the current NSB policies and programs could potentially be affected should the non-Inupiat population continue to grow and expand its political base.

The Inupiat Language Commission has devoted much of its energy on translation and transcription of materials in both English and Inupiaq. These activities have served to enhance the linguistic and literary skills of several women who have been involved in these projects. While the emphasis has been on written Inupiaq, limited focus is on spoken Inupiaq. Language usage is affected by increased social and wage employment contact which serves to strain the primacy of Inupiaq and the quality of language usage. Ironically, the development of organizations which have the primary objective to protect and enhance traditional cultural activities allow non-Inupiat, none of whom speak Inupiaq, to fill key administrative or professional positions in organizations, such as the History and Culture Commission, AEWC, ICC, Inupiat College, and the school district. The Language Commission does not appear to be addressing Inupiaq language usage by young children, which is evidently on the decline.

Current events do not indicate that the non-Inupiat will be in the political position to reverse policies supporting cultural enrichment. While the addition of a non-Inupiat social unit has resulted in changes in the social dynamics in Barrow, the cultural values have persisted and perhaps even strengthened because of perceived activities which threatened the cultural system. The institutionalization and identification of selected cultural elements, which the Inupiat view as essential to protection, have also served to promote a conscious resurgence of Inupiat culture.

The Inupiat have perhaps resolved that their apparent conflicting and sometimes contradictory roles they find themselves in with the following delineation and explanation summarized by ICAS (1979, 3-4):

> Each Inupiat has the following tripartite economic interest and role as;
>
> - traditionalist in the subsistence culture,
> - citizen of the North Slope Borough, and
> - shareholder of the Native corporations.
>
> The Inupiat share in the profits of their Native corporations through dividends from business enterprises and ventures. The Inupiat also derive benefit from the tax revenues that the North Slope Borough invests in capital improvements. The Native corporations, the North Slope Borough, and ICAS also provide direct benefits to individual Inupiat through employment opportunities. Though the Inupiat may be desirous of and require access to employment, they may not be uniformly in accord with the North Slope Borough or Native corporations' primary activities and industries which provide tax revenue or capital. The dominant expressed interest of most Inupiat is the maintenance of the subsistence-oriented culture. To the degree that the North Slope Borough and the Native regional and village corporations do not stimulate adverse impacts on the subsistence culture, they are compatible. The subsistence culture is grounded in Inupiat interrelationships with their environment and the natural resources.

Political-Institutional Systems

The chapter outlining political-institutional changes drew a large number of conclusions about the implications of such changes on the socio-cultural world. For example, the institutionalization of cultural transmission through formal educational programs was noted. Similarly, the role of the Inupiat return migrant as an agent of change was explored. In addition, the functions, costs and probable decline of the "multiple hats phenomenon were suggested.

Reiteration of these findings would serve little purpose. It is more useful to step back from the detail of the relationships between specific political-institutional events and relationships and their sociocultural implications and take a look at the larger picture of institutions as sociocultural phenomena in and of themselves.

It can be safely concluded that local institutions are of more direct sociocultural relevance and criticality to the residents of the North Slope region than are external institutions. External institutions possess one very significant key to the future of the sociocultural world--environmental protection, alteration, and degradation. While external institutions are a significant aspect in the institutional environment of local institutions, they have only indirect influence on local sociocultural conditions.

It can also be concluded that the functions, relationships, and processes involved in the operations of local institutions are still more significant than individual events, whether these be legal, regulatory, fiscal, political, or physical. Thus, how leadership is legitimated, how villages relate to regionwide institutions, and how strategies are formulated are probably more significant in this transition period than who is leader, what discrepancy occurs between the NSB and a village on a CIP project, or what specific issue becomes subject to litigation.

There may have been many real changes in the region in the last three years, in terms of employment, construction, and exploration. What all of these changes will mean to residents is not easily determined. Over time, a long-term mapping of substantive effects on individuals, families,

and communities when either institutions or some other part of social functioning fails. The failure of an institution does not result in extreme loss of personal meaning or values if the culture provides a complete set of alternative roles and meanings. In the North Slope region, an individual "dropping out" of institutional life may mean nothing more than "dropping in" to another complete universe of action and meaning.

There is no method by which the authors can determine whether institutions in the region are incorporated into or grafted onto the sociocultural world. There is an impression, however, founded in the newness of the institutions, of a distance placed by institutional persons between themselves and the institutions, and a number of other indicators that suggest that there is a process of compartmentalization in the sociocultural world. As long as persons view the North Slope Borough as an "it" rather than as "we," the institution remains external to the internal life of the sociocultural world. Where the compartmentalization may break down is in the formalization of traditional institutions, such as the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission, and the Elders Conference, and similar phenomena. It may well be that there occurs an internalization of nontraditional and external ways when such an integration exists.

When one considers acculturation and adaptation through the creation of nontraditional institutions, one cannot make the assumption that, because the form is the same or similar, that the substance and the functions of such institutions are the same. It is possible that the Inupiat may be experimenting with the institution as a new tool, to determine whether it can be used or altered to serve local purposes. This is to determine whether

it can be used or altered to serve local purposes. This is accomplished, for example, through the phenomenon of "multiple hats." On the other hand, local institutions are deeply involved in economic strategies which result in real capitalizing not only of important local natural resources, but of human resources as well.

To exercise control over regional economic futures, local residents need to be organized. For those who think they have the most to lose from certain forms of economic change, the risks of participating in organizations may appear as great as if not participating. In other words, those who are most distant from institutional life (e.g., the elderly, the subsistance hunters/trappers, and so on) are those who most require the protections afforded by local institutions. Those who stand to gain the most from institutions are employed by those institutions. Thus, the presence of institutions, in and of itself, does not indicate that the sociocultural world is organized to protect its own interests.

Informants suggest that the major institutions appear to be "playing the game," that is, that they are operating as if the sociocultural world were in no way special or different; as a consequence, the institutions may have lost some of their initial internal motivation and direction. One informant suggested that the most significant institutional change in the last three years has been that the institutions are looking "out" (at the larger world) rather than "in" (at the local world).

One way of viewing these institutions is that, while they have engaged in an unusual and broad range of functions and directions, they may still

be too Western to protect local traditional values. By moving control from the family to the institution, by providing a range of services funded by resource extraction, by absorbing local expressions of concern through public meetings and other procedure, and by projecting the image of control without having the substance of control, these institutions may be seen as agents for development, as the velvet glove on the iron hand of major industrial development.

The institutions appear to be pursuing two contradictory sets of values at the same time, hoping that through careful and sensitive planning, a happy melding of the best of both sets can be accomplished. However, there does not appear to be a plan, a grand scheme, through which this difficult task can be accomplished. They appear to operate in the real world, regardless of the lack of such a plan for fear that by not taking a role, they will have no mediating influence on that world. It is probable that they have no way of measuring the loss to the region of being absent from these decisions versus the possible gains from operating in the real world.

It is probably reasonable to state that the local residents feel ambivalent about industrial development; that is, they are attracted by its benefits and repulsed by its costs. But institutions appear to be more than ambivalent in their objectives; they appear to be pursuing antithetical objectives for which they have no evidence that a reconciliation can be achieved. As a consequence, informants, while not predicting uniformly which objective will be achieved in the long run, tend to agree that only one will be achieved. Thus, they suggest that either 1) new forms of governance will emerge to acquire total local control over resource

extraction and other vital aspects of regional life, 2) that the region will become totally Westernized until the hydrocarbons are gone and older economic forms reassert themselves, or 3) resource extraction will continue into the indefinite future and older traditions will be assimilated into Western ways as the next generations feel appropriate. Informants did not agree at all for how long in the future there would continue to be Eskimos.

Projecting the sociocultural implications of political-institutional events and arrangements requires the identification of trends; the recent history of the region and the communities has included, based on the small size of the local population, momentous and potentially devastating changes. Clear trends include a growing nonindigenous population; and continued high rates in the growth of industry, facilities construction, provision of services, employment opportunities, institutional size and variety, and conflicts over values and strategies.

Since the formation of the major institutions on the region, commissions have appeared with great suddeness - the result of government by crisis; this is a normal occurrence in a new institution confronted immediately by a wide range of serious demands and the magnitude of externally-generated changes. Many of the actions of local institutions are reactive, since they have not had the time or ability to conduct through and thoughtful planning. In terms of immediate demands, those institutions which had money threw it at the problem in the form of consultants and attorneys and building large staffs of nonlocal managers and adviors. This process has apparently slowed somewhat as the institutions have matured and discovered the limitations within which they can operate effectively.

The authors make no assumption that the most significant sociocultural changes in the last there years were reported in the documents available to them, Institutional "facts" such as litigation may have less profound sociocultural significance than the passing away of certain influential elders. When active "culture-bearers" pass on, these are important events that are not always recorded in existing documents. The most pervasive and important events or trends from the perspective of values may remain entirely hidden from view.

What may in fact be most significant since 1978 is that with all the disruptions (deaths, litigations, firings, meetings, lease sales, whaling conflicts, and so on), there appears to be an attitude of business-as-usual, both within the local residents and their institutions, One explaination for this phenomenon, which may be predictive of similar responses in the future, is that the residents are not passive victims of change, but active and resilient in their techniques for individual, community, and cultural survival. They may even have identified with the industrializing and modernizing forces from the outside.

Alternatively, if one uses the model of sociological responses to natural disasters, they may merely be unaware of the full extent of the changes of losses they have incurred, to their physical environment and their socioeconomic world.

In terms of institutional survival, the institutions of the region appear to operate according to the rules of organizations everywhere; that is, their purpose is to grow. No evidence was seen that there are designed

or desired limits to institutional growth.

Prior to the creation of these institutions, the needs of the resident population were fulfilled in a culturally and societally prescribed fashion. Now these needs are being met through institutions which are alien in concept, form, and operations to anything which had preceded them. Responsibility for individual and general welfare has been transferred to these institutions and the perceived need level has risen drastically. Traditional social control mechanisms have declined accordingly, both in effectiveness and frequency of use.

In order to become culturally consistent, these institutions would have to turn their backs on the responsibilities and procedures incumbent on the Western institutions on which they were modelled, that is, by refusing to assert controls, by ceasing to administer programs and funds, by discouraging utilization of services, by reducing the search for caseloads by advocating for the improved effectiveness of existing services rather than their duplication or replacement, to be responsive to rather than directive of social and cultural change. There is no indication that such an institutional trend is likely to occur, so the current delegation of authority and responsibility to institutions is likely to continue with consequent sociocultural implications.

Because there is no evidence of a coherent political-institutional plan for the future of the region, it might be hypothesized that, for all the institutional presence in the region, in fact the political-institutional world is incompletely organized. If organization is still experimental

and incomplete, it is possible that other organizing principles may direct the future of the region. The future may really depend far more on a person than on a plan or an institution. Yet there is no indication that a uniquely strong leader is emerging to direct the future.

It is likely that the unresolved power relationships among the three regionwide institutions will at least begin to become resolved as negotiation and litigation proceed and leadership changes; similarly, the power relationships between the villages and the NSB are likely to become less well-defined as the villages exercise their legal and corporate energy to protect their perceived vital interests from the authority of central government.

Without a major environmental crisis, it is unlikely that traditional sentiments will find an effective and organized institutional base. As one informant commented, "That sentiment dies when it is organized. Organization is antithetical to the sentiment. There are not enough focal points, measurable objectives to work from. By forcing the sentiment to work in a formal setting in order to deal with us (the Western institutional form), you destroy it."

The question troubling many local informants is whether or not the culture that survives this industrial period will have a strong relationship to its past, the land, the waters, and the wild resources. Corollary to this concern is the question if the resources are no longer there, can and will the memory culture exist independent of these sustaining elements?

Cultural values and the resources of the land and waters are not inextricably bound together; loss of resources, loss of memory culture and inundation by extractive industries leads to a loss of remoteness which, until the present, has ensured that "there would always be Eskimos."

REFERENCES

Alaska Consultants, Inc. 1980. North Slope Borough Housing Survey, North Slope Borough Public Works Department. Barrow, Ak.

Anchorage Daily News, March 25, 1981

Arctic Coastal Zone Management Newsletter, Numbers 1-33.

Arctic Slope Regional Corporation Shareowners Report 1975-1980.

Brown, W.E. 1979. Nuiqsut Paisanich. Arctic Environmental Information and Data Center, University of Alaska, Anchorage, Ak. 56 pp.

Bureau of Land Management, Alaska OCS Socioeconomic Studies Program. 1978. Governance in the Beaufort Sea Region: Petroleum Development and the North Slope Borough. Technical Report No. 16

Hensley, W., 1981. Tundra Times, March 11, 1981. Anchorage, Ak.

Hoffman, D., D. Libby and G. Spearman. Nuiqsut; A Study of Land Use Values through Time. Cooperative Park Studies Unit, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, AK. Occasional Paper No. 12.

Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope. 1970. The Inupiat View. National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska 105(c) Study Vol. 1(b). U.S. Dept. of the Interior. Anchorage, Ak. 27 pp.

Kruse, J. , J. Kleinfeld, and R. Travis. 1981. Energy Development and the North Slope Inupiat; Quantitative Analysis of Social and Economic Change. Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of Alaska, Anchorage, AK. 131 pp.

McBeath, G.A. 1981. North Slope Borough Government and Policymaking. Institute of Social and Economic Research Report Series: Number 51, University of Alaska.

Nelson, R. 1979. Cultural Values of the Land. In Native Livelihood and Dependence: A study of Land Use Values Through Time. National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska 105(c) Field Study 1. Anchorage, AK. pp. 27-36.

North Slope Borough, 1981. Puiguitkaat. Barrow. 653 pp.

North Slope Borough. 1979. Nuiqsut Heritage: A Cultural Plan.

Petersen, S. 1979. Regional Susistence Land Use North Slope Borough, Alaska. Anthropology and Historic Preservation, Cooperative Park Studies Unit, University of Alaska, Fairbanks and Conservation and Environmental Protection, North Slope Borough, Barrow, AK. Occasional Paper No. 21. 30 pp.

Ukpeagvik Inupiat Corporation. 1981. Letter to ASRC Board of Directors And Shareholders, March 1981.

U.S. Department of Interior. National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska. 105(c) Land Use Study. 1979. Native Livilihood and Dependency A Study of Land Use Values Through Time. Anchorage, Ak. 166 pp.

Worl, R. 1979. Sociocultural Assessment of the Impact of the 1978 International Whaling Commission Quota on the Eskimo Communities. University of Alaska, Arctic Environmental Information and Data Center, Anchorage, AK. 81 pp.

Worl, R. 1980. The North Slope Inupiat Whaling Complex. In Alaska Native Culture and History. Kotani, Y. and Workman, W. eds. Senri Ethnological studies 4 1980. National Museum of Ethnology. Senri, Osaka, Japan. pp. 305-320.

APPENDIX

Methods, Standards, and Assumptions

The initial Beaufort Sea Region Sociocultural Systems 1978 study was based in part on data from the contractors' field research on the North Slope during the period from 1975-1977. Since completion of the 1978 Beaufort Sea Region Sociocultural Systems report, the principal investigators have maintained contact with Barrow and Nuiqsut. Robert Worl has made visits to Barrow and Nuiqsut and other North Slope communities on a continuous basis, averaging four to five days each month. Rosita Worl has continued her research in the Arctic, primarily on sociocultural aspects of bowhead whaling. She makes periodic visits to the region, and both investigators are in continual contact with individuals from Barrow and Nuiqsut who frequently visit Anchorage. Thomas D. Lonner, Ph.D. Sociologist, has obtained substantial experience and familiarity with the North Slope region through his position as the chief of the Alaska Dept. of Fish and Game, Subsistence Section from 1979-1981 and as an assistant program manager, U.S. BLM-OCS Socioeconomic Studies Program from 1977-1979. The information and knowledge derived from the continuing relationship with the study communities, as well as review of studies and reports developed on the North Slope since 1978, have contributed to the formulation of research standards and assumptions.

METHODS

The objectives of this study are:

> To update previously collected SESP information about contemporary conditions in the sociocultural systems of the two (2) Beaufort Sea communities and populations, establish an understanding of the cumulative impacts and changes on the inhabitants due to the presence of non-traditional authority and economic development and produce an analytical forecast of trends in the sociocultural systems without OCS development from Sale 71.

Social scientific research has been criticized by social scientists themselves, as well as other scientists, as lacking systematic methods to conduct social and cultural investigations. Although concern with methods in anthropology has increased in the last several years, anthropology has generally been viewed as the least rigorous branch in methodology in the social sciences. Although current methodological endeavors are subject to further refinement, the investigators will attempt to utilize the most rigorous qualitative methods available to social sciences, to accomplish the above stated objectives.

Although the focus of the study is limited to Barrow and Nuiqsut, it is important to note that conditions in Barrow are both affected by, and more importantly, affect all other communities on the North Slope. The approach will be holistic in nature, drawing upon methods and theory found in social, cultural, and economic anthropology, as well as sociology. Analysis will include cultural, social, economical, and political data, the study will attempt to examine and cumulatively assess all major sources of change affecting Barrow and Nuiqsut.

The demands of the study itself and evident social and cultural factors indicate that sociocultural change is ubiquitous; it appears in every aspect of personal, familial, social, cultural, and institutional life. The implications of change will be treated, where appropriate, within the framework of acculturation and modernization theories, emphasizing the ways in which individuals redefine their situations in a changing institutional and physical environment. Acculturation refers to the reciprocal modifications that occur when individuals from two or more different sociocultural systems come into contact. Teske and Nelson (1974, 358) offer several salient characteristics of accultruation which are particularly relevant to the study community situation:

1. Acculturation is a process, not an end result.

2. This process may be conceived of both as a group phenomenon and as an individual phenomenon; however, acculturation at the individual level is generally influenced by conditions of acculturation at the group level. Furthermore, this process is operative between subcultures as well as between autonomous cultural groups.

3. Although acculturation is frequently treated as an unidirectional process and may be considered as such in the ideal-type sense, it definitely is a bidirectional process; that is, it is a two-way, reciprocal relationship.

4. Direct contact is a necessary prerequisite in order for acculturation to occur.

5. Dominance is a salient factor in determining direction and degree of acculturation, though the relationship of dominance to direction and degree of acculturation is unclear. On the other hand, acculturation may occur in the absence of a dominant-subdominant relationship.

6. Acculturation is not contingent on a change in values, although values may be acculturated.

7. A positive orientation toward the out-group on the part of the acculturating group or individual is not a necessary condition.

8. Acceptance or a positive orientation by the out-group toward the acculturating group is not required.

9. Acculturation is not contingent on change in reference group orientation.

Modernization deals with technologically simple or tribal sociocultural systems adapting to technologically complex sociocultural systems. The modernization model does not posit specific sequences of development but focuses on individuals as members of tribal or peasant sociocultural systems adapting to influences of the city or industrialized societies through direct contact (Spindler 1977) or, in the case of Barrow and Nuiqsut, through the influence of change agents of Western economic, political, and social institutions.

It is important to emphasize that the sociocultural world of the North Slope is not conceived to be in a static situation or passive in its stance to changes whose source is external to the North Slope. Rather, it is assumed based on review of the past centuries of circumpolar contact and trade, together with the changes occurring since 1880's, that change and adaptation is a constant and powerful feature of life on the North Slope. Also assumed is consistency and pattern in the ways through which change is managed at the indivudual, familial, communal, and societal levels. This study assumed that these patterns can be generally identified, thus enabling the drawing of tentative conclusions about the effects of different forces and events on the sociocultural world. Culture in this model consists of customary, shared patterns for behavior as represented in institutions such as kinship and marriage, political and economic organizations, and religion. The social aspects include the interactions among people as they react to the demands placed upon them, many of which stem from their culture. Sociocultural system is a basic concept which will be utilized in this study. It includes cultural patterns for behavior, social interaction, and individual adaptation (See pp. 44-47. Political-Institutional Systems, for additional theoretical discussion.)

The Beaufort Sea Region Sociocultural Systems initial report provides the baseline from which further study proceeded. Such study focused primarily on the time period from 1978 to 1981; analysis of historical events were initiated only in so far as it contributed to understanding the contemporary sociocultural systems.

Review and analysis of Alaska OCS Socioeconomic Studies Program Technical Reports Number 9, 16, and 22 was the initial step to compilation of known studies, reports, and surveys. The literary review of secondary sources includes recent ethnographic material, North Slope reports, University of Alaska (ISER and AEIDC studies), an array of federal and state documents, and reports and surveys initiated by private industry or businesses. Data were collected from the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission, Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope, Arctic Slope Regional Corporation, village corporations, and subsidiaries and village councils as necessary.

Empirical observations were made to direct and verify the appropriateness of focus. The available information was supplemented through extensive interviews with a limited number of knowledgeable individuals in those areas in which the investigators required local resident interpretative data to understand the Barrow-Nuiqsut sociocultural system.

Following data collection and synthesis, analysis was directed to defining and describing contemporary sociocultural systems in Barrow and Nuiqsut. Various trends of sociocultural change and major sources of change impacting on various categories of the social and cultural system were derived in the final analysis.

Given the methods of this study, it is difficult to separate assumptions from conclusions. This does not mean that the study is a tautology but, as an update, it is constrained both by the boundaries of previous studies and contractual limitations on field work. As a consequence, much

of the report will tend to be conclusionary, based on new documentation, recent events whose individual and collective implications are equivocal, and a limited number of key informant discussions.

While the North Slope is a small community of persons, it is apparent that no one person can speak for the entire community. The key informants who discussed their perceptions in the region with the authors made it clear that they were not speaking for the region but merely reflecting their views and interpretations from their own singular vantage points and offering their own subjective assessments of both constants and changes in the social environment. They all tended to present different pieces of anecdotal evidence and attributions of motives to warrent their conclusions. Since each of these informants occupied influential institutional roles, it could be readily concluded that these institutions themselves were not distinguishable from the networks of value-laden persons who directed their major functions.

Without an umialik, or traditional leader/speaker, to legitimately enunciate the values and directions of institutions and subpopulations, the authors could prepare only composite characterizations of these concerns based on key informant explanations and the analysis of limited available documentation. While there is a considerable volume of paper generated by modern institutions, often the most critical information is either not committed to paper or the documents themselves are unavailable to the public. Given the significance and intensity of many of the most critical issues confronting local leaders, it is not surprising that particular events or conditions were attributed by key informants to the actions and motives of

individual residents and institutional officials, rather than major exogenous and endogenous forces of change beyond the direct control and, perhaps, even vision of local residents.

STANDARDS

The Beaufort Sea Region Sociocultural Systems outlined in Reports 9 and 16 provides the baseline from which standards in this report are developed. Ellanna (1980) provides a functional analysis of standards in terms of the relationships between parts of the sociocultural systems. Sociocultural systems are comprised of interrelated components. Change in one sphere may precipitate change in others, and other components may continue to persist or persist in transormed forms. The initial Beaufort Sea Region report described areas of the traditional culture which had transformed into systems which were neither entirely aboriginal or modern in character. Some areas in which change occurs, such as in the nonmaterial realm as Ellanna suggests, may be assessed only in qualitative terms. Few changes can be expressed in terms of rates or magnitudes. The authors attempt only to identify protsable directions of change, changes in type, and primary and secondary consequences. Thus, standards are those ordered relationships observed in 1978 that appear to have been altered by 1981 or that can be predicted to be altered by impending events and forces. The following impact categories were identified as being the most susceptible to change forces:

Impact Categories

.Economic Systems

Barrow and Nuiqsut include both subsistence and wage employment, and significant issues have developed around both which pose serious consequences for change. Continuing oil revenues generated through the North Slope Borough provide the basis for expanded wage employment opportunities for resident individuals and nonresident population. The development of new economic institutions or private business enterprises in Barrow and Nuiqsut is also stimulated by petroleum development, in addition to the Native corporations established under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA). Changing land status under ANCSA, Alaska Lands Bill, National Petroleum Reserve, Alaska, North Slope Borough, and state entitlements also provide the basis for change.

Subsistence employment is interrelated with wage and employment, changes in the environment, and federal and state regulations. Economic standards are conceived to be more than the quantification of employment and unemployment, income, household size, purchasing power, and other indicators. Economic activity and any major change in its organization may have a profound effect on the social systems. of the North Slope where social and economic systems are inextricably bound. As the direction of economic change comes increasingly under the control of local private and public institutions, the forces and values which direct these institutions become critical to the understanding of the emerging future. To the degree that these local institutions mediate, further, or conflict with the missions of nonlocal public and private institutions, they become of even greater significance in determining the social and economic health of residents.

.Social System

Recent ethnographic studies suggest that indigenous forms of extended families persist. The extended family also serves as a socioeconomic unit of production in subsistence activities. Household units are components of extended families. Residential patterns are related to accelerated construction of new houses. Subsistence, cultural, and political forces also serve to orient and integrate individuals, household units, and extended families at the community level. The arrival and long-term residence of an increasing nonindigenous population poses the development of a new dimension in the structuring of relationships within the communitywide system. The affiliation or identification of local residents with external institutions or the values and nontraditional orientations of the growing nonindigenous population become a powerful force of change. Such affiliation or identification usually occurs on an individual rather than a social or societal basis; that is, it is individuals acting in aggregate whose perceptions and values become altered rather than entire families or communities. One's individual economic, employment, or political perspective tends to be the mediating force in the acceptance or rejection of change. Thus, a critical element is the individual who responds to change in varying manners. Some individuals make positive adjustments while others make negative responses. Negative responses often manifest themselves in social trauma. To the extent that altered economic or employment situations derive from local political or corporate activity rather than directly from external sources, these local institutions come to occupy a key position in the analysis of change.

The social well-being of individuals within the population may be viewed

as an indicator of the adjustments a population makes to changes. New infrastructures have developed to respond to social disruption within the study communities.

.Political Institutional Systems

Political institutional systems within Barrow and Nuiqsut include regional and local government forms. The North Slope Borough (NSB) is the dominant political force; however the emergence of the federal tribal organization, Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope (ICAS) raises the potential of another political authority. The ability and desire of local governments and other entities, such as the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission (AEWC) to control or mediate extraneous forces, such as through legal challenges to resource development and bowhead whale hunting controls, also poses real consequences for the sociocultural systems. Regional and local governments engage in many activities other than litigation. In particular, the emphasis upon regional and local land use and resource planning, in conjunction with federal and state landowners and resource managers has provided a vehicle for the exchange of both information and values and may prove to be influential or determinative in the development and conservation patterns in the near future. Also included within the realm of the political sphere is an array of educational, health, and social service agencies which are a major factor in the lives of Barrow and Nuiqsut residents.

The chartered role of political-institutional systems is critical in protecting the populations whose interests they represent. Mankind is inexorably dependent on the natural environment; collective social life is

always constrained and shaped by the basic ecological factors of natural resources, population characteristics, material and social technology, and the economic order which satisfies peoples' needs. To this ecological perspective two further assumptions are added:

1. Collective social activities are generally aimed at the attainment of goals that reflect the values and interests of the participants.

2. A community can be viewed as a problem-solving social system in which

a) challenges such as new environmental or technological conditions initially disrupt existing social processes and patterns of social ordering, which

b) creates temporary problem conditions and activities, which in turn

c) Generate collective responses to cope with these problems, which finally

d) act back on the initial disruptive conditions.

The degree of disruption is determined by the harmony between the new economic and political opportunities with the traditional moral conceptions, by the ability of leadership, by the initial successes as perceived by

residents, and by the ability of local people to make ultimate choices about change.

.Cultural System

This impact category is the least overt manifest system and is integrated within every other system. Its predominance in the lives of the indigenous population which distinguished the study communities from modern urbanized societies warrants that cultural values and ideologies be addressed independently; however, it is difficult to deal with culture directly as an impact area (see pp. 44-47). For the purpose of this study, we focus on those elements of social organization, activity, function, and relationship which, in concert, constitute the overt aspects of culture, such as language, traditional art, dance, and ceremonies, leadership, child-rearing practices, folklore, ethics and law, rites of passage, and kinship ties and obligations. Though it is possible to deal only tentatively and indirectly with changes in the psychological aspects of culture, such as symbol, value, self-esteem, and worldview, the signs of psychological distress can be inferred from indicators of social and psychological pathology such as family disruption, spousal and child abuse, substance abuse, crime, suicide, accidents, and out-migration.

Too often in social impact assessment research, the focus is on social pathology rather than social health. Social pathology, as noted above, is measured by a number of indicators of negative personal and familial outcomes. Social health, on the other hand, is measured by a vast number of indicators what have not been systematically explored in previous studies

but appear to be critical in arctic communities. By focusing only on negative outcomes, only one side of the social change equation is measured. If change involves the entirety of the sociocultural world, changes in both sets of indicators are to be expected, without assigning any particular weight between items or sets.

A nonexhaustive listing of social health indicators would include: social visiting, church attendance, participation in public forums and on public bodies; low rates of mortality and morbidity; increased longevity; ethnic marriage; return migration, particularly of young people; successful interethnic marriages; education in traditional and modern skills; local control over local services; access to traditional and modern sources of material wealth; ability for individuals to alternate between local economies, noncompetition for wage opportunities; availability of cash and employment; sound level of credit, debt, and savings; local forms of economic autonomy; realizable community and personal goals; forms of collective decision-making; individual identification with the community - communications, cooperation, solidarity, perceptions; community in leadership; a sense of voluntarism in the manner of response to change based on images of self-reliance, initiative, and adaptability; a history of successful confrontation with external governmental or corporate powers; maintained systems of reciprocities; control over the rate of in-migration and the characteristics of in-migrants; a positive feeling about the future; a desire to be informed and involved; and so on.

.Interethnic-relationships

The changing social composition of the study communities and evident

interethnic contact and conflict suggest that this area be treated as a distinct analytic category. Local developments, primarily in Barrow, have stimulated an influx of a non-Inupiat population as well as Inupiat from other North Slope villages. As a consequence, Barrow is comprised of Inupiat who have experienced greater interaction with a non-Inupiat population and Inupiat who have had limited contact with non-Inupiat. Variances in interethnic relationship are noted among these groups. Further economic development and accessible transportation systems to the Prudhoe Bay Complex can be anticipated to increase interethnic contact and to bring additional inmigrants. Employment opportunities, lucrative wages, and associated entrepreneurial opportunities have encouraged the settlement and longer residency of non-Inupiat in the study communities. In the initial Beaufort Sea Region study, the non-Inupiat was generally restricted to enclave residence, such as within the school and hospital complex. As new roles in directing the future of the North Slope are carved out by newcomers, interethnic relationships become significantly altered.

ASSUMPTIONS

The following assumptions represent the investigator's current knowledge and information about the contemporary sociocultural systems. The effects of individual, interactive, and cumulative forces and events on the sociocultural world cannot be assumed to occur on a one-to-one correspondence of cause to effect. If culture is seen as whole or Gestalt, it is composed of countless pieces and processes, all intertwined inextricably in slowly changing and mostly unseen patterns. The effect on any individual within that culture of an external or internal change will be determined by the location of that

individual within the society carrying that culture and the individual's ability to define himself and his situation in different ways. The ability to define and redefine situations and self is a great mediating force when dealing with imposed change. It can, for example, lead to a tolerance for what would otherwise be a totally unacceptable rate, magnitude, or type of change if the change is defined to be only temporary or unrelated to one's basic values or concerns.

Another critical individual and community factor in managing the effects of externally originating change is the perception of one's control over that change. To the degree that an individual, community or subcommunity believes that it controls the rate, magnitude, or type of change and either desires or is willing to tolerate the change, negative short-term outcomes on social health are mitigated, although long-term negative outcomes remain quite possible.

The perception that oneself or one's community is in control is based partly on positive perceptions about the power and desire of local institutions to protect local interests. Thus, local government and corporate enterprises, whether or not they wish to bear the burden of both economic and social well-being (or even have the power and mandate to do so) constitute a potentially major mediating force to sociocultural change. To the degree that they represent the persons and values of traditional leadership, that they engage in planning and legal activities, that they are active in the multiple arenas of socioeconomic change, and that they reflect the conflicting values of local people, these institutions are critical forces on the North Slope.

The assumptions which follow are organized according to a logic which posits a specific social condition, situation, or trend. This, in turn, is related to one or more aspects of the sociocultural base. This relationship is assumed to change due to some externally or internally generated change (e.g., access to wild resources, habitat disturbance, borough employment); the change alters the sociocultural base, having real-life effects on current or future individuals and communities. Since neither the data base, the methods, nor social science theory is strong enough to support a one-to-one correspondence between event and outcome in the sociocultural world, individual and cumulative outcomes result only from best estimates of the strength, direction, and organization of basic social patterns and trends.

Given the rate at which the social and economic world is changing in the North Slope region, it is likely that the sociocultural forces and trends of greatest importance and pervasiveness will remain masked to the researchers. It is recognized that general assumptions may apply equally or differentially to all impact categories, such as the assumption that the processes of change within the current sociocultural system are pervasise and extensive. The study report reflects the society as of mid-1981. Given the present range of stimuli of change, which is not anticipated tc alter, further sociocultural change is anticipated.

Economic Systems

.Economic conditions vary significantly between Barrow and Nuiqsut. Barrow is continuing to experience rapid growth, and Nuiqsut is experiencing low to moderate growth; however, Nuiqsut has the potential for explosive

economic growth, depending on decisions made in the political field. Changes in economic conditions pose implications for further change or impacts in subsistence, interethnic relations, and population composition.

.Employment opportunities are continuing to increase as a result of expenditures of the North Slope Borough; business enterprises initiated by the Native corporations, their subsidiaries, and other private businesses; and expansion of federal and state governmental services. Expanding employment opportunities are assumed to alter, potentialize, and intensify sociocultural changes in the realm of subsistence, population composition, demographic shifts, interethnic relations, language use, and perhaps political participation.

.Differential rates of participation between male, and females, in both subsistence and wage employment are evident. Females participate at a higher rate in wage employment. The differential participation appears to be voluntary, but changes within wildlife populations and restrictive governmental regulations may force males into wage employment on a more continuous basis. These changes are anticipated to be a stimulus for further changes in basic relationships and language use.

.An increasing number of non-Inupiat is anticipated to settle in Barrow and Nuiqsut as a result of increasing employment opportunities. A significant increase in a permanent non-Inupiat population is assumed to result in changes in interethnic relationships, political perticipation, and the development of sport hunting in competition with subsistence hunting.

.Competition for wage employment positions between the indigenous population and new migrants will accelerate. Although local employers may have local hire preferences and policies which consider subsistence requirements, economic considerations may force them to retain employees who exhibit more regular and steady work habits. Competition between local residents and new migrants will undoubtedly have significant effect in the area of interethnic relationships. Competition may compel local residents to participate to a greater degree in wage employment, with resulting implications for subsistence participation.

.Long-term employment opportunities coupled with decreasing subsistence opportunities will have the effect of socializing a work force into wage employment. Continuous long-term employment will negatively influence the introduction and training of young males in subsistence pursuits which can result in long-term effects on self-sufficiency and enculturation of youth into a capital economy.

.The economic growth of Barrow is stimulating the establishment of local enterprises, which are owned by both Inupiat and non-Inupiat. Locally owned businesses also stimulate the economy and will attract an outside work force. This income opportunity poses positive benefits for the individuals or families as subsistence participants by providing the funds and time to pursue hunting. Conversely, increasing business demands may reduce the time available for subsistence activities.

Data suggest that small businesses which are labor intensive are owned

by non-Inupiat, and businesses which require considerable cash outlays are owned by Inupiat. The consequence of this difference is subject to further analysis; however, it is assumed that this difference may affect interethnic relationships. The development of private businesses may also serve to stimulate contractual relationships with NSB and ASRC which will result in increasing and distributing economic benefits to local residents and affecting political relationships as well.

.Increasing petroleum development within NPR-A, offshore, and other areas within the North Slope will stimulate increasing revenue and employment. The indigenous population generally views development as a threat to subsistence. As development intensifies, it may be assumed that negative attitudes and opposition to development will be generated. This reaction poses implications for change in interethnic relationships, social health, and political action.

.Regardless of changing land status under ANCSA, D-2, NPR-A, or state actions, Barrow and Nuiqsut residents view themselves as sole owners of the entire North Slope region. If Inupiat are denied access or use of lands as a result of changing land status, it is assumed that this will result in resentment towards owners or the managing agency which may manifest itself in negative interethnic relationships and changing social health.

.Two hundred individual land allotments granted under the recent Alaska Lands Bill pose consequences for direct and long-term change. North Slope lands have traditionally been viewed as owned in common by all Inupiat. The concept of individual land ownership will be initiated among the Inupiat.

It is assumed that private ownership of land may affect traditional hunting patterns and subsistence values. Private ownership of land may also have implications for decreasing subsistence activities.

.A majority of Barrow and Nuiqsut residents participates in both subsistence and cash employment. Interrelationships between these two economic activities are dependent on a variety of forces. Although a relationship exists between cash and subsistence employment the assumption cannot be made that less participation in wage employment results in increased subsistence activities. However, many subsistence activities are dependent on an access to cash. Evidence suggests that high income levels are also related to maximum subsistence participation and/or productivity.

While we assume the maintenance of continued access to cash, we are uncertain as to the point at which a wage economy becomes more prominent than subsistence or if subsistence is pursued primarily as a cultural value rather than an economic necessity.

.Changes or activities in the environment which result in disturbing or damaging impacts, both on sea and land wildlife populations, can dramatically affect subsistence pursuits. This would have serious consequences for the viability of the traditional sociocultural systems and compel a reliance on wage employment. Negative environmental and wildlife impacts resulting from economic development, or perceived as stemming from development activities, will stimulate negative emotional response reaction which may pose stress in the area of interethnic relationships and social health.

.Increasing competition between subsistence hunters and a growing resident sports hunting and fishing population can be expected to develop for wildlife and fish. Increasing sports participation and harvest will also stimulate further hunting regulations. These changes will affect interethnic relationships and social health. Decreasing subsistence activities resulting from voluntary action, negative impacts on wildlife, or restrictive hunting regulation will stimulate a movement from subsistence to wage economy affecting cultural values and traditional social organization.

.Nuclear family dwellings are increasingly evident in Barrow and Nuiqsut. Land shortages, as well as zoning requirements, have not permitted extended family members to construct homes near one another. Changing residential patterns may affect kinship ties which serve to unite extended families. Interactions among extended family members are anticipated to decrease, which may also affect socialization of the young into the Inupiat culture.

.The extended family is a significant socioeconomic unit in subsistence porduction. Decreased communal and cooperative activities resulting from decreased subsistence activity pose the potential of weakening kinship ties which integrate the extended family and community.

.Barrow and Nuiqsut are comprised of a series of interrelated extended families. Kinship ties which unite the extended family also serve to integrate the community. Reduced subsistence activities also have the potential of weakening community-wide ties.

A non-Inupiat component is increasingly evident in the community social organization. The influx and permanent settlement of a non-Inupiat population pose the potential of restructuring social relationships which appear to vary according to age, sex, social, and economic roles within the community.

.Increased social contact between Inupiat and non-Inupiat has resulted in a greater number of interethnic marriages. Interethnic marriages pose implications for change in subsistence, cultural, and political spheres.

.The social composition of Barrow has also been altered through the migration of Inupiat from other North Slope communities. These Inupiat have generally had limited contact with non-Inupiat. Their additional set can also be expected to influence interethnic relationships both within Barrow and their parent community.

.Institutions such as NSB, ASRC, IRA councils, village corporations, corporate subsidiaries and other private enterprises will continue to determine the form, nature, and rate of much sociocultural change. To the degree that these institutions represent the conflicting values of the residents, residents will feel that they are in control of their futures.

.To the extent that these institutions appear to be united in their objectives and methods, residents will feel in control of their future.

.To the degree that the source of institutional power derives from or is consistent with traditional leadership, residents will feel that their

futures are not in the hands of a distant civil service and corporate management.

.To the degree that there appears to be some connection between their testimony to public hearings boards and institutional decisions, residents will feel that their participation in self-governance is effective.

.To the degree that these institutions can reconcile intergenerational differences, residents will feel that their futures will be consistent with their past.

.To the degree that these or new institutions reflect both informal and radical leadership, residents will believe that political change can occur on a normal or routine basis.

.To the degree that institutions have their source of power in traditional leadership, financial resources, sufficient technical and organizational expertise, sound organizational forms, well-articulated objectives, and time to make considered decisions, residents will feel protected from externally-generated change.

.To the degree that institutional form reflects not only Western legal forms, but also traditional forms of expression and decision-making, the organizational form may change to meet traditional needs.

.To the extent that the staff of these institutions is recruited from

existing North Slope communities or appear to be totally under the supervision of such staff, residents will feel that they are protected by such institutions.

.To the extent that the staff of such institutions is recruited from outside the North Slope, residents will feel insulated from less-attractive day-to-day tasks of the institutions and distance from their actions.

.To the degree that these institutions actively control critical aspects of regional and community life, they become absolutely critical in determining the form of sociocultural change. Areas of control include: investment, in-migration, land use, importation of goods and services, information and education (press, publications, hearings), social control and public safety, legal representation, negotiation with "outside" and "modern" systems, creation and training of new leaders, control over these parts of the economy not routinely handled by market forces (e.g., housing, fuel), the balance between traditional Inupiat interests and new financial - technical opportunities, the balance between short-term and long-term interests and objectives, the balance between winners and losers in the society created by any one or combination of decisions, and management of the anticipatory impacts of new development.

.These institutions, created by or in response to externally generated change (the development of North Slope oil and gas, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act) can be seen as part of the required response to or as impacts of such change. To the degree that they encounter significant internal difficulties, these difficulties may represent either basic organizational

problems or uncertainty about legitimacy, role, and methods due to their normal nontraditional basis.

.Political systems may be assumed to continue to legally challange extensive and rapid petroleum and mineral development. In spite of their dependence on revenues generated from these sources, Barrow and Nuiqsut residents appear to have greater concern for their environment and wildlife, particularly for the bowhead whales. This opposition has been widely expressed during public meetings and through lawsuits.

.The North Slope Borough will continue to be dominant political force. NSB has not made any dramatic policy shifts under the new mayor. However, it may be anticipated that NSB and ASRC economic interests will become more closely interrelated which may have implications in the resource development versus environmental and wildlife concerns, which may have further consequences for subsistence.

.The federal tribal organization, the Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope, may continue to expand its political influence. This influence may be undermined if local village IRA's assert their health and social services. ICAS currently delegates authority to the NSB to contract federal health programs, operating education and social service programs themselves. The NSB operates certain social service programs through state and borough funding. The NSB supplements the funds necessary to adequately implement certain federal and state programs. Without NSB funds health and social services may be decreased.

The growth of a non-Native population may affect the ability of the ICAS to delegate its authority to contract federal Native programs to the NSB. The NSB is legally bound to provide services to all residents, regardless of race or length or residence.

Cultural System

.As real and perceived threats impinge on the sociocultural systems, traditional cultural forms become increasingly important to the Inupiat and in some instances symbolic of Inupiat culture.

.Art and dance are overt manifestations of the culture. Inupiat forms represent a symbolic relationship with the environment and wildlife. Their survival is dependent on the continuing relationship between Inupiat and their environment and continued access to natural resources necessary to perpetuate the arts.

.Inupiat dance and week-long games from Christmas to New Year's, which coincide with the traditional period when Inupiat are awaiting the rising of the sun on the horizen, remain an integrative force for the entire community and serve to perpetuate cultural forms. During the dance, the young are socialized into imitating traditional dance and carrying forth the tradition. Inupiat games also continue to serve as a mechanism to display social approval or disapproval of individuals.

.Inupiat relationships with the environment and wildlife are also evident in the belief systems as well as in the arts and dance. Belief systems, which the Inupiat appear to espouse coincident with Christian beliefs, hold

that certain areas of land are recognized as "sacred" areas and also that wildlife have spirits which dictate behavioral norms. Impacts on these physical areas or an undermining of the relationship could alter traditional belief systems.

.Inupiat continue to participate in a series of ceremonial feasts. Throughout these feasts, subsistence resources are distributed, serving to reinforce cultural values of sharing. The ceremonial feasting also serves to reinforce interrelationships among community members and integrate the community as a social unit. Changes in subsistence harvests will impact these spheres.

.Cultural values of sharing and cooperation are essential to the survival of bowhead whale hunting. The "needy" with whom hunters and their wives share subsistence goods are recognized as those families without hunters. Changes within bowhead whale hunting can be anticipated to also affect these cultural values.

.The political status of whaling captians and individuals who are viewed as the "real" or best hunters will be jeopardized by decreased subsistence hunting and reduced sharing of resources. Within the last three years the elderly Inupiat have emerged as a respected body. Several conferences have been held, and activities continue around the retrieval of traditional anc cultural information from the elderly. The elderly appear to be symbolic of Inupiat cultural heritage.

REFERENCES

Spindler, L. 1977. Culture Change and Modernization Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 177 p.

Teske, R. Jr., & Nelson, B H. 1974. Acculturation and Assimilation; A Clarification. American Ethnologist. Vol. 1. No. 2. May 1974. pp. 351-367.