Part I: North Slope Borough Culture and Planning
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Chapter 1. History, Culture, and Government

NORTH SLOPE HISTORY

The Iñupiat of the North Slope have a rich cultural history that is evident in both the living traditions and numerous archaeological sites on the North Slope. Some villages on the North Slope have been occupied continuously for thousands of years, such as Point Hope, while others were more recently founded as year-round village sites, such as Atqasuk. However, all of the land on the North Slope is rich with history and culture evidenced by abundant archeological sites across the entirety of the borough’s frozen tundra. An unadopted North Slope Borough Comprehensive Plan from 1993 provides a concise history of the North Slope and is presented in this section with minor changes for clarity.²

Despite its relatively severe environment, the North Slope area has long been attractive for human habitation, resulting in an extended archaeological record. The continuance of a culturally distinct population into historic and modern times prompted early ethnographic interest, accompanied by archaeological investigations. Archaeological sites have been recorded by individual researchers, by state and federally-sponsored agencies, and by the North Slope Borough. These archaeological sites document human activities over an exceptional period of time.

Discoveries in 1992 at the Mesa Site, 150 miles north of the Arctic Circle, have been dated at 11,700 years old. This is the oldest well-documented human habitation of North America. Scientists theorize that the Mesa Site was a lookout point for hunters who may have been in search of game that is now extinct, such as bison or even mammoth. Since there is no evidence of later cultures using the site, archaeologists have named this culture the Mesa Culture. The style of weapons found suggest the Mesa Site was used by a Paleo-Indian culture, of which no convincing evidence has been found elsewhere in Alaska prior to this discovery. Much remains to be learned about this discovery and about the people who hunted in this area thousands of years ago.

In approximately 5,000 B.C., peoples known archaeologically as the Denbigh Flint Complex inhabited the beaches of northwestern Alaska. Their technology included the microblade technique for producing long sharp slender slivers of stone, which indicates a cultural origin in Asia.

The Denbigh culture has been viewed as the beginning of the Arctic Small Tool Tradition, which lasted for several thousand years.

Following several hundred years of gradual cultural dormancy, during which at least one completely alien Asiatic group known as the Old Whaling Culture briefly inhabited the Alaskan coast, the Arctic Small Tool Tradition was rejuvenated in the form of the Charis Culture. Changes in tool styles mark the evolution of the several succeeding cultural groups, the Choris, Norton, and Ipiutak Peoples. All shared in a basic lifeway which emphasized coastal settlement and subsistence and included pottery, and all are considered participants in the broad Arctic Small Tool Tradition. Sites relating to the tradition are dated as late as A.D. 500-700 in the Point Hope area and elsewhere.

A technological shift from chipped stone tools to ground slate tools was made by the Old Bering Sea Culture, who developed a more efficient coastal economy through the use of such items as skin floats for tiring harpooned sea mammals, and toggle harpoons. Whaling became a dominant force in the succeeding Birnirk and Thule Cultures - the ancestors of the Iñupiat. The archaeological record also indicates some seasonal emphasis on inland resources, particularly caribou, suggesting a regular pattern of inland and coastal exploitation. This lifestyle continued relatively unchanged until approximately 1875, when the local economies were significantly altered by a combination of several interrelated factors, including European contact and the introduction of metal tools, traps, and guns to support and intensify fur trade; a reduction in human population due to disease, famine, and warfare; and a reduction in the numbers of whales.

Following the initial voyages of Vitus Bering in 1728 and 1741, Russian adventurers and fur traders explored the Aleutian Islands, Kodiak Island, and southeastern Alaska, leading to the establishment of several settlements by 1800.

In 1778, Capt. James Cook voyaged as far north as Icy Cape. Russian penetration north into the area is not documented until M. N. Vasilev's 1820 expedition, which turned back at a point 35 miles north of Icy Cape. Several parties independently charted the northern coastline in the following years through the efforts of Beechey and Franklin in 1826, Simpson in 1837, and Kashevarov in 1838. Between 1847 and 1853 several voyages were conducted along the Arctic coast, including those by Franklin, Pullen, and Maguire.
The overall impact of these intrusions on the Iñupiat inhabitants were slight and the Iñupiat continued to carry on their Asian trade across the Bering Strait while Russian trading posts were operating from Norton Sound southward. The expeditions did provide a wealth of geographic and economic information which stimulated future contact in the form of commercial whaling vessels. As commercial whaling stocks declined in the southern Pacific, whalers expanded northward to take advantage of the known resources in the Bering Sea. Commercial whaling in the Arctic grew rapidly from 1850, beginning with the discovery of bowhead migration routes and development of more efficient whaling techniques. The bowhead was originally sought for its oil, but the development of the petroleum industry in the 1860s reduced that demand. To compensate for falling prices, more whales were harvested and walruses began to be hunted as another source of oil (and ivory). Probably the most important of all developments during this time was the establishment of shore-based whaling stations beginning with the Pacific Stearn Whaling Company in 1884. Additional stations quickly sprang up at various sites along the Arctic coast including a large one at Jabbertown near Point Hope in 1887. These stations engaged in baleen trade with the Iñupiat. Commercial crews adopted Iñupiat techniques and Iñupiat crews were hired by the stations.

The operation of the shore stations were very effective in increasing the catch of bowheads, until shortly after the turn of the century. The end of commercial whaling came as new materials replaced the need for the expensive baleen, and with declining whale populations. By 1914, the stations had nearly all switched their emphasis from baleen to furs or had ceased operation. The severe decline of the bowhead was only one of several significant impacts of commercial whaling. The crews of the over-wintering ships and shore stations required large amounts of caribou. The reduction of the Western Arctic caribou herd in the latter part of the last century is attributed by some historians to extreme hunting pressure and a natural decline that began some years before. This decrease may have resulted in the death of a substantial number of inland Iñupiat (Nunamiut) whose primary resource was caribou. As the caribou herds...
declined in the central Brooks Range, the Nunamiut then came to the coast where they hunted caribou for the whalers and engaged in fur trapping.

Mass death also resulted from foreign diseases when the Nunamiut came in contact with whalers during their annual trading fairs at the coast. The coastal Inupiat were devastated by Measles and influenza. Prolonged contact with wintering crews also resulted in the spread of venereal disease. It was not until the 1920s, when the Presbyterian mission doctors and hospital introduced Western medical care to the region, that the Inupiat population was able to begin recovery from the devastation of these introduced diseases.

Toward the end of the commercial whaling era, the fur trapping industry began to develop in the Arctic. In the early part of this century fur prices, especially white fox, began to rise and trapping replaced contract hunting as a source of employment for obtaining necessary trade items. At first, trapping was accomplished out of the villages. Eventually lines were extended inland and seaward. Population shifts occurred as families settled in uninhabited areas. The area east of Barrow towards Herschel Island was populated by two or three families in 1900, but by 1914 trapping camps were established at intervals all the way from Barrow to Harrison Bay. Smaller coastal settlements with trading posts to serve the trappers replaced the larger whaling settlements.

Although trapping took more time away from subsistence activities than did commercial whaling, it also forced a wider hunting area to be used by the trapper and opened up an alternative resource at a critical time. However, traditional social relations were affected by trapping. Trapping required time away from the village and family, and was an individual enterprise, which contrasted with the usual cooperative hunting pattern.

Along with the growth of the fur industry, missionaries began to influence Inupiat culture. Dr. Sheldon Jackson, later a missionary and general agent of the Presbyterian Church for education in Alaska, was urged by a commander of one of the revenue cutters who patrolled Alaskan waters to provide for the “desperate condition of the Eskimos”. In response, the Federal Council of Churches
assigned most of the Arctic region to the Presbyterians in the 1890s, except Point Hope which was assigned to the Episcopalians.

The first Presbyterian missionary and teacher, L.M. Stevenson, was sent to Barrow in 1890. The first mission house (manse) was built in 1894 and the Presbyterian Church in Barrow was formally organized by Reverend H.R. Marsh in 1899. The missionaries disrupted traditional cultural practices and beliefs including housing, social interactions, settlement and subsistence patterns through practices such as prohibiting hunting on Sundays. However, the Presbyterian Church became an important part of the culture of the villages. In 1934, Percy Ipalook was the first of several Iñupiat to be ordained into the Presbyterian ministry. Many more Iñupiat were church deacons and active participants in church activities. Reverend Roy Ahmaogak, who was ordained in 1946, translated the New Testament into the Iñupiat language in the mid-1960s. Prior to that time, Iñupiaq had not been a formal written language. In 1970, Reverend Samuel Simmonds became the first Iñupiat minister to serve as pastor of the Barrow congregation.

The first school was constructed in 1894 in Barrow, when the U.S. Government took over education from the church. In the 1930s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) assumed responsibility for Native education. Over the years there were many Iñupiat who became teachers and worked at the school. In 1975, the BIA turned over the responsibility for education to the North Slope Borough.

The introduction of missions and schools affected the traditional Iñupiat settlement patterns more than the previous economic phases. In their desire to educate their children and be near the missions and employment, the Iñupiat had to spend long periods of time in a central location. These locations, along the coast, became focal points for the Iñupiat settlements. As changing economic conditions warranted, the schools and trading posts opened, closed or moved along with the villages.

Sheldon Jackson, through various government agencies, attempted to introduce reindeer herding in Alaska in the 1890s as a replacement for serious resource shortages (caribou and whale) and to provide a new economic base. Initially, reindeer were individually owned, but the property marks soon were difficult to distinguish and a new system of joint ownership was introduced with shares in a company representing the reindeer. In 1933, open herding was introduced and close supervision of the reindeer decreased. Herds developed throughout the Arctic coast at Point Hope, Point Lay-Icy Cape, Wainwright and Barrow, and by the late 1930s at Cape Halkett, Colville River mouth, Beechey Point, Barter Island and later at Collinson Point.

At the turn of the century, reindeer herds at Wainwright numbered about 2,300; in 1918 they had grown to 22,000 in Wainwright and 40,000 in Barrow. In 1940, Barrow’s herd was down to 5,000 and by the late 1940s to early 1950s, no herds remained in the Arctic. A combination of events, including mismanagement, predation and social tradition led to the decline.

After a bleak period in the 1930s, the economic picture improved during World War II for the country and for the Arctic region. Native craft sales increased due to the influx of military personnel. Mineral exploration programs within the Naval Petroleum Reserve #4 (PET 4),
established by President Warren G. Harding in 1923 began and in 1946, Iñupiat were hired as laborers with a flexible schedule that allowed for subsistence hunting.

Other construction projects such as the Naval Arctic Research Laboratory (NARL) near Barrow in 1947 and the DEW line defense sites in the early 1950s, provided other seasonal employment for the Iñupiat. A period of depression followed the military construction programs in which the traditional Iñupiat socioeconomic system reemerged as the primary economic system.

The contemporary period of political and economic development began in the 1960s with the regional organization of Iñupiat political groups in response to rapid change that threatened Native land rights through land transfers, biological resource limitations, and natural resource leasing. Events, such as the plan by the federal government to create a harbor at Cape Thompson with a series of nuclear detonations (Project Chariot), Barrow’s concerns over Eider duck hunting restrictions (the 1961 Duck-In), the Iñupiat Paitot (People’s Heritage) conference in Barrow in 1961, and formation of the Tundra Times in 1962, culminated ten years later with the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of 1971.

The North Slope Native Association (later named Arctic Slope Native Association (ASNA)) developed as a result of an earlier Iñupiat conference (to later become the Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN) with the aim of resolving Iñupiat land claims). In 1965 under the leadership of Eben Hopson, Sr. as its first Executive Director, ASNA filed a land claim with the U.S. Department of the Interior for 58 million acres of Alaska’s arctic. Native groups filed claims totaling 172 million acres, about one-fourth of which the state had also selected. In 1966, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall put a moratorium on all land transfers to the state in response to these suits brought by ASNA until the Native claims were settled.

ASNA, now under the leadership of Joseph Upicksoun, withdraws from the Alaska

**Eben Hopson, Sr.**

*Iñupiat Leader and Special Assistant to Alaska Governor Allen Egan*

...The desire for self-determination on the part of the people who wish to exercise that right should not be denied by those that govern. I think every opportunity should be afforded the people who wish to initiate and suffer the hardships of self-determination through a more expanded local government...”

In a letter to the local ASNA Chairmen of Point Hope, Wainwright, Barter Island, Anaktuvuk Pass, and Barrow, dated January 16, 1970

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Federation of Natives because proposed legislation to settle land claims would distribute land and money based on population. ASNA rejoins AFN when a compromise is reached. The largest regions would receive the most land and money, regardless of population. The compromise also includes a clause that a percentage of revenue generated by each region will be shared with the rest of the regions.4, 5

To settle Alaska Native land claims, Congress proposed the regional corporation concept and ASNA’s focus then became securing the land and cash settlements required to compensate the Iñupiat for the loss of original lands. When it became apparent that the proposed settlements would leave ASNA without valuable resources such as Prudhoe Bay, ASNA began to explore another option - creation of a borough under Alaska state law.

The passage of ANSCA was accomplished through association with the statewide Native organization, Alaska Federation of Natives, and with the support of the oil companies who realized the claims had to be settled before their work, and that of the state's selection and lease programs, could proceed.

The Presbyterian Church had been an important facet of North Slope life since the 1890s. Through many contacts within the national church hierarchy, the Presbyterians of ASNA obtained funding to aid in development of the borough. This form of government would give the Iñupiat powers of taxation to provide revenues, responsibility for education within the borough, and zoning powers to protect subsistence and cultural resources.

Despite strong opposition, the petition to create the borough was accepted by the state’s Local Boundary Commission in February 1972. In June 1972, voters of the North Slope communities overwhelming vote to approve the creation of the North Slope Borough. Later that month, the Alaska Supreme Court hears the case opposing the formation of the North Slope Borough and rules in favor of its creation, having found no merit in the oil industry’s arguments against allowing control of the land by the Native people of Alaska’s arctic.9 The North Slope Borough was

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6 In 1976, Congress enacted the Naval Petroleum Reserves Production Act, which redesignated Pet 4 as the “National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska” and transferred jurisdiction of it from the Navy to the Department of Interior.
incorporated on July 2, 1972 as a First Class Borough. A Home Rule Charter was adopted in 1974. The Alaska Supreme Court affirmed the borough’s ability to tax, but the Alaska State Legislature established a per capita ceiling on the borough’s taxing authority.

The Arctic Slope Regional Corporation (ASRC) began in 1972 as a profit-making corporation mandated under ANCSA to manage its 5.6 million acres and $36 million for benefit of the approximately 3,900 Iñupiat shareholders at the time of its establishment. While ASRC’s boundaries are essentially the same as the borough’s, land entitlement was limited to areas outside of conveyed lands or withdrawals such as the NPR-A and the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR).

Village corporations were also created through ANCSA, allowing villages to select their village surface entitlements from federal withdrawals. This provision also allowed for the re-establishment of Nuiqsut and Atqasuk, traditional villages that had not been populated in recent years due to emigration to larger villages.

International challenges were met through the organization of the Iñuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC) in 1977, where delegates from Canada, Greenland, and Alaska met with the idea to develop an international policy on Arctic conservation and environmental protection, especially of offshore resources. The ICC now includes Iñuit from Russia. Also in 1977, the International Whaling Commission (IWC) voted to cancel the right of Native people to take bowhead whales. Whaling captains from nine communities created the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission (AEWC) to respond to the ban, and eventually a limited quota was agreed upon. In later years, the quota has steadily been increased with cooperative agreements with the federal government.

The Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANCILA) was passed in December of 1980 after several years or congressional debate. In the act were items of critical importance to North Slope Iñupiat, including the creation of Gates of the Arctic National Park and Preserve, and additions to ANWR. Other sections of the act allow Arctic Slope Regional Corporation to exchange lands within the region, grant future pipeline rights-of-way across certain public lands and allow future subsurface title to village corporation lands within NPR-A and ANWR.

Public Law 98-366, known as the Barrow Gas Field Transfer Act of 1984, was signed into law June 17, 1984. This act responded to a federal obligation to supply energy to villages of the North Slope that was becoming too costly to continue. The act filled a need to provide a steady energy supply to villagers and federal facilities in the Barrow area. The significance of this legislation is worth note for a number of reasons, including

- Subsurface estate to the Barrow and Walakpa gas fields and their related support facilities were conveyed to the NSB, along with the right to continue to explore for, develop and produce gas for local use.

- Additional lands at Cape Simpson and Drenchwater Creek were also conveyed to the NSB under the assumption that they would assist in generating operational funding for the gas fields.
• Ukpeagvik Iñupiat Corporation (UIC) and ASRC were granted alternative land selection and gravel rights in exchange for their interests in the Barrow/Walakpa gas fields.

• The act provided the right of the NSB to exploit gas and entrained liquid hydrocarbons from federal test wells in the NPR-A for local village utility uses from lands included within terminated, expired or surrendered federal onshore oil and gas leases with NPR-A. It also included leased areas, with the consent of lessee and under mutually agreeable terms and conditions, to exploit and use gas and entrained liquid hydrocarbons from non-producing wells capable of production, including capped wells, in federal oil and gas leases within the NPR-A.

• The North Slope Borough agreed to accept responsibility for the operations and maintenance of the gas fields.

A Coastal Zone Management Plan for the North Slope Borough was begun in the late 1970s and finally adopted in 1988 as part of the State of Alaska and National Coastal Management programs under the Coastal Zone Management Act (CZMA). In 2011, the state withdrew from the national program. All NSB provisions in the Alaska Coastal Zone Management Program are retain in NSBMC Title 19 but without the state plan, implementation became much more limited.

The State of Alaska In 1982, the borough adopted its first comprehensive plan. The Comprehensive Plan and Land Management Regulations adopted are the primary North Slope Borough regulatory tools, which ensure the borough’s rights to control development in coastal areas to protect marine life critical to the subsistence lifestyle of the Iñupiat as well as to protect subsistence and cultural resources on land. Most development requires a permit granted on the basis of comprehensive plan policies which discourage or prohibit negative impacts of development and encourage positive impacts, such as local employment.

During the 1980s, the borough initiated a major capital improvements program. Millions of dollars were spent on projects to improve housing, schools, sewer and water facilities, roads, airfields, and health facilities. These projects were designed to improve living conditions for borough residents, and to provide training and employment for the shorter term construction projects as well as for the longer term in operation and maintenance of public facilities in the borough. Ordinance 93-10 contained major funding to bring piped water and sewer systems to all North Slope Borough communities before the end of the decade. Each community now has a water and sewer system, in addition to other public building and facilities.

**Historic and Cultural Resources**

Because the North Slope has been inhabited for thousands of years, cultural heritage sites are scattered across the region. Tools, household items, artwork, and dwellings are just some of the artifacts found on the North Slope.

Culturally important sites are compiled locally and at both the state and federal level. Locally, the North Slope Borough tracks important historic or cultural resource sites in the Traditional Land Use Inventory (TLUI). There are currently 1609 culturally significant sites in the
TLUI database.\textsuperscript{10} The Alaska Department of Natural Resources, Office of History and Archaeology, maintains the Alaska Heritage Resource Survey (AHRS), with detailed information regarding cultural resources throughout the state. AHRS has 5,048 documented sites within the North Slope Borough.\textsuperscript{11} These databases are voluminous, with detailed information on historic and contemporary traditional use areas.

In addition to local and state databases, the United States government has two notable programs that acknowledge and seek protection for areas and structures of national historic significance: National Historic Landmarks and the National Register of Historic Places. National Historic Landmarks are a subset of the National Register of Historic Places and are considered to have exceptional national significance quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States. Both programs are administered by the National Park Service. Properties are designated by the Secretary of the Interior. Currently, there are just over 2,500 historic places with this national distinction, fifty of which are in the state of Alaska and four within the North Slope Borough.\textsuperscript{12} The National Register of Historic Places is an inventory of properties that have been determined to be worthy of preservation based on historic or cultural significance. The National Register of Historic Places is one effort by the National Park Service to coordinate and support preservation of historic and archeological resources.\textsuperscript{13} Within the North Slope, there are 18 buildings or other structures, sites, and archeological districts that are on the National Register of Historic Places. Although both of these databases contain significant number of sites, a complete survey of the borough’s cultural resources has not been conducted; there are undoubtedly hundreds or thousands of culturally significant sites that have yet to be located. For detailed information on archaeological, historical, and traditional land uses, the North Slope Borough and Alaska Office of History and Archeology should be consulted.

Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act requires federal agencies to consider the effects of a project that utilizes federal funding, involves federal authorization, or are on federally managed land. It may also require a cultural resources survey. The North Slope Borough Planning and Community Services Department also often requires coordination on cultural resource preservation with the NSB Iñupiat History, Language, and Culture Department before issuing some permits. The potential need for a cultural resources survey should be considered during the early stages of any project development.

In addition to the protected sites included in this chapter, there are other sites across the North Slope that either have the potential to be nominated for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places or worthy of preservation without a National Register of Historic Places designation.

\textsuperscript{10} North Slope Borough. 2018. Traditional Land Use Inventory.  
https://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp.
National Historic Landmarks

**Birnirk Archeological Site**\(^{14}\) The Birnirk archeological site, located in Utqiagvik, is comprised of 16 mounds located near the beach. This site is associated with the Birnirk and Thule cultures, precursors to the modern day Iñupiaq culture.

**Gallagher Flint Station Archeological Site**\(^{15}\) This site was found in 1970 during environmental surveys for the construction of the Trans-Alaska Pipeline. It was the earliest dated archeological site in Northern Alaska. It demonstrates strong affinities between the indigenous peoples of Alaska and Siberia. The site is located on a prominent gravel hill left behind by a melting glacier in the Upper Sagavanirktok (Sag) River Valley. This area has been used repeatedly over the past 10,000 years.

**Ipiutak Site**\(^{16}\) The Ipiutak Site, located near the village of Point Hope, is one of the largest prehistoric village archeological sites in Arctic Alaska. It is made-up of over 500 house ruins along the beach ridges of the Tikigaq spit, and is believed to have been used over 1,800 years ago. The houses were constructed by using massive whale and walrus bones as girders. The Ipiutak are also well known for elaborate decorative carving in ivory, wood, bone, and stone artifacts. With Point Hope, these sites convey the long history of the Iñupiat and their ancestors in North America. Severe fall storms and the resulting floods pose a threat to the site.

**Leffingwell Camp Site**\(^{17}\) This is the campsite of geologist and polar explorer Ernest de Koven Leffingwell that is located on Flaxman Island, approximately 58 miles west of Kaktovik along the Arctic coast of Alaska. As part of the Anglo-American Polar Expedition, Leffingwell was a pioneer scientific researcher and explorer in the area. He lived in this camp from 1906 through 1914.

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Table 1: National Register of Historic Places (in alphabetical order)\(^{18}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Period of Significance</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aluakpak (Coal Mine #3)</td>
<td>1900 – 1924</td>
<td>Wainwright</td>
<td>The site consists of the main outcroppings of coal. Remains of human use are found at a camp upriver from the main deposits at the mouth of a small stream that enters into the Kuk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anaktuuk</td>
<td>1499 – 1000 AD</td>
<td>Wainwright</td>
<td>Prehistoric; Historic – Aboriginal; Economics; Exploration/Settlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atanik</td>
<td>1499 – 1000 AD 1825 – 1924</td>
<td>Wainwright</td>
<td>Prehistoric; Historic – Aboriginal; Economics; Exploration/Settlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avalitkuk</td>
<td>1925 – 1949</td>
<td>Wainwright</td>
<td>Prehistoric; Historic – Aboriginal; Economics; Exploration/Settlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birnirk Site</td>
<td>1000 – 500 AD</td>
<td>Utqiaġvik</td>
<td>Prehistoric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallagher Flint Station Archeological Site</td>
<td>8500 – 8999 BC</td>
<td>Sagwon</td>
<td>Prehistoric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ipiutak Archeological District</td>
<td>499 – 0 AD, 1925 – 1949, 1900 – 1750 AD, 1749 – 1500 AD, 1499 – 1000 AD, 1000 – 500 AD</td>
<td>Point Hope</td>
<td>Prehistoric; Historic - aboriginal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ipiutak Site</td>
<td>499 – 0 AD</td>
<td>Point Hope</td>
<td>Prehistoric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivishaat</td>
<td>1800 – 1949</td>
<td>Wainwright</td>
<td>Historic - aboriginal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leffingwell Camp Site</td>
<td>1914, 1906</td>
<td>Flaxman Island</td>
<td>This site served as Ernest de K. Leffingwell's scientific headquarters on the Arctic coast of Alaska, from which he conducted his pioneering scientific research and explorations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Napanik</td>
<td>1900 – 1924</td>
<td>Wainwright</td>
<td>Historic – aboriginal; Economics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negilik Site</td>
<td>1900 – 1924, 1875 – 1899, 1850 – 1874, 1825 – 1849, 1499 – 1000 AD</td>
<td>Wainwright</td>
<td>Prehistoric; Historic – Aboriginal; Commerce; Communications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point Barrow Refuge Station (later Cape Smythe Whaling and Trading Station)</td>
<td>1875 – 1899</td>
<td>Utqiaġvik</td>
<td>It is both the oldest and most significant American-built frame structure standing along the vast reaches of the Arctic Ocean between the Seward Peninsula and Demarcation Point at the Canadian Border. The building, its management, and related events, played a significant role in commerce, whaling, fur trading, exploration, and development of the region.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prudhoe Bay Oil Field (Discovery Well Site / ARCO-Humble Prudhoe Bay State #1, AHRS Site No. XBP-Q005)</td>
<td>1950 – 1974</td>
<td>Prudhoe Bay</td>
<td>The Prudhoe Bay Oil Field is the largest oil field discovered in the United States and the fourth largest in the world. It brought unexpected and almost unimaginable prosperity to the financially strapped new State of Alaska and rapid change to the Iñupiat people on the North Slope.</td>
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**Iñupiaq Values and Knowledge**

The residents of the North Slope honor their cultural ties to the land and their ancestors when practicing traditional Iñupiaq values. The Iñupiat highly regard family, work ethic, the Iñupiaq language, drumming and dancing, subsistence hunting and gathering, sharing food, and knowledge of animals. The Iñupiat have a deep respect for the environment in which they live as it provides fresh water, clean air, and subsistence foods. Table 2 summarizes values of the North Slope Iñupiat.

Traditional and contemporary knowledge is an integral part of Iñupiat cultural identity, embodying wisdom and experience acquired continuously over thousands of years, which is told and retold over many generations. This knowledge is imparted by elders, hunters, gatherers, whaling captains, community leaders, and others about Iñupiaq culture and history as well as the natural environment. Traditional knowledge is continually expanded through contemporary experiences and observations by residents who have spent much of their lives observing the biophysical environment.

Residents have detailed knowledge of local conditions, including routine and historic events, which can affect the location and design of facilities and utilities. Traditional and contemporary local knowledge often provides invaluable information on local conditions—such as flooding, erosion, ice override, storm surges, geological conditions, and migration patterns, among others.

All resource and village development projects within the North Slope Borough should be planned to include consultation with borough staff and village residents early in the process to incorporate traditional and contemporary local knowledge in an appropriate manner. The incorporation of traditional and contemporary local knowledge should be an integral component of the project plan that fosters constructive relationships with both local and Tribal governments.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Period of Significance</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Significance</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rogers-Post Site (Walakpa Bay Crash Site; Will Rogers-Wiley Post Monuments)</td>
<td>1925 – 1949</td>
<td>Utqiaġvik</td>
<td>This memorial site is located approximately 13 miles south of Barrow. The first memorial was constructed in 1938 by public subscription of thousands of Americans and under the organized efforts of friends and admirers in Oklahoma and Texas. The second monument was constructed by a lone admirer of Will Rogers in 1953. The original memorial was moved to higher ground in 1973 and now sits next to the second memorial.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukpeaġvik Church Manse</td>
<td>1925 – 1949</td>
<td></td>
<td>The manse was built in 1929. Dr. Henry W. Greist, who lived in Utqiaġvik from 1921 to 1925 and again from 1929 to 1936 was the church pastor as well as a physician for the community; the Manse served as both his home and an outpatient clinic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uyagaagruk (Oyagaruk)</td>
<td>1900 – 1924</td>
<td>Historic – Aboriginal; Economics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2: Iñupiaq Values

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Iñupiaq Value</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Paaqjaktautaieiq</strong></td>
<td>Avoidance of Conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Iñupiaq way is to think positive,</td>
<td>act positive, speak positive and live positive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nagliktuutiqagniq</strong></td>
<td>Compass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Though the environment is harsh and</td>
<td>cold, our ancestors learned to live with warmth, kindness, caring and compassion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Paammaaqigñiq</strong></td>
<td>Cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Together we have an awesome power to</td>
<td>accomplish anything.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ijagiigñiq</strong></td>
<td>Family and Kinship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As Iñupiat people, we believe in</td>
<td>knowing who we are and how we are related to one another. Our families bind us together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Qiñuiñiq</strong></td>
<td>Humility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our hearts command that we act on</td>
<td>goodness. We expect no reward in return. This is part of our cultural fiber.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Quvianðununiq</strong></td>
<td>Humor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indeed, laughter is the best medicine.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Añuniallaniq</strong></td>
<td>Hunting Traditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reverence for the land, sea, and</td>
<td>animals is the foundation of our hunting traditions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Iñupiuraallaniq</strong></td>
<td>Knowledge of Our Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With our language, we have an identity.</td>
<td>It helps us to find out who we are in our mind and in our heart.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Piqpakkutiqagñiq suli</strong></td>
<td>Qiksiksrautiqagniq Utuqqanaanun Allanullu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love and Respect for our Elders and</td>
<td>One Another</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Our Elders model our traditions and ways of being. They are a light of hope to younger generations. May we treat each other as our Elders have taught us.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Qiksiksrautiqagniq</strong></td>
<td>Iñuuniagvgmuun Respect for Nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our Creator gave us the gift of our</td>
<td>surroundings. Those before us placed ultimate importance on respecting this magnificent gift for their future generations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aviktuaqatigiñiq</strong></td>
<td>Sharing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is amazing how sharing works. Your</td>
<td>acts of giving always come back.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ukpiqqutiqagniq</strong></td>
<td>Spirituality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We know the power of prayer. We are a</td>
<td>spiritual people.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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Iñupiaq Language

The Iñupiaq language is spoken in northern and northwest Alaska, part of the Northwest Territories in Canada, shown in Map 1. The Iñupiaq language is closely related to the Inuit languages of Greenland and Canada.

Fewer and fewer people living on the North Slope speak Iñupiaq fluently. In addition to anecdotal evidence suggesting that the number of fluent speakers is declining, the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS), a tool used to measure the endangerment or development status of a language, confirms that the Iñupiaq language has become threatened. Iñupiaq is being used for face-to-face communication amongst all generations.21 The NSB regularly conducts a census, called the North Slope Borough Economic Profile and Census Report (NSB Census). These NSB census reports confirm that the Iñupiaq language is spoken by fewer people and less often than it has been in the past. In 1998, the NSB Census estimated 8.4 percent of households spoke mostly Iñupiaq in the home. By 2003, the number of households speaking Iñupiaq increased to 10.4 percent, then

Map 1: Indigenous Peoples and Languages of Alaska20

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decreased to 7.9 percent in 2010 and decreased again to 5.5 percent in 2015,\textsuperscript{22} representing a 50 percent decrease of what it had been just twelve years earlier. Additionally, in 2010, 972 (19 percent) of NSB residents spoke Iñupiaq fluently.\textsuperscript{23} In 2015, the number of speakers dropped to 605 (16.6 percent).\textsuperscript{24, 25, 26}

Figures 1 and 2 illustrate the prevalence of fluent and non-fluent NSB residents by age group. Figure 1 illustrates the large percentage of NSB resident over the age of 60 that both speak Iñupiaq fluent and prefer to speak it over other languages. The fluency and preference for speaking Iñupiaq drops precipitously for younger age groups, primarily those that are under the age of 50. Figure 2 graphically depicts the same trend for non-fluent residents, with the vast majority falling into two categories: ‘Understands at least 24 words’ or ‘Understands 5 – 6 words / understands only a few words.’ These graphs underscore the severity of the Iñupiaq language decline on the North Slope and support the EGIDS status for the Iñupiaq language. Such is the seriousness of the loss of all Alaska Native languages (including Iñupiaq) throughout the state, that in April of 2018, Alaska lawmakers passed resolution declaring a “linguistic emergency”.\textsuperscript{27}

The borough places great importance on expanding fluency in Iñupiaq to preserve traditional culture and values. The North Slope Borough School District (NSBSD) has been making a concerted effort to strengthen the Iñupiaq language by offering language learning as early as three years old. The NSBSD Board of Education adopted the Iñupiaq Learning Framework (ILF) in 2010. This program focuses on Iñupiaq values, culture, history, language, and world view that serve as the foundation for curriculum development and student instruction. The Iñupiat-centered orientation in all areas of instruction aims to empower and inspire students, parents, and teachers to succeed.\textsuperscript{28} (Additional information is included in Chapter 12: Education). To assist adults in learning or re-learning Iñupiaq, the NSB Iñupiat History, Language and Culture Department (IHLC) sponsored the production of an online Iñupiaq language program in partnership with the Rosetta Stone program for Endangered Languages.


\textsuperscript{24} Ibid


\textsuperscript{26} NSB Census information for prior years does not easily correspond with expanded language questions used in the 2010 and 2015 censuses.


\textsuperscript{28} North Slope Borough School District. n.d. Iñupiaq Education Department. www.nsbsd.org/domain/44.
Figure 1: 2015 Fluent Iñupiaq Speakers of the Total Population by Age Group and Fluency Level

Figure 2: 2015 Non-Fluent Iñupiaq Speakers of the Total Population by Age Group and Fluency Level

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30 Ibid
GOVERNANCE AND REGIONAL LEADERSHIP

There are many entities representing different segments of the community across the North Slope, including:

- North Slope Borough
- City governments
- Tribal governments
- Native Corporations
- Arctic Slope Native Association
- Tagiugmiullu Nunamiullu Housing Authority

North Slope Borough

The North Slope Borough is a regional home-rule government comprised of 94,762 square miles of land situated entirely above the Arctic Circle in northern Alaska and is larger than 39 states, as illustrated in Map 2.

The borough retains all home rule borough powers and duties not specifically restricted by its charter or by state law. It provides some services for residents in eight villages: Point Hope, Point Lay, Atqasuk, Wainwright, Utqiagvik, Nuiqsut, Anaktuvuk Pass, and Kaktovik. These powers include taxation, education, planning, platting, and zoning. Its villages have transferred many powers to the borough such as areawide police powers, streets, water, sewers and sewage treatment, garbage and solid waste services and facilities, flood control facilities, health services, transportation, and many utilities (telephone, light, power, and heat). Unlike some other Alaska municipalities, the borough is responsible for airports in the communities of Point Lay, Atqasuk, Wainwright, Nuiqsut, Anaktuvuk Pass, and Kaktovik. While other municipalities in Alaska sponsor airports, such as Juneau, Palmer, Soldotna, and Kenai, the borough is the second largest airport sponsor after the State of Alaska.

The North Slope Borough has a Planning Commission with eight members and eight alternates; one member and one alternate member are from each North Slope community. All commissioners are appointed by the NSB Mayor and confirmed by the NSB Assembly for three year terms. The Planning Commissioners perform planning and zoning functions on behalf of the borough, including issuing platting, variance, and conditional use approvals. They also review and make recommendations to the NSB Assembly on capital improvement program funding. The members also serve as representatives of their respective communities and use their position to bring issues and concerns of their communities to the attention of the North Slope Borough administration.

North Slope Borough Charter Preamble, 1974

“We, the People of the North Slope Borough area, in order to form an efficient and economical government with just representation, and in order to provide local government responsive to the will of the people, and to the continuing needs of the communities, do hereby ratify and establish this Home Rule Charter of the North Slope Borough of Alaska.”

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The North Slope Borough Assembly is comprised of eleven members representing eight villages; each serves a three-year term. There are six members representing Utqiaġvik, and one member for each Nuiqsut, Point Hope, and Wainwright. Anaktuvuk Pass and Kaktovik share one Assembly member, as do Atqasuk and Point Lay. The Assembly enacts laws; appropriates funds for departmental budgets and NSBSD; awards contracts over $300,000; establishes the mill levies; acts as Board of Equalization to hear property tax assessment appeals; confirms appointments of department directors; confirms all appointments of boards and commissions, including the Planning Commission; and certifies North Slope Borough elections.³² The Assembly members travel to NSB villages to hold meetings regularly, about twice per year.

The borough executive and administrative power is vested in the borough mayor. The mayor appoints mayoral advisors, department directors and deputy directors, and assistants to directors. There are fourteen NSB departments. The Public Works Department employs the most staff members of any department.

City Governments
All communities in the North Slope Borough are incorporated as second-class municipalities with the exception of Point Lay, which does not have an incorporated local government, and Utqiaġvik, which is a first class city. In Alaska, all local governments have certain duties, which vary considerably. Second-class cities are not allowed to provide some services, such as public education; may provide other services, such as planning, platting, and land use regulation; and are required to hold regular meeting of the

governing body and conduct elections. Some communities are beginning to express interest in resuming some local powers that were transferred to the borough, including establishing zoning boards to make recommendations to the NSB Planning Commission and NSB Assembly on land use related issues.

Tribal Governments & Organizations
Each of the North Slope communities has a federally recognized Tribal government and an active Tribal council. In addition to the federally-recognized local Tribal governments, there are two regionally active Tribal organizations in Alaska – the Iñupiat Community of the Arctic Slope (ICAS) and Tlingit Haida Central Council in Southeast Alaska. ICAS is the regional Tribal government for all the North Slope villages. It was established in 1971 as an Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) government. ICAS provides assistance in realty, transportation, resource management, among others.

Native Corporations
ASRC, based in Utqiaġvik, is a private and for-profit regional Native corporation that represents the business interests of its approximately 13,000 Iñupiaq shareholders that primarily live in the eight North Slope communities. It was established through the ANCSA in 1972. ASRC is the largest Alaskan-owned company, employing nearly 12,000 people worldwide. The Corporation’s operations are strongly based in natural resources, holding title to approximately five million acres of land.

In addition to ASRC, village Native corporations were established to represent the interests of residents of each village: Atqasuk Corporation, Cully Corporation (Point Lay), Kaktovik Iñupiat Corporation, Kuukpik Corporation (Nuiqsut), Nunamiut Iñupiat Corporation (Anaktuvuk Pass), Olgoonik Corporation (Wainwright), Tikigaq Corporation (Point Hope), and Ukpeaġvik Iñupiat Corporation (Utqiaġvik). While the corporations are not governing bodies, they are influential in decisions made by local and regional governments and represent leadership entities on the North Slope that work in conjunction with local and regional municipal governments and Tribal governments.

Arctic Slope Native Association
ASNA is a Tribal nonprofit health and social services organization that has a long history in the North Slope Borough.

Formed in 1965, by original founders Samuel Simmonds, Guy Okakok, Sr., and Charles ‘Etok’ Edwardsen, Jr., ASNA was originally created to help protect the lands of the Arctic Slope region, beginning the process that led to the Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement Act. ASNA was dormant from 1985 to 1991 when, with assistance from ASRC and NSB, ASNA was reactivated to pursue goals of self-determination for health and social services programs. Because ASNA is a non-profit Tribal organization, it receives federal funds on behalf of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. ASNA currently

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33 A comprehensive resource for powers of Alaska’s municipalities is provided by the Alaska Department of Community, Commerce, and Economic Development at: www.commerce.alaska.gov/web/Portals/4/pub/2015%20LOCAL%20GOVERNMENT%20IN%20ALASKA.pdf.
34 Additional information on ANCSA is provided in Chapter 15.
manages the Samuel Simmonds Memorial Hospital through a governing board. 36

Maniilaq Association (Kotzebue) and Tanana Chiefs Conference (Fairbanks) provide health and social services in Point Hope and Anaktuvuk Pass, respectively.

Housing Authorities
Housing authorities are independent agencies governed by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). HUD places certain guidelines on housing authorities’ operations. However, they have their own boards, managers, and often rules and guidelines. A housing authority’s day-to-day operations are overseen by an executive director.

Tagiugmiullu Nunamiullu Housing Authority (TNHA) is the North Slope’s regional housing authority organized through ASNA as provided by Alaska Statute (AS) 18.55.995 and 18.55.996. It provides programs and services in all eight North Slope communities. TNHA offers affordable rental programs; a lease-purchase Mutual Help homeownership program; an elder housing program and housing rehabilitation services. TNHA has initiated a Sustainable Northern Shelter (SNS) new home construction program, which focuses on using lightweight or local materials and maximizing energy efficiency. 37

There are two other housing authorities on the North Slope administered by the Native Village of Point Hope and the Native Village of Barrow. Both of these Tribal housing authorities are eligible to receive federal funding to provide safe, sanitary and affordable housing to its members.

REVENUE AND BUDGET
Since its creation in 1972, the North Slope Borough has had the power to collect property tax. Taxation of oil and gas property provides the vast majority of the borough’s total property tax revenue.

Property taxes, assessed by both the State of Alaska and the borough, provided about 90.8 percent of the borough’s revenue in 2017. 38 The State of Alaska administers the tax on oil and gas properties under AS 43.56, and it shares that tax with the borough. The NSB is wholly responsible for assessing non-oil and gas local taxes under AS 29.45.

The borough dedicates a significant portion of its revenue to the vision of its first mayor, Eben Hopson, of providing residents with the basic services enjoyed by other Americans. The NSB budget, coupled with both state and federal programs, funded the construction of houses, utilities, public buildings, and schools. During the 1970s and 1980s, personal and household income within the borough increased dramatically, for both Inupiat households and others who migrated to the NSB to work in this resource rich region. 39

In 2017, total general fund revenues increased by approximately $12.16 million (2.8 percent) between fiscal year (FY) 17 and FY16. The increase is revenue correlates to the $600 million increase in the assessed property value from FY17 to FY16. At the same time that the property tax revenue increased, intergovernmental revenues decreased by $4.4 million (20.3 percent). This decrease is primarily due to a decrease in pass-through funding to the borough from the State of Alaska due the economic downturn.40

A fund is a grouping of related accounts that is used to maintain control over resources that have been segregated for specific activities or objectives. The borough, like other state and local governments, uses fund accounting to ensure and demonstrate compliance with finance-related legal requirements. All of the funds of the borough can be divided into categories: governmental funds, Capital improvement funds, proprietary funds, fiduciary funds, and permanent funds. While Table 3 details the uses of each of these types of funds, Figure 4 provides a breakdown of how the NSB general fund is spent by department. Figure 5 describes the various sources of revenue the borough receives.

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### Table 3: Types of Funds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fund Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Government Fund</strong></td>
<td>Primary operating fund for the borough that funds operations for NSB departments: Police, Fire, Search and Rescue, Public Works, Planning and Community Services, Health and Social Services, Law, Human Resources, Iñupiat History, Language and Culture, Wildlife Management, etc. The largest source of revenue for the general fund is property taxes, primary on industry infrastructure. Other sources of revenue for the general fund are charges for services and grants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Capital Improvement Program Funds</strong></td>
<td>Funds the construction, renovation, and repair of borough-owned buildings and infrastructure. Revenue for this funds comes primarily from the issuance of general obligation bonds and also from federal and state funding. The borough issues about $80 – $100 million annually in general obligation bond funds for capital projects. In 2017, the NSB had a capital project fund balance of $255,620,176. This is unspent funds that have been dedicated to funding capital improvement projects throughout the borough.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Proprietary Funds</strong></td>
<td><strong>Enterprise Funds</strong> are established by a governmental entity to account for operations of an enterprise activity. Enterprise funds generally are segregated as to purpose and use from other funds and accounts with the intent that revenues generated by the enterprise activity and deposited to the enterprise fund will be devoted principally to funding all operations of the enterprise activity.42 Enterprise funds are used for Prudhoe Bay solid waste disposal and treatment facility that are within Service Area 10. The <strong>Real Property Management Fund</strong> accounts for the management and disposition of revenues associated with real property. The <strong>Power &amp; Light Fund</strong> includes the power-generating activities for the North Slope communities of Anaktuvuk Pass, Kaktovik, Nuiqsut, Point Hope, Point Lay, Wainwright, and Atqasuk. Transfers into this the Power &amp; Light Fund are the subsidies from the Enterprise Fund. The <strong>Home Assistance Loan</strong> is a revolving loan fund to assist borough residents in purchasing homes. The <strong>Pension Trust Fund</strong> accounts for the activities of the borough's Employee Thrift Plan, which accumulates resources for employees' before- and after-tax savings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fiduciary Fund</strong></td>
<td><strong>Pension Trust Fund</strong> accounts for the activities of the borough's Employee Thrift Plan, which accumulates resources for employees' before- and after-tax savings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Permanent Fund</strong></td>
<td>This fund contains assets that are to be held in perpetuity except that an optional annual transfer may be made to the General Fund from the accumulated earnings in an amount up to 8 percent of the average total fair value of the fund at the end of the three preceding fiscal years. Funds may be appropriated to the Permanent Fund from any source. Income of the fund is to be added to the fund. The amount transferred may not be used to pay debt service on the borough’s debt.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Figure 4: Where the Revenue Comes From

- Property & Sales Taxes, $378.6m (90%)
- Charges for Services, $11.6m (3%)
- Intergovernmental, $3.3m (1%)
- Operating Transfers, -$18m (-4%)
- Other, $8.5m (2%)
- Charges for Services, $2.5m (.7%)

2018 - 2019
North Slope Borough
Projected Revenue Sources
$386.1 million

Figure 5: How the General Fund is Spent

2018 - 2019
North Slope Borough
Operating Budget
$386.1 million

- Public Works, $82.1m (21%)
- Search & Rescue, $12.5m (3%)
- Wildlife, $5.7m (1%)
- NSBSD, $35.4m (9%)
- Ilisagvik, $13.2m (3%)
- Debt Service, $64m, 17%
- Operating Transfers, -$18m (-4%)
- Charges for Services, $2.5m (.7%)
- Intergovernmental, $3.3m (1%)
- Other, $8.5m (2%)
- Charges for Services, $11.6m (3%)

A&F, $52.2m (14%)
Planning, $6.1m (2%)
Health, $27.9m (7%)
Mayors Office & Special Programs,* $43.5m (11%)
Wildlife, $5.7m (1%)
NSBSD, $35.4m (9%)
Ilisagvik, $13.2m (3%)
Debt Service, $64m, 17%

44 Ibid
*Mayor’s Office programs: Government and External Affairs; Healthy Communities Initiative; Mayors Youth Advisory Council; Special Projects; and Village and Tribal Affairs.