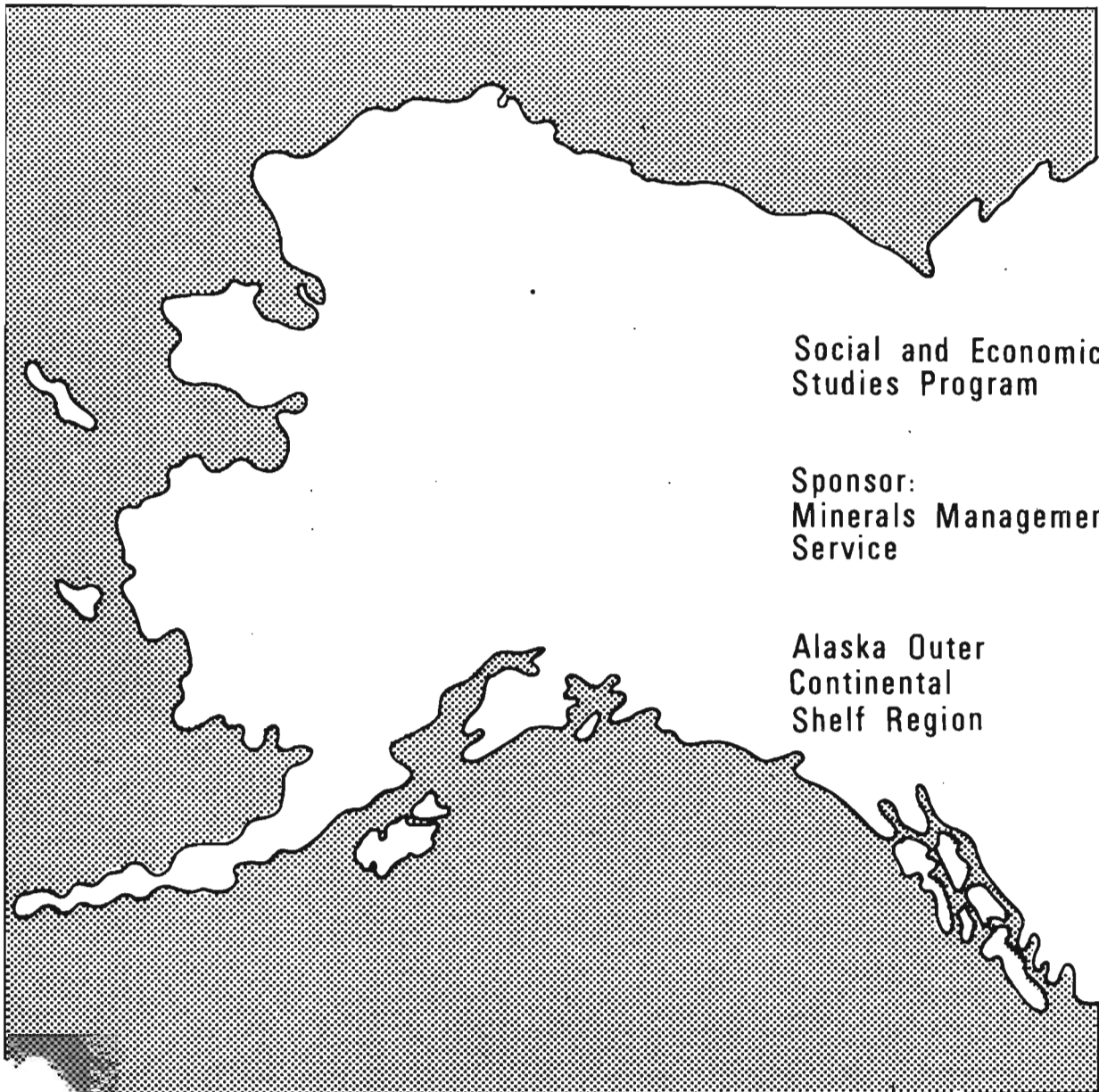


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Case Study: Summary Report

SUMMARY REPORT -- NUIQSUT CASE STUDY

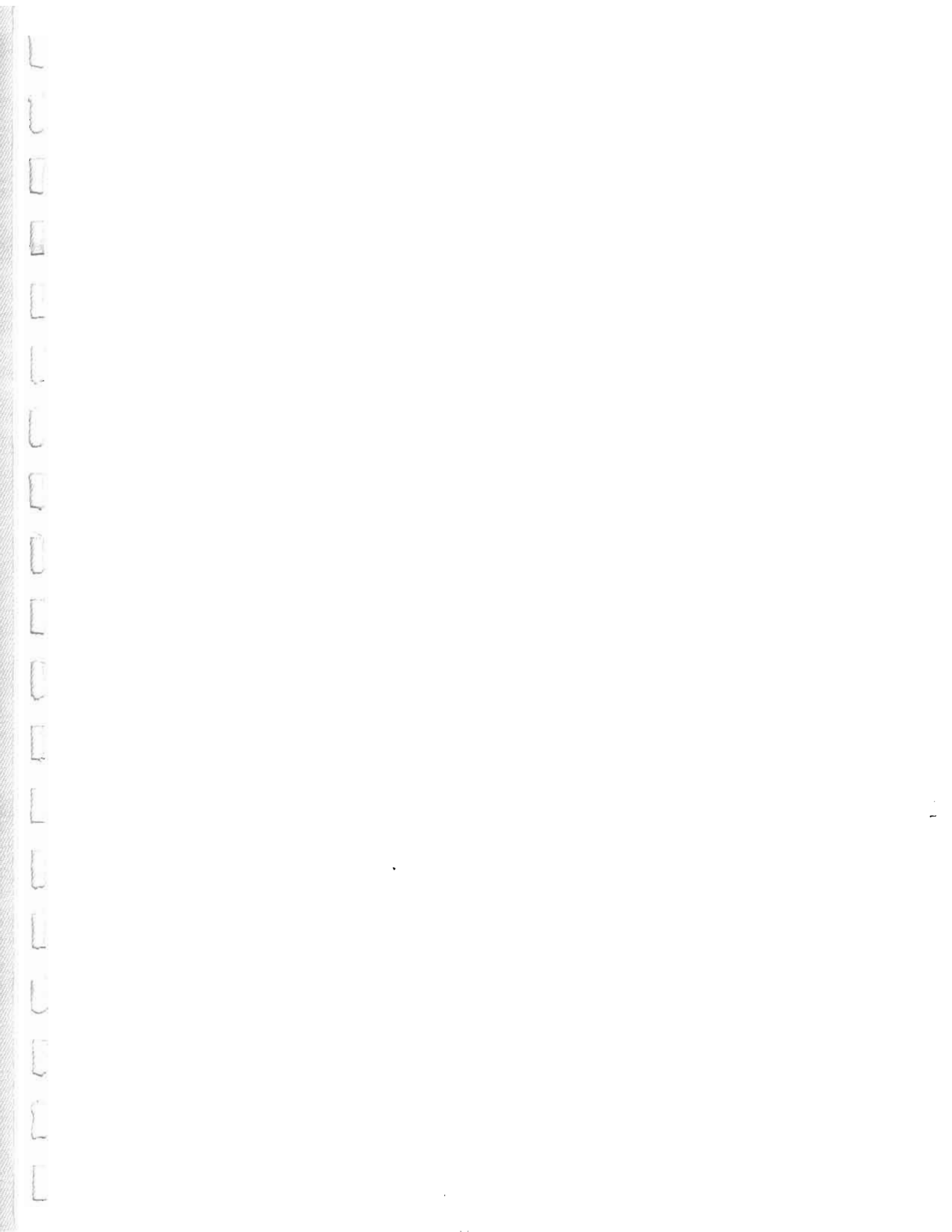
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SUMMARY REPORT -- NUIQSUT CASE STUDY

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I. INTRODUCTION

Nuiqsut, Alaska, was studied during the winter of 1982-83 by anthropologists from the State University of New York at Binghamton. The research was sponsored by the Minerals Management Service (Alaska Outer Continental Shelf Region, United States Department of the Interior). This intensive study of a North Slope Inupiat community close to present (Kuparuk and Prudhoe Bay) and potential on-shore and off-shore oil and minerals development was designed to provide an ethnographic picture of the present community, as a statement of present conditions and as a base-line from which to measure future social and cultural changes (see Galginaitis et al. 1984). This summary has been prepared to facilitate dissemination of the salient results to residents, non-anthropologists with management interests and government officials who are interested and would benefit from easier access to the information contained in the larger report.

II. NUIQSUT HISTORY

The Colville River delta has been used by Inupiat people since the prehistoric period, as an area for seasonal subsistence pursuits, as a focus for regional trading and as an area for year-round occupation. While the most ancient occupation cannot be established (due to the few archaeological investigations which have been conducted in this area), the pattern of land-use is well known for the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, representing a small but continuous exploitation of the delta for subsistence hunting and fishing.

With the discovery of commercial quantities of oil at Prudhoe Bay in 1968 and the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act in 1971, the sparse distribution of Inupiat settlements within the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation raised the possibility of expropriation of land by other interests. With the establishment of the North Slope Borough in 1972, Barrow became the focus of governance and social action representing Inupiat interests. While the motivations for re-establishing an Inupiat community on the Colville River delta may appear to vary, depending upon whom one asks, several factors emerge as important. The desire to present an Inupiat presence in the region, via a settlement with traditional roots, seemed to be an interest of Inupiat leaders faced with discussing aboriginal use-rights and protection of traditional land use with federal and industry officials. Barrow was a growing community (increasing its population by more than 50% between 1970 and 1979) and suffered from crowding and other problems related to the failure of social and governmental services to keep up with demand. Responsibility for essential services to the communities (most importantly including those of education and public safety) was being transferred to the North Slope Borough, bringing regional resources to support local needs.

Barrow residents with several generations of traditional land-use ties to the Colville were interested in re-establishing year-round residence in order to live in a small village and maintain traditional rights to land ownership.

This coincidence of interests at several levels resulted in the re-establishment of a settlement in the delta at Nuiqsut in April of 1973. Fourteen people made the initial trip by "cat train" and skidoos, followed over the next two months by others so that by the summer, 27 Inupiat families had established a "tent city" on the banks of the Colville in the vicinity of Neil and Annie Allen's house. The founding population numbered approximately 175.

The first year (1973-74) was spent in tents without any municipal services or facilities. Education was provided by Mary E. Tener, initially for the Presbyterian Church, and later for the North Slope Borough. Classes were held in tents until the school building was completed in the Spring of 1974. In 1974-75, the first phase of construction completed 30 houses, a store building, a corporation/clinic building and the school buildings. This construction and the logistics and transportation needed to start and support the new community were provided by the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation (while the intent was to sell houses to individuals, the Kuukpik Corporation has apparently assumed most of these obligations). The economic expectations of the founding population are not known, nor are those of the corporation sponsors, hence it is difficult to determine whether such expectations have been fulfilled or whether the different attitudes for and against "development" for Nuiqsut were present at the founding or are a recent phenomenon due to population growth and attitudinal change.

Since the founding, the population has increased, due largely to the migration of Barrow families related to the founding

population. By 1981, the children of the initial population had aged enough to increase significantly the teenage population and the number of young children (age less than 5). The population then included a number of families with children. These trends continued, and by the time of this study (1982-83) the teenage population was the most numerous, second being those children under the age of 5, with a total population of approximately 250. With the continued aging of the present population, the inherent demand for wage employment and economic and socially independent households increased dramatically. Nuiqsut is a fast-growing community, and the needs which were present at the founding have been superseded by those of the younger generation whose expectations and interests may differ significantly from those of the older generation.

These changes in population statistics were predictable, given the information available from previous census data, and should provide an impetus to systematic collection of census/population information as recommended in the Nuiqsut Case Study. The differences in community needs which result from changing population characteristics will affect all planning efforts.

While the broad changes in the Nuiqsut population are knowable, it is difficult to anticipate the degree to which the population will maintain the ratio between Inupiat and non-Inupiat. This may not be important for most planning concerns, but it does affect the social organization and the role organization of the community, especially given the desire of young people to have a meaningful role in the economic and political life of the community, specifically including roles which have been traditionally non-Inupiat. We could not tell whether young men and women wish to limit their family size, either for personal or social reasons. Their actions will have a considerable influence on future

demographic changes and associated pressures for social change.

The overall Inupiat population of Nuiqsut has been stable, with nearly 87% of the people who have ever lived there maintaining residence on a more-or-less permanent basis. The remainder have had a pattern of moving in and out sporadically. Even most of those who have a transient pattern were present in Nuiqsut during a portion of our field work, hence overall residence stability is demonstrated and there is considerable continuity of population and social identity.

Economic growth in Nuiqsut has been largely the result of the North Slope Borough's Capital Improvement Projects program (CIP), which has committed more than thirty-three million dollars to Nuiqsut's development from 1974 through 1981. In some years, the amount committed to Nuiqsut was nearly \$50,000 per capita (amount reflects actual expenditures for Nuiqsut, rather than in Nuiqsut), indicative of both the high level of investment and the sustained commitment of the Borough to infrastructural development. This has been the major investment of capital in the community (only two churches, a pool hall, a frame house and five "makeshift" dwellings have been constructed with other monies). In combination with other governmental employment, it has meant that virtually all jobs within the community have resulted from public expenditures. Jobs available for Nuiqsut residents which would take them to work outside the community are limited and apparently seldom taken for very long periods of time (oil field work, for example), so that the entire economy of Nuiqsut has been largely sustained by the Borough's capital investment program and jobs in the public sector.

Because of the continuing close social ties to Barrow, political leadership in Nuiqsut continued patterns which were

established in Barrow. Several of the most important elected leaders in Nuiqsut developed their following during the political struggles which resulted in the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA), the formation of the North Slope Borough and the establishment of regional and local corporations. Political relations between Nuiqsut and other political bodies have been based, in part, on the continuing relations among these leaders and their cooperation and competition. The rise of strong and independent political organizations has divided the pool of experience so that each organization has several leaders with ANCSA struggle experience and several from the younger generation. While much attention has been placed on these recently derived western-model institutions, traditional patterns of leadership in social and community affairs continue.

Religious life continued to be organized through the Presbyterian Church (the majority of churchgoers) and the Church of God congregation, both of which maintained strong membership and social ties to Barrow. The domination of these institutions in the Thanksgiving and Christmas ceremonial events of the year and the weekly services continued, although participation was dominated by the Elders. Other organizations had been formed for particular social services, such as the Mother's Club and Health Board, whose weekly bingo games provide entertainment and resources to help families in need and assist in medical transportation for treatment.

Leisure activities have ranged from the clearly social dimension of political and religious gatherings to informal visiting. Only recently have telephoning and television watching become available. Private facilities (Colville Cafe, pool hall and arcade) have only developed in the last several years, and they are apparently economically marginal. As in other communities, the school facilities

have emerged as the most important location of the leisure opportunities available, especially to the younger generations. Team sports have been particularly important.

Nuiqsut has continued to be a village dependent upon subsistence hunting and fishing which have provided significant amounts of nutritional resources, although complete harvest and consumption data have been difficult to obtain and to interpret. Fall whaling has been conducted from Nuiqsut in the Beaufort Sea, initially by Umialit (whaling captains) with previous successes from operating in Barrow. Traditional patterns of subsistence and bowhead whaling have been seen as important dimensions of life in Nuiqsut, substantiating the continuity of traditional social values and needs. The success of natural resource procurement has allowed Nuiqsut people to affirm their social responsibilities with kin in Barrow and other villages by providing wild foods and by-products in reciprocation for hospitality and materials not easily available in Nuiqsut. Nuiqsut has maintained its role in the web of kinship and exchange relations in the North Slope, as well as other city centers in Alaska, based in part on the successful exploitation of the area's natural resources.

The decade since Nuiqsut's founding has seen the maintenance of Nuiqsut's population and social order and the development of an economy tied closely to the investment priorities of the North Slope Borough. Present conditions are a reflection of this history and the long Inupiat tradition which preceded.

III. NUIQSUT TODAY

During the winter of 1982-83, the population of Nuiqsut numbered approximately 270, nearly 85% of whom were Inupiat, with males predominating slightly (approximately 54%). Males outnumber females in all age groups except those older than 45, but even here it is the non-Inupiat females who contribute to this shift in proportions. In February of 1983, the 65 households in the village had an average size of 3.92, with non-Inupiat and mixed households being somewhat below average. Most households are nuclear families, but the proportion of "composite" households (those with additional members, usually kin) has increased from approximately 10% in April of 1973 to nearly 22% in 1982-83. It is likely that some part of the demand for more housing in Nuiqsut results from the desire of the younger generation in composite families to form separate households. The population presently has a relatively high frequency of sub-adults (ages 15-19) and a lowered frequency of both young children (ages 5-9) and old (greater than 45, and especially greater than 60). This is clearly a population dominated by sub-adults and young adults, reflecting in part the characteristics of the founding population and subsequent aging.

Because the study period was during the winter, there were few transients in the village, but a number of visitors came during the Christmas holidays. It was a time when visiting households was welcome and time passed slowly, especially for those who were seasonally-unemployed and did not wish to (or could not) hunt. Talk was of jobs, projects and summer work. The festivities of the holiday season were apparently a welcome relief from the winter's grip, both for those who sought escape by travel elsewhere and those who came to join in the games and celebrations.

These games were traditional, including "Eskimo Dances" for the first time in several years. While the previous year had been organized around teams selected by two individuals, in 1982-83 the traditional unmarried-married distinction (by gender, of those older than 16) was used. However, the previous year's contest was close and this year's was not (seemingly dominated by the unmarrieds, especially the men), there was some talk of changing the format another time. As is traditional, the games struck a balance between competition and cooperation, both in terms of the participants and the selection of events. Community support for these events is high, even though parties may be going on at the same time. At one point, nearly 60% of the Nuiqsut population was present in the school gymnasium.

Winter is also a time of health and social stress, reflected in an increase in health clinic visits in March and April and an increase in Public Safety calls in January and February. The latter calls are predominantly related to social disturbance and violence and most often related to alcohol abuse (an estimated 80-90% of all service calls for the Public Safety Officer are believed to be alcohol-related, as are all criminal arrests). In terms of health problems, most cases were the result of infections and respiratory problems (more female than male), with accidents/injuries second (63% male) and health maintenance (mostly older people) third. Our analysis of household characteristics for clinic visits suggests that more visits are made by larger households (perhaps due to the degree to which infections are spread more easily) and that households with adult unemployment are more likely to have higher degrees of illness (while this correlation is an interesting one, it is possible that this and the previous one reflect one's willingness to take time to go to the clinic). Our informants advised us that sometimes clinic visits were made based upon who might be there and what the social relations were between those who

wished to attend and those who were "on call". In a small kin-based community, the influence of social relations on the clinician-patient relationship can affect clinic visits, both in terms of content and frequency, especially if sensitive problems such as birth control were to be involved.

Alcohol abuse continues to be a problem among certain segments of the population. As mentioned above, virtually all social problems referred to Public Safety are alcohol-related, especially those dealing with criminal acts. This is a sensitive issue, when discussed publicly, because people generally are both aware of the importance of the problem and of the public image it creates when described to a wider audience. However, many people in Nuiqsut are aware of the effects of alcohol abuse, having suffered from the results, and have been willing to discuss the problems in general terms (always avoiding discussion of people who might be involved). It is clear that alcohol consumption has been involved in innumerable social events, many of which are seen as socially acceptable and desirable, or at least tolerable. This is not significantly different from many social attitudes in other parts of Alaska and elsewhere. Patterns of drinking behavior, especially among sub-adults, involve the difficulty in obtaining alcohol, the established social relations facilitating sharing of such "resources", and the behaviors of individuals once consumption has reached a level of insobriety. There are established reciprocal relations dealing with sharing of alcohol, comparable to traditional sharing of food and other resources. Since it is possible to "know" if a "shipment" of alcohol has arrived, the recipient is faced with social pressure to share the resource with those with whom one habitually shares. Hence, among those who participate in these relations, the expected pattern is to share among the group the resource until it is gone. This pattern of shared

consumption until depletion of the immediate resource is similar to traditional Inupiat sharing patterns, which result in a "savings" because one then has a "claim" on the future resources of others whose alcohol "shipment" may come when one is not otherwise provided for.

Among those who participate in this pattern of alcohol consumption (especially the sub-adult population), this procedure results in a generalized reciprocity and a series of drinking episodes which may involve consumption to excess, resulting in behavioral problems (some of which may come to the attention of the Public Safety Officer). Whenever alcohol is available, given this context of consumption, it is possible that over-consumption will result in social or personal problems, resulting in social attention, either from relatives or, failing that, the Public Safety Officer. It is impossible to determine the degree to which alcohol consumption leads to other health and social problems, however, the clear relation of alcohol consumption to socially-damaging and criminal acts suggests that this is an issue which Nuiqsut needs to address.

During the course of our study, one of the most frequently expressed concerns was for the Nuiqsut economy and its relation to the continuing development of the North Slope. Nuiqsut residents expressed great concern for what most considered to be the high rate of unemployment (especially its seasonal nature, since we were there in winter) and the need for jobs for Nuiqsut people. Most people expressed a desire to have employment in Nuiqsut, rather than to travel elsewhere. However, it was not always clear that those wishing more jobs in Nuiqsut wished the concomitant development of the natural resources in the Nuiqsut area and no one willingly suggested that Nuiqsut jobs should be bargained for further oil development in the area used by Nuiqsut residents.

In March of 1983, one-third of Inupiat males and two-thirds of Inupiat females of employable age were unemployed. This statistic itself is sufficient to indicate the basis of the concerns expressed to us. Jobs were not available, even outside Nuiqsut, and the coming summer of CIP projects did not look like it would support much local hiring. The potential for Pingo Corporation to have jobs in oil field development was uncertain and those who had taken seasonal employment because of the long hours and high wages were beginning to worry about future employment.

People's expectations are an important dimension in terms of determining those factors which affect the economy. Our perception was that there was great concern with regard to the immediate economic future and that people were worried about their ability to maintain their basic needs. We could not determine or measure their faith in the longer-term future, but there is considerable speculation with regard to the role which Nuiqsut can play in future regional development.

Nearly all of the jobs in Nuiqsut are provided by the public sector. The private sector of businesses and entrepreneurs is poorly represented, with only 7 businesses listed in the phone book or Borough tax office. Three people operated stores located in their homes and at least 5 made crafts for sale. However, the overall picture is that all of these private sources of income are not particularly lucrative and do not compare to wage labor in their ability to sustain household income. It is in this area that Nuiqsut's economy is most in need of development.

One of the most striking aspects of the economy of Nuiqsut is its temporal fluctuation, at two time scales. The first is the fluctuation which comes from the imposed bi-weekly pay period. The second is the fluctuation which comes from

the seasons. Both result in similar traditional patterns of consumption and sharing and both create what some would call deviant and disruptive patterns of social relations and economic behavior.

In many economic systems to which Nuiqsut could be compared, the bi-weekly paycheck is seen as a stabilizing schedule, spreading income over an annual period. However, we are all perhaps familiar with the different attitudes exhibited by people towards spending at the time of receipt of the payroll check and just before the next one. This propensity to spend may approximate a sine curve, with a height at "payday" and a trough just before the next payday. Many people in Nuiqsut (and in similar economies, such as Barrow) divest their income promptly in a variety of ways, upon receipt and then either go without or consume "saved resources" during the lean days before the next payday.

In social terms, the arrival of the paycheck may precipitate a social dispersal of resources -- money, goods, services, alcohol, etc. -- among relatives and other persons who habitually participate in microscale reciprocity. By the time this immediate resource has been exhausted, other patterns of obligation may be exercised, so that previous dispersals are now reciprocated and sufficient resources to tide one over to the next payday are forthcoming. This pattern is repeated over and over in North Slope communities and provides an interesting rhythm to the economy of most communities, including Nuiqsut. The idea that sharing one's resource obligates the recipient to return resources in-kind at some future point of need is an example of "savings" in this economy, based entirely on faith and fair-play in the social network.

A similar situation develops around seasonal employment, where individuals often choose the higher paying jobs in

summer over the more certain, but lower paying, jobs with year-round tenure. Here, however, the pattern of bi-weekly consumption as discussed above is exaggerated because of the extremely high payroll payments during the summer work period and nothing for much of the year. This fluctuation creates a dynamic propensity to consume precipitated by the periodic availability of more cash resources than are necessary to meet the needs for the period until the next payroll. This situation is exacerbated in Nuiqsut because of the ignoring of payment deadlines. This results from a traditional, and now institutional, reluctance to "demand" payment from friends and relatives, hence even obligations which are "due" can be put off, perhaps indefinitely. Seemingly, there are always future resources which, based on past obligations incurred, are expected to be called upon to provide for the "lean" times, especially those previously "obligated" from relatives and neighbors.

The pattern of Borough bonding is similar to this approach to individual economic practices, based on the expectation of future resources to pay for present expenses. Perhaps, the belief is that since I provided, someone else will do so in the future. This aspect of the approach of Nuiqsut people to economic matters is an important dimension for future development.

The dynamic of the Nuiqsut economy provides instability at all scales. It is very difficult to anticipate the impact of fluctuations of the "outside" economy on Nuiqsut. "Feast-famine" cycles and "sharing as savings" are concepts which require attention in terms of long term change. The provision of job opportunities by local employers is an unknown, which requires some attention, since again Nuiqsut cannot predict the impact of outside demand functions.

Overall, it is most important to realize the influence of having an oil field some 60 Km (37 miles) away. The expenditures there and the apparent affluence represented by oil company investment are standards to which Nuiqsut residents aspire. The disparity between the "standard of living" for oil workers at Prudhoe Bay or Kuparuk and workers in Nuiqsut is obvious to all, and expectations are created by knowledge of what is being paid for production of the North Slope's resources. Nuiqsut residents have become frustrated with this disparity and the high cost of living in the village. The high cost of fuel is a never-ending source of aggravation, in terms of what people of Nuiqsut believe to be their deserved return on "their" resources. The impact of being on the distant end of a distribution system for materials and supplies is stifling, since it means that one cannot control or influence the obtaining of the things one needs to maintain one's way of life, especially at a "reasonable" cost. The demand for spare parts, fuel, food and commodities exceeds the ability of the system to provide.

Social groups in Nuiqsut are affected by the purpose for which the group is formed, the spaces in which the group is to operate, the season and duration of the activity and the social context in which group behavior is to occur.

Individuals tend to form associative groups based on kinship, age, interests and other affiliations. These are rather informal, non-corporate groups in which friendship or social reciprocity predominates. Other more formal social groupings result from the established purpose of group-formation, in which membership and group behavior are determined by commitment to a common objective, rather than by other personal obligations. The overlap in social groupings demonstrates that these two modes of group formation are not entirely independent.

During the winter, groups are formed as a result of common but individually motivated and largely uncoordinated purpose, such as aggregation at the store, meeting the plane, getting the mail, etc. Other events, however, are often planned and staged as social phenomena, such as church services, bingo games, school meetings, village and city meetings and public hearings. Somewhat intermediary are groupings at public places, where a primary purpose is to "congregate". These include "hanging out" at the arcade or pool hall, stopping in at the dredge camp and dropping by the school, especially in the evenings.

Other groupings are formed by the broad pattern of visiting, wherein visitors will go from house to house, making small-talk and generally "seeing what is going on" to pass the time of day. This is especially typical of older people, whose established routines of movement about the village can be determined. Much of this informal visiting takes place "in front of the television", whose presence provides a common measure of time passing and a reason for people to stay in attendance without an expressed purpose or need for conversation.

Another frequent pastime is "cruising", involving young adults or adolescents making the rounds of their friends or acquaintances, especially those who have recently received a shipment of alcohol, looking to "party". Membership in such groups is often restricted to those with whom one has shared such resources before, hence there has developed a "circuit" of party-goers based primarily on participation and only loosely based on kinship or age. These groups often make stops at the pool hall or school, often ending up in a house where older adults are absent.

With the exception of the Mother's Club and Health Board bingo games and the holiday events held at the school, most

community-wide events are sponsored by government or religious organizations, including services, councils, boards, hearings, etc. Participation, therefore, is not limited to formal "membership" and almost anyone could be expected to attend (although religious meetings are clearly circumscribed). The social development of Nuiqsut, in terms of the increasing formation of corporate groups and memberships, has been slow. In large part, this is due to the still limited population, especially the small number of adults and numbers of households, which has maintained a commonality of experience and purpose.

The churches and the school provide the most regular settings for community social life, even though not everyone participates equally. The Presbyterian church is the most active and has the most members. Since the lay minister is an Inupiat man who is a widely respected politician, his personal contribution to the influence of the church can be of considerable importance. The church also provides formal ties to Barrow and other communities, demonstrating the importance of organized relations across the Borough.

The school provides a focus for community recreation, pride and social activity, especially among young people. Interscholastic conferences and competition serve to involve the community in regional events and frequent student travel provides a sense of Inupiat unity among the younger generation. In the absence of a radio or newspaper, the school also provides a forum for communications in a setting where, when school is in session, members of most households in the community share a common experience and interact socially.

Political events and processes in Nuiqsut provided one of the most interesting arenas of social interaction, rich in social detail and informative in terms of those factors influencing

the broad spectrum of political action and decision-making. Here it was possible to observe both formal and informal settings and to see the complex nature of Nuiqsut's political interaction with other political entities, connecting Nuiqsut to the Borough, Alaska and the world. It was also possible to know the political actors, in the sense that one could compare their overt political behavior with their day-to-day "self" and see them as a part of the social and cultural life of Nuiqsut. It was possible to observe the ebb and flow of winter social and political life with the tedium of daily activities, such as phone calls, appointments, letters and small-group meetings and consultations, punctuated by political events of broader significance. These included events related to Nuiqsut political affairs and others created by external political bodies, especially public hearings related to economic development, whether held by oil companies or state and federal agencies. Participation by the public in these events varied, from very few attendees at local political meetings to widespread attendance at hearings and public meetings at which Borough and outside officials were in attendance.

One of the most striking aspects of political behavior in these varied settings was the common adherence to Inupiat traditional forms of public behavior, even for "elected" officers. The demand of contemporary political settings, contrived by modes of expression which differ from traditional Inupiat culture, presents Inupiat political actors with roles which contain conflicts between what is expected by their "culture" and what is expected by their elected "position". Different understandings of the nature of leadership behavior have produced different interpretations of community sentiment, as it is expressed at public events. For example, there is a commonality in the content of "testimony" presented by Nuiqsut residents at

public hearings which could be interpreted to indicate a strong consensus without significant disagreement.

In reality, the expression of Inupiat opinion in these contexts is designed to produce just such uniformity, with leaders expected to set the tone by speaking first and others to support the direction of the leaders. With followers who understand their role and who "follow through", the "community sentiment" is produced by an adherence to the proper roles of participants in these events. In practice, even the daily events of political actors produce conformity with expected role behavior, as individual action is unlikely when group actions are possible.

On the other hand, should a leader express a preference or exercise a behavior not supported by the followers, the reaction is likely to be silence and inaction, rather than uproar and dissent, hence the overt action remains that of the leader. To a certain extent, leadership itself remains a deviational act which goes beyond the common range of normal behaviors. Hence, both now and in the Inupiat past, the Inupiat community of followers indulged the behavior of its leaders, supporting by their own overt behavior those things with which they disagreed. To outsiders, Inupiat political expression is dominated by leaders, whose leadership can mask considerable private disagreement. This latter dimension of political activity has seldom been considered by students of Inupiat politics, whose interpretations are often based upon the public record and who may appear surprised to discover that public expressions of political preference differ from private expressions, especially at the ballot box.

Within the political system, administrators appear to be increasingly independent of the traditional expectations for leaders, in part because the administrator may be non-Inupiat. Perhaps, it is difficult to "fit" the role of

"administrator" into traditional leadership, since the role implies a clear priority for an institution, rather than an interpersonal role or one based on kin or other social relations. In Nuiqsut, the rise of "administrators" has produced demands on people which seemingly have led to non-Inupiat performing that role, especially in authoritarian roles such as teacher, public safety officer and accounts clerk and accountant. Here, it is clear that demands on people for adherence to outside norms, in terms of prompt and regular payment of obligations for services and supplies, rests largely on the role of non-Inupiat administrators. When considering Nuiqsut politics, one must necessarily distinguish between personal, political and administrative behavior, even though each may be expressed in the same event. This will be made more complicated because of the inability to distinguish between the various roles played by individual actors, hence non-Inupiat in administrative positions will perhaps be more vocal in their representations than other citizens, especially during public hearings and council meetings, when an "institutional role" can be expressed.

The expression of community sentiment is an important component of Nuiqsut's contribution to the political process, locally, regionally, statewide, nationally and internationally. It appears that general community sentiment is reflected in the contribution made by participants in public hearings and other representations. At this level of expression, we are able to recognize an overall statement of concerns for maintenance of traditional patterns of subsistence and land-use by residents of Nuiqsut. This is most important because it reflects the broad understanding of relations between people and the land and its mobile resources, not always appreciated by planners and other administrators.

Political leaders in Nuiqsut have earned their following from experience in Barrow and the North Slope. Their success in being involved in broad social movements, such as ANCSA, and political positions in Barrow have led to community support for their continued involvement in political roles, irrespective of their kinship or occupational ties to the Nuiqsut area. This latter point is important because of the difference between political responsibility through elected office and membership in a Native Corporation, since the political leadership in Nuiqsut is not necessarily representative of corporation membership.

One of the more obvious aspects of economic development in Nuiqsut has been the considerable expenditure of Borough monies to establish the infrastructure of community facilities. The investment of public monies for this purpose has far outstripped any comparable investment by industry, business or private capital. Even to the casual observer of the community, virtually everything built in Nuiqsut was financed initially by public dollars. Even the transfer of ownership of housing to individuals has been usually delayed, either by deferral of payments or by assumption of obligations by Kuukpik Corporation. This includes \$130K for the ASRC housing and a continuing outstanding credit of \$130K for personal charges at the Kuukpik Store. Facilities essential to Nuiqsut, such as the airstrip, housing, fuel depot, school, fire department/public safety, roads, water and sanitary facilities, have been provided from a resource-base external to the community, with little immediate prospect that the community can generate revenues through taxation or assessment to improve or maintain facilities or services.

While discussions have been held among the various "public" corporations and political units, it is still clear that these are mere "jockeying for position" in terms of future

revenues (from gravel extraction, for example, or provision of land access to the road network of the pipeline haul road), rather than more basic issues of who will own what in the Nuiqsut of tomorrow. There is a clear implication that what exists has already been provided and that the future remains one in which individual opportunity for employment is the primary concern. This approach, insofar as it represents a community attitude, explains why public corporations and political bodies have difficulty in establishing their own realms of responsibility, since public opinion may be that it does not matter which public agent acts for the commonweal. What is most important is that such acts occur. It is largely irrelevant, except to those who occupy employed positions in these organizations, who actually assumes the responsibility for future public benefit to Nuiqsut.

In addition to the development of facilities, concern was expressed with regard to provision of adequate amounts of materials and necessary supplies, including spare parts for snow machines, food, clothing and fuels. Whenever these needs were articulated publically, the solution was sought through the public domain, rather than through a private business or entrepreneur. Perhaps the profit incentive could result in costs beyond those necessary if public agencies provided a subsidy, especially one based on external financing and deferred payment. It may be that private economic development is precluded by the continuing expectation that public corporations will provide at lower prices, hence community interest and motivation to respond to a perceived market is reduced. If this perception continues, Nuiqsut economic diversification will be prevented by a continued reliance on public support and subsidization, as long as the Borough and other corporations are willing and able to provide appropriate resources and local people are restricted by a lack of capital to invest

and no reasonable expectation of return on investment (due to changing market and competitive conditions). Rather than develop an independent private economic sector, based on local needs and resources, Nuiqsut may continue to rely on public maintenance from external sources, irrespective of off-shore or other developments. Their destiny is apparently in the hands of the Borough and other public corporations, since long-term strategies and resources for local development remain unspecified.

Local investment has been restricted to several "stores", specializing in limited consumer goods for "drop in" clients, a restaurant, a pool hall and a short-lived arcade. These businesses clearly deal with community needs for social or convenience pursuits, rather than for essentials, which are provided for by the Kuukpik Store or public utilities. These businesses are largely supported by a cash-flow which exceeds that necessary to provide for daily requirements, hence their success may be based on the level of community employment.

Other private enterprises include the television cable and the telephone company, whose experience is limited. We are unable to tell the trajectories of their development, especially in the economic sense, hence they are mentioned only in passing.

The picture which emerges from our study is that of an economy whose structure is maintained by external public responsibility and whose dynamic is the result of seasonally available jobs and public employment. Nuiqsut is structured by the actions of the North Slope Borough and other public corporations, restricted in terms of its own development by a future which is uncertain and subject to the actions of outsiders. Since private investment is based on anticipated stability of economic relations, it should be no surprise that an unstable future has precluded significant private

investment in the Nuiqsut economy, which now continues to be dependent upon the general economic trends of the North Slope Borough.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Nuiqsut is presently a product of its origins, its growth, and its expectations. Its future is no less a product of these factors, than it is of external forces, some of which can be anticipated and altered by planning decisions.

It is important to recognize the importance of the founder-effect, in terms of the original population which came to Nuiqsut. Demographic factors which result from the characteristics of the original population, now aging, continue to influence the social characteristics and needs, especially in terms of the emergent sub-adult population and future employment demands. As the population ages, there may be increased health needs for older people, as well as population bulges due to the population structure of the initial founders.

Educationally, it is difficult to determine the degree to which present needs for trained personnel are being satisfied by the present pattern of education, both here and outside. At present, people trained outside are being incorporated into the administrative and bureaucratic organization of the present community, involving employment of non-Inupiat in key positions. It is impossible to determine the degree to which present Nuiqsut students will be employable at some future date in the community, since the positions available require administrative and other skills which may be incompatible with traditional kinship and personal roles and expectations.

Politically, the abilities of young Inupiat to assume roles of importance for their future may depend upon the opportunities presented to them and their ability to practice their roles, since learning by experience has been their most effective method. The degree to which older leaders defer to younger aspirants will determine the growth of a new cohort.

In a system which presents frustration in areas of traditional employment, expansion of political opportunities may be an important dimension of social growth.

Economic decisions and opportunities facing Nuiqsut are largely beyond their ability to control the outcomes. The management of gravel resources and access to employment opportunities are two important factors which will influence the future of economic growth. The ability of the Nuiqsut workforce to adapt to the changing needs of the oil development and political community cannot be determined, especially since the world market influences global demand and resources available to the North Slope.

Social forces have been somewhat limited in their influence in northern Alaska, however, increased attention has been paid to the pressure for gender equality and social opportunity within traditional societies. While this influence is "external" to the economic and social pressures usually considered in projections of change, it is important to realize that social forces are having an increased influence on Northern communities, especially with increased access to national media and attention to feminine causes. The active role of legal services, as a social force, should be recognized, since opportunities for legal solutions to personal and social problems are increasing.

The role of global economy and the demand for "oil" must not be ignored, although it is not easily predicted given our present methodology. The degree to which changes in global demand for oil resources could/can influence the level of resources available to Nuiqsut is apparent, and the volatile nature of this influence is a factor influencing Alaskan economy, as well as Nuiqsut's.

Finally, one important economic and social change looms over Nuiqsut and other Alaskan communities. This is the impending deadline for the moratorium on selling of "shares" in Native Corporations (1991). With this change, it will be possible to alter forever the native ownership of traditional lands, through selling of shares. Nuiqsut has been founded solely on the basis of Inupiat ownership of lands and resources, based partially on traditional land use and a community of Inupiat citizens. The maintenance of sound land management practices may be threatened by such ownership changes, whose effects may overshadow those of outside development or political priority. Changes already in place may restructure the Inupiat future, regardless of our ability to consider alternatives or to provide for a better process for resource development.

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