WORKPLACE ADAPTATIONS CONNECTED TO
NATIVE EMPLOYMENT IN THE NORTH

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Elsewhere, we have argued that the appropriate conceptualization for understanding the behavior of Native workers in the arctic and subarctic north is that of culturally segmented labor markets.¹ This conceptualization sees Native workers maximizing a set of variables unconnected to the accumulation of wealth. Consequently, when Native workers enter the labor market they do so with specific cash targets. They may wish to buy a snowmobile, a rifle, or enough oil to heat their homes for the winter, and when that target is reached, they will quit their jobs. Employers faced with high costs of labor turnover assume that Native workers respond to the same wealth maximizing inducements that motivate non-Native workers and attempt to stabilize their work forces by raising wages. These higher wages either allow Native workers to reach their targets more rapidly or offset any increase in Native preferences for market goods, but they do not contribute to creating a stable, reliable Native work force. Employers, not knowing what else to do, respond by again raising wages and again are unsuccessful in achieving reduced turnover.

Eventually, the wage differential between jobs in the arctic and subarctic North and the rest of the country becomes large enough to induce the immigration of non-Native workers, and northern labor markets become characterized by high wages and the widespread employment of non-Native workers.

In the political economy of the North today, this situation is not sustainable. In Alaska, the Native population appears to be developing a set of living preferences which require increased cash income and are increasingly demanding a larger share of available jobs. Further, because a large stock of Alaska's in situ resource wealth appears to be located on lands owned by the Native corporations created under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA), private development of these resources will require an accommodation to these Native employment demands. In Canada, the lack of a land claims settlement agreement has muted the political ability of the Native people to demand jobs; however, both the Canadian federal government and the territorial governments of the Northwest and Yukon territories have become increasingly insistant

2 The recent "Native only" hiring ordinance adapted by the Kotzebue Native Village Council is an example of the growing militancy of these demands.

3 For example, the agreement between Comico, Ltd., and the NANA Native Corporation for development of a lead-zinc mine on land owned by NANA calls for the Native corporation to have control over the personnel and hiring functions of the mine.
that resource development companies commit themselves to positive programs of Native hire.

As a result of these pressures, business firms operating in the arctic and subarctic North have attempted various techniques to increase their ability to both hire and retain Native workers. During the past year, we visited 45 such employers in Alaska and Canada's Northwest territories (NWT) to learn what modifications in hiring practices and work rules they had attempted and whether or not they had been successful. We found remarkable similarities in the approaches independently adopted by these firms. Further, we found that these approaches are compatible with both the microeconomic theory of rational business behavior and our hypothesis of culturally segmented northern labor markets.

In this paper, we report on the findings of our employer visits in Alaska (Section I) and Canada's NWT (Section II). We then discuss these findings in terms of rational firm behavior (Section III). Next, we present a discriptive model of modified work rules which we believe would reduce Native worker labor turnover while providing no upward pressure on hourly wage costs. The final section presents our conclusions.

4See Robert B. Gibson, The Strathcona Mining Project: A Case Study in Decision Making (Science Council of Canada, Background Study No. 42); or Institute for Northern Studies, Conference on Community and Northern Development: Proceedings (University of Saskatchewan, 1979).
Section I

A. HIRING AND RECRUITMENT

Employers in rural Alaska use a variety of ways to recruit Native workers. However, the Native for-profit corporations had significantly different strategies from the non-Native employers interviewed.

Shareholder hire among the Native for-profit corporations is promoted in several different ways. The regional corporations all have employee screening and referral services, and some have a bank of computerized resume files. Many Native corporations and their subsidiaries mentioned using the regional corporation referral services in recruiting shareholders. Jobs are also advertised in shareholder newsletters and, especially amongst the small Native corporations, lists of shareholders are used to contact members as job openings arise. Some Native corporations have instituted screening committees composed of corporation and subcontractor members who screen all job applicants. These committees may

_____ \footnote{This omission is partly compensated for by the interviews with major oil companies in the Canadian NWT reported in Chapter IV.}
also be used in settling conflicts between Native employees and 
management. Another strategy used to increase shareholder hire is 
the enactment of agreements with subcontractors and subsidiaries for 
a number (or proportion) of positions to be set aside for Native 
workers. A similar strategy is the letting of cost plus contracts 
with the stipulation of Native hire.

Many of the Native corporations considered it crucial that the 
head of personnel be a Native. Several of the corporations reported 
success with hiring personnel directors who had substantial local 
contacts and "the right personality" even when the person lacked 
professional experience.

Some Native corporations give shareholder preference only for 
initial hires and have instituted rigid screening processes to 
identify applicants seriously wanting a job and qualified to do the 
work. One company has a mandatory 3 day workshop for job applicants 
which it uses for identifying serious job seekers.

Unionized workplaces present different problems of which one is 
the location of the union hall. Workers in remote areas find it 
difficult to fly several hundred miles to a union hall to wait for 
dispatch to a job. However, in the North Slope Borough, workers can 
be dispatched locally. They are interviewed and screened in the 
villages by union construction companies and are hired after 
notification of the union. One construction company has a full-time
recruiter in the North Slope villages. The Borough also has a paid coordinator in each village who makes contact with each village household before any outside hiring is done, thus ensuring that local people who want jobs can get them. Unions are able to give special consideration to Natives in the North Slope Borough, as it is considered an Indian Reservation in regard to union preference. Unions in other parts of the state work with Native corporations by providing them with lists of qualified people from which the corporation selects shareholders.

Non-Native corporations interviewed tend to rely more on traditional recruitment methods such as newspaper and radio advertisements, word of mouth, posters in public places, mass mailings to minority organizations, and state employment services.

Four of the companies interviewed have had Native high school students intern during the summer, or after school (and weekends) during the winter, to provide work orientation and knowledge about particular jobs. Everyone spoke favorably about these programs. As one employer said, "from every group of 10 students we find one who really likes this industry and we think that's a successful record."

B. WORKPLACE ORGANIZATION

(1) Wages

The union pay scale for unskilled labor is almost double the
prevailing wage in the non-union sector in rural Alaska. This wide variation in wages being paid to workers with similar skills and living in the same small communities serves to attenuate the usual relationship between skills, seniority, and a worker's rate of pay. It also makes it difficult to attract workers into non-union jobs.

Pay rates in administrative, nonmanagerial jobs start substantially lower than those for unskilled labor. It is, consequently, hard to attract workers at the lower end of the pay scale for clerical and administrative jobs. The public health hospitals, which have relatively low pay scales, uniformly reported difficulty in attracting Native workers.

Many employers require employees to be on the job for 3 months before they become eligible for a benefit package which usually consists of health and life insurance and a retirement plan. Costs of administering benefit programs are high when there is high turnover, and employers often reported that they excluded short-term workers from their fringe benefit plans.

One retail firm pays a bonus at the end of the year based on annual profits. Employees with the company for more than 6 months are eligible.

(2) Time Off

A wide variety of work schedules have been adopted by employers
in rural Alaska to enable Native workers to spend part of the year hunting, fishing, berrypicking or going to fish camp. Several employers also commented that Native workers require more time than non-Native workers to fulfill duties to family members who may be ill or otherwise make requests for the worker's time.

Most of the employers interviewed, with the exception of employers in Southeast Alaska, give unpaid annual subsistence leave from 10 days to 3 months (this is in addition to sick leave and annual leave). Subsistence leave is usually taken during the summer but it varies according to local hunting and fishing patterns. Some firms are able to hire nonlocals to replace Native workers, other firms reduce output and still others have redundant staff to cover the periods when workers take subsistence leave. Some firms have designed 10-month jobs. This practice is similar to subsistence leave, but it is a more definite arrangement with the months off known in advance by both employer and employee.

Several firms, however, did not give subsistence leave and did not feel it was necessary. These employers appeared proud that they were able to keep their employees year around without any special subsistence leave. They said such things as "all my workers are in responsible jobs and I can't get along for 2 months without them," or "we all hunt and fish on the weekends and during fishing season, we come in early, leave early, and fish in the evening."
Many employers have combined sick and annual leave into one category of personal leave which varies from 15 to 36 days per year. Some employers said they prefer combining sick and annual leave because employees are more apt to ask in advance for time off instead of taking sick leave without notice.

Several employers mentioned difficulties in planning for worker absences. They said that Native employees tend to either give very short notice (such as a day or two) or none at all. Employers have adjusted management practices in several ways to cope with this problem. Two retail firms gave supervisors and managers the responsibility to pitch in and take over jobs of absent workers. A construction firm said it allows workers to take up to 3 days without notice; after 3 days the worker is discharged and won't be rehired for 30 days. Some firms employ extra people at all times to fill in for no shows. One firm initiated a program which pays workers an extra amount per hour for each month worked with no absenteeism or tardiness. The amount paid is increased with each successful quarter up to a year. One firm reported a liberal leave policy unless the absence was caused by drinking, in which case the employee is reprimanded and, after a couple of occasions, fired.

(3) Rehire Policies

Most employers interviewed said they had policies of rehiring discharged workers. This sometimes meant rehiring the same person
3 and 4 times if he or she was a good worker. Several employers in the construction industry said they don't rehire workers who quit for 30 days. Another firm didn't rehire for 2 weeks. Others said they rehire anyone immediately. One employer gives first hiring preference to past workers for a two year period. An employer who has been in business for many years in Southeast Alaska and has a large proportion of Native workers said it has very few rehires. However, another employer pointed out, "if we didn't have a liberal rehire policy, we would, over time, have most of our jobs filled with non-Natives and that is not what we want. Many times Native workers will try a job for several short periods before they become comfortable with it and then they'll stay."

(4) Discharge Policies

Discharging of Native workers seldom occurs due to factors related to job competency. Usually absenteeism, tardiness, or alcohol abuse are the reasons for discharge. Most employers do not have clear policies on causes for discharge. Discharges are handled on an individual basis.

One employer interviewed, however, has a clear policy requiring employees to give two weeks written notice of intention to quit; and in the absence of such notice, any accrued vacation bonus would be withheld. One Native regional corporation has their contractors and subsidiaries report to them on the discharge of any of their shareholders and the reasons for such action.
(5) Enclave Employment

Six of the employers interviewed are enclave employers; that is, their workers commute from home to remote worksites on a rotational schedule. These firms have employees at Prudhoe Bay and remote drilling sites within the North Slope Borough.

A variety of work schedules have been tried for both Native and non-Native workers as employers try to find the optimum mix between minimum travel costs and maximum worker productivity. The number of continuous work weeks varied from 1 to 8, followed by 1 or 2 weeks of home leave. Two employers primarily concerned with Native employment both use shorter shifts. Their work schedules are either two weeks on and two weeks off or one week on and one off. Work hours per day in the enclave sites vary from 9 to 12 hours per day with all workers putting in full 7-day weeks.

Employers reported that the quality of living at an enclave site is considered an important factor for both job satisfaction and tenure. Because of the high costs of construction, rooms at the Prudhoe Bay camps are small and generally shared. Workers are mixed without regard to their age, ethnicity, or tastes to insure fairness and impartiality. However, most employers thought Native worker satisfaction would be enhanced if they had the option of sharing quarters with someone from the same village.
One employer reported great success in retaining Native workers at an enclave site by having living quarters similar to a hotel. Workers have separate rooms, free phones, a sauna, heater, jacuzzi, and restaurant. Demand is high for these jobs and there is little turnover. Remote sites which had less than 50 workers, one employer said, were preferred by Native workers to larger sites, particularly large ones with over 200 workers.

(6) Job Structuring and Counseling

Some employers use counselors to facilitate communication between Native workers and supervisors and to assist workers in adjusting to the workplace. Some Native corporations provide counseling for shareholders working for the corporation's contractors and subsidiaries. Counselors from these corporations go to the job site every 2 or 3 weeks to meet with Native workers and to help solve any problems which may have arisen.

Another Native corporation allows Native employees who are having problems with their supervisors to go directly to either the corporation's executive director or its executive committee of the board with their grievances. This same corporation has a professional Native counselor to help Native workers deal with stresses outside the workplace as well as provide support for job-related problems.
Several employers mentioned the importance of having Native counselors, particularly if supervisors and managers are not Native. However, most firms had a large proportion of non-Native supervisors and no counselors because they did not employ a sufficient number of workers at any site to allow for a full-time counselor. Therefore, counseling skills were required of supervisors and managers. Reflecting this, most of the managers interviewed spoke of the importance of their personal involvement with their workforces.

Two firms had structured some jobs so that Native workers operate together in crews. The circumstances are quite different at these two firms. One employer hires workers from the same village to fill a crew at an enclave site. This employer was pleased with the result, although saying it is important to have no more than one inexperienced worker on a five person crew. The other employer has all Native workers, so it wasn't a question of putting together an all Native crew but simply that employees preferred working with tasks assigned to the group instead of the individual. This employer commented that one person in each group has tended to become the spokesperson for the group, and this person interacts with management.

One employer experimented with providing transportation from home to work for Native workers but discontinued this practice, commenting that it may have been a good idea when workers were
unaccustomed to the discipline of a time schedule but it is now unnecessary. Other employers continue to provide transportation. None of the employers provide any special Native food at their enclave employment sites.

C. MANAGEMENT TRAINING

None of the employers had management training which dealt specifically with the needs of Native workers, although several mentioned the desirability of training supervisors in cross-cultural communication skills. Employers considered it extremely important that supervisors had experience in rural Alaska and that they not be "rednecks." Employers spoke of using a warm, personal style, spending time on the floor or in the coffee shop listening and talking to employees, and developing personal relationships with workers. One successful small employer said he does not criticize workers but makes a point to praise things he likes. He also believes it is very important that his workers know what they're doing is important and valued by the company. Several employers said they achieve low worker turnover by using a combination of high expectations, firmness, well-defined standards, and generous praise and reassurance.

Many employers interviewed are actively seeking to increase their numbers of Native supervisors and managers. The Native corporations, in particular, are developing plans to increase the number of shareholders in top management within a few years. One
corporation said it has, in the past, hired technicians and managers from "outside" with the understanding that Native workers would be trained to take over as soon as possible. However, they report results have been disappointing. The outsiders wanted to keep the jobs and did not train successors. This Native corporation now makes it very clear to "outsiders" that their primary mission is to train a successor, and if there is not sufficient progress, the "outsider" will be replaced.

Another employer picks a few young Native workers whom it feels have promise to be managers and invests heavily in them. The company pays for formal schooling (if the employee requests it) and these trainees work directly under the company's best managers for a year or two. It is necessary under this program, however, that the trainee be willing to live in various communities. The training is usually divided between at least two branches of the firm, and when training is completed, the managers are expected to move every three or four years. The program has already (in two years) produced one very good branch manager.

Another company has a two-year intern program for women and minorities to bring them into professional/managerial positions. During the two-year period, the department which is providing the on-the-job training is not charged for the interns' salary. The specific training tasks are outlined in a written plan agreed upon by the supervisor and the intern. Progress is monitored quarterly by top management.
Several employers felt that older Native workers did not wish supervisory roles because telling people what to do is not culturally accepted behavior. However, these employers agreed that younger workers are much more apt to want these positions.

D. WORKER TRAINING

On-the-job training, in contrast to classroom instruction, is favored by most employers. One employer has a "job orientation period" for new employees in which the new job holders learn from others doing similar work. The orientation period is purposely designed to be long enough so the new job holder will have a successful experience, learning the job before the expected time.

Another firm teams new workers with those who are planning to terminate because they feel it is important to have double staffing during the training period. New employees learn by working beside employees already doing the job. This employer felt that training done by supervisors or manuals describing job duties, were not effective.

Several employers mentioned the importance of breaking training into many small increments, particularly when training is done in a classroom or by supervisors on the job site. With an OJT "buddy system," the new worker almost automatically sets his or her own pace, but in group training, each new worker has to keep up with the
group or he or she may be embarrassed and made to feel inadequate. One employer suggested trainers should praise successful increments of skill instead of criticizing failures.

Several employers told of Native workers being placed in jobs without adequate preparation and, thereby made to feel inadequate. When this occurs, the worker usually quits. One employer reported that some of its new Native workers had been trained as cutters, buckers, and fallers when they should have been trained as choke setters first and been allowed to work up to the more skilled jobs. This had resulted in high turnover. "Only give responsibility bit by bit," counseled another. Another employer reported a case where Native workers with very little experience had been placed in jobs as heavy equipment operators. These workers quit within a couple weeks. He commented that these workers might have been successful if they had been working with an experienced operator for a few months.

This brings up the point made by several employers. It is often difficult to get experienced people to train others for their jobs. Some employers said non-Natives won't train Natives. Cultural differences undoubtedly exacerbate the problem. One major employer said the following: "Many of our 30 and 40 year-old men do not know how to work on an oil rig even as unskilled labor. Foremen on the oil rigs will not train. Oil company foremen should have their job security dependent upon how well they train workers." Several
employers said Native workers do not wish to be designated as "trainees" since the title denotes a junior worker hired on a temporary basis and without job responsibilities. Other employers pointed out that the payment of high wages to unskilled workers with little or no training makes problems worse. Supervisors and skilled workers, they felt, resent training unskilled workers who were being paid journeyman wages.

E. OTHER FACTORS INFLUENCING TURNOVER

Most employers said younger workers (under age 30) have higher turnover rates than older workers. Several employers said those between 30 and 50 years of age have proved to be their most dependable workers. However, another said, "Workers over 30 are tied to their villages and want to stay there and hunt and fish." Still, another employer said, "I have lots of turnover amongst all my young employees--Native and non-Native."

Many employees feel alcohol is closely connected with high rates of quits and absenteeism. Some employers have had greater success in retaining employees at enclave employment sites where alcohol is not permitted.

Unskilled jobs with low rates of pay have high rates of turnover. However, employers also report high turnover rates even in very well paid jobs. Not surprisingly, employers we interviewed
differed in their evaluations of the importance of pay rates on job tenure. Some thought a high rate of pay was extremely important in retaining Native employees and that low rates of pay would result in higher turnover. Others expressed the opposite feeling: Native employees often have a money goal and the faster the goal is met, the sooner they will quit to pursue other activities.

None of the employers thought men and women had differential turnover rates, and they were also in agreement that liberal rehire policies for Native workers didn't encourage turnover.

Lack of proper training, employers feel, has been a factor in causing workers to quit. Workers often quit with hurt feelings and frustration due to inadequate training and unrealistic employer expectations.
A. HIRING AND RECRUITMENT

Most employers in the Canadian NWT appear to follow similar procedures for identifying, recruiting, and hiring Native (and other northern) workers. A person, or unit, within the organization is given primary responsibility for transmitting information about job opportunities to potential Native workers. All of the employers with whom we spoke did this, in part, by making periodic visits to Native villages in their areas.*

During these village visits, meetings are held with village councils, Native organizations, and other community groups, and information about current and forthcoming job opportunities is discussed. Participation in local school career days may occur. The frequency of these visits varied from monthly to once every twelve to eighteen months among the employers interviewed.

* In the NWT, communities are differentiated into settlements, hamlets, villages, towns, and cities based on their population, size, tax base, and legal status. Throughout the following discussion, we will refer to settlements, hamlets, and villages collectively as villages. Towns are communities with populations exceeding 1,000 persons and taxable land assessments of at least $2,500 per capita. These communities roughly correspond to what are called "regional centers" in Alaska. Cities in the NWT have populations exceeding 6,000 persons and taxable land assessments exceeding $2,600 per capita. These communities roughly correspond to what are called "urban areas" in Alaska.
In addition to village visits, employers usually use the local employment service system of the NWT and also may advertise by using local newspapers, local television broadcasts (using TV scan cards), and posters which announce the availability of jobs. Some employers leave job applications in the villages and send personnel staff to interview potential workers at any village from which an application is received.

Two employers offer short-term summer work to local high school students. Both felt this was a potentially effective recruitment device since it gave students a realistic expectation of the job conditions they would encounter if they apply for employment after graduation.

One employer noted that the best recruitment results come from areas where a major private employer already exists and speculated that this results from the local population having more accurate expectations of the working conditions they would encounter on the job. Another employer commented that his company's poorest recruitment occurred in areas where government projects had been the primary source of local wage employment. He felt this resulted from the laxity of supervisory practices and work rules on these projects.

In general, no single recruitment strategy seemed clearly preferable. Results appeared to vary by occupation and local area. Most employers felt that regular contact with village councils and
Native organizations was essential and helped facilitate word-of-mouth knowledge about employment opportunities with their companies. However, all felt that no single recruitment strategy worked all of the time. Local conditions, the season of the year, and the occupations involved were all identified as having an influence on Native recruitment efforts. None of the employers felt able to identify a regular pattern, but they all seemed to agree that successful recruiting cannot be hurried or be a last-minute affair. Where employment involves a rotation (commuting) work schedule or relocation to a new community, the decision to take a job has significance for family, community, and lifestyle. Such a decision cannot be made quickly or without serious consideration. Recruiters, they felt, need to make several visits to each community and allow sufficient time during each visit to interact with local residents if they are to be successful.

B. WORKPLACE ORGANIZATION

(1) Wages and Hours

Most employers felt that it was important to pay wages generally accepted as prevailing for the jobs, and that no distinctions be allowed in the wages paid to Native and non-Native workers employed at the same or for similar tasks. None of the employers used wage (cash) incentives to motivate their workers, although one employer indicated some success with bonuses paid for achieving an above average safety record. Native workers' remuneration was based on both weekly salaries and hourly wage rates, and both seemed to work
equally well. One employer reported a positive reaction when pay periods were reorganized so that the workers received their pay at the end of each rotational shift, just as they were leaving for home.

Hours of work varied from eight to ten hours per day and from five to seven days per week, depending upon the industry and whether or not the job involved rotational (commuting) employment.

Continuity of employment involves the number of weeks of employment in a rotational (commuting) schedule. Several employers commented on the importance of family and community participation for Native workers, particularly if they were recruited from small villages and had limited experience working in the market economy. Regular work schedules ranged from as long as 13 weeks (with 2 weeks off) but Native work schedules never exceeded 6 weeks, and were usually shorter. Several employers commented that the availability of free telephones for workers to call home whenever they wanted had proved important in maintaining a stable Native work force. One employer retains a person in each village to assist Native workers in being ready to return when their rotational shift comes up and pays this person on a per capita basis for each member of the scheduled work crew.
(2) Vacations, Holidays, and Time Off

The granting of leave for Native workers to engage in traditional hunting and fishing activities was generally considered important, and one employer reported a reduction in Native worker turnover after the initiation of hunting and fishing leave. Most employers felt it was important to develop procedures for this type of leave so that it could be scheduled and planned in advance. The major difficulty appeared to occur when the time for traditional hunting and fishing activities conflicted with a period of critical job responsibilities. Several approaches to this problem included a work rule that hunting and fishing leave would only be granted to nonsupervisory workers, the exclusion of workers requesting such leave from apprenticeship progression jobs (workers were always aware of these consequences well in advance of the time for requesting hunting and fishing leave), and the training of Native workers for multiple skills so that they could substitute for one another during the hunting and fishing season.

(3) Lay Offs, Discharges, and Quits

Most NWT employers had stable or growing work forces and little experience with general lay offs. One employer commented that some initial problems had occurred because the company had not been explicit during recruitment that the work was permanent but involved regular seasonal lay offs. Because this had not been made clear at the outset, a lot of worker frustration and anxiety resulted, a consequence of which was high worker dissatisfaction and turnover.
When recruitment practices were changed to ensure that workers knew about the seasonal patterns at the time of their hire, most of these problems disappeared.

All of the private employers interviewed agreed that it was important to have a clear, well defined, and impartially-applied discharge policy. They also agreed that it was important to have a policy of rehiring discharged Native workers after some minimum waiting period and as normal job opportunities opened up. Several employers emphasized that some of their Native workers were experiencing first contact with job conditions in the market economy and that an erratic discharge policy leads to confusion about what is expected of them. For the same reason, however, they had policies of rehiring Native workers whose behavior would have foreclosed a non-Native from being rehired. Some employers said they viewed their hire/discharge/rehire policies as part of the process through which persons with little experience in the market economy learn about employers' expectations of their work force's behavior. They stated that some of their Native workers had been discharged several times during their initial periods of employment and had returned to become excellent workers. Native workers, it should be noted, were seldom discharged for reasons connected with their job performance. The most usual reasons were absenteeism, lateness, or alcohol- and drug-related problems. Alcohol-related problems were commented on by most employers, and one reported a policy of not rehiring workers discharged for alcohol abuse.
As will be discussed further in other parts of this chapter, voluntary termination (quits) was the major cause of turnover among Native workers. Most employers require prior notice; and when given, rehire workers without prejudice (some give priority to rehiring workers who have given notice). When workers quit without notice, most employers treat the worker the same as a discharged worker. Several employers have instituted systems of counseling workers about alternatives to quitting (e.g., taking a period of leave without pay) and feel this has helped reduce worker turnover.

(4) Job Structuring and Counseling

All employers in the NWT have made some attempt to tailor the structure of the worksite to northern conditions. Most employers emphasized the importance of building good interpersonal relations between Native workers and their supervisors. One frequently used technique for accomplishing this is to minimize (if not eliminate) signs of status differentiation on the job. The work schedules, clothing, equipment, housing, transportation, food, and recreation provided for workers and supervisors are identical. As one employer commented, "The only difference between the lowest worker and the highest supervisor is the size of his paycheck."

Several employers organize their work crews so that Native employees work together; although, as will be discussed later in the chapter, this has to be done with some care. Employers who also have used Native supervisors with Native work crews were unanimous
in assessing its effectiveness in reducing turnover. The major problem with this technique is the relatively short time many NWT employers have been operating limits the number of Native supervisors potentially available. One employer rotates its entire staff (including top management) as a unit so that the same people always work together, and reported this helped build a cohesiveness that contributed to lower turnover. Another employer trains members of Native work crews in a primary skill but also gives training in several related skills. This has the advantage of both allowing the workers to engage a diversity of work tasks and also allows the crew to continue functioning as a unit when one of its members is sick or otherwise absent. In a similar manner, one employer reported some success by diversifying the work tasks assigned to Native crews so that both "inside" and "outside" tasks were involved.

The use of counselors to assist Native workers to overcome both job and nonjob-related problems before they lead to a termination was fairly widespread. One employer reported success with the use of Native counselors; however, most of the counselors were not Natives. The counselors used by another employer (who also felt they had been successful in helping reduce turnover) were explicitly instructed not to intervene in the worker/supervisor relationship, but only to facilitate better communication on both sides. One employer commented that supervisors may precipitate problems by yelling at a Native worker, making an off-hand remark, or appear to be treating a Native differently than his or her coworkers. Within
a few days the worker will quit, saying he or she is leaving to return to their village (or family), go hunting (or fishing), or he or she is tired of the job. In such instances, the role of the counselor is to make the supervisors aware of the negative consequences of their behavior, make the workers aware of the inadvertent nature of the incident, and bring the supervisor and worker together to solve the problem. This employer's attitude is that counselors can help facilitate a good worker/supervisor relationship, but cannot be a substitute for it. The approach appeared to be more successful than the usual one of allowing supervisors to refer problems to the counselors for solutions.

C. MANAGEMENT TRAINING

(1) Use of Local and Nonlocal Supervisors

There was agreement among all employers that the use of supervisors who had lived and worked in the NWT was better than importing them from southern Canada. The use of Native supervisors was considered to be even better. In both cases, it was felt that residents of the NWT had a better understanding of the unique problems involved in working under arctic and subarctic conditions. Native supervisors, in particular, were felt to better appreciate the interpersonal and cross-cultural difficulties faced by Native workers.

Yet, with the exception of some NWT government agencies, employers continued to import the majority of their supervisors from
southern Canada. The major reason given for this situation was that most Northerners, and particularly Natives, lacked the combination of occupational skills and work experience necessary to qualify them as supervisors. Several employers commented that high turnover contributed to the difficulty of advancing Native workers into supervisory positions. Other employers pointed to the relatively short period of time industrial work opportunities have been available in the NWT. They felt that Natives would be advanced into supervisory positions naturally with time. Although several persons commented informally that Natives did not demonstrate the same drive for upward job mobility that non-Natives did, none of the managers with whom I spoke felt there was any evidence in support of this opinion.

(2) Supervisory Training

All of the employers provided some type of orientation to northern working conditions and people for supervisors brought in from southern Canada. Several employers had extensive programs and felt this was one of the (if not the) most important factors in creating a stable, reliable, and motivated Native work force. One employer conducted an extensive orientation to Native culture, customs, and language for all new supervisors and commented that supervisor orientation was an essential part of establishing strong, open interpersonal ties between Native workers and the supervisors.
Several employers commented on the need for supervisors to learn how to relate to Native workers. They felt that southern supervisors are unaware that Native workers will internalize (and, consequently, respond negatively to) comments made about the job even though they don't refer to the worker. They also felt some newly hired supervisors have low expectations of their Native workers, reflected in an attitude of "that's all these people can do." Such attitudes have to be changed during the orientation period, they felt, if supervisors are to be able to effectively direct their work crews.

Another orientation technique used by one employer was to have line supervisors accompany the recruitment staff during visits to Native villages, and to remain in the villages for a day or two. Several employers developed handbooks of specific "do's and dont's" which supervisors are expected to follow.

In general, it appeared that employers with the most success in hiring and retaining Native work crews were (1) the most aware of the problems potentially caused by cross-cultural differences and (2) the most aware of the need for supervisory training as a necessary (if not sufficient) method of avoiding them.

(3) Commitment of Top Management

There was widespread agreement that top management's commitment is essential for a successful Native hire program; and all
employers expressed such a commitment. For some, however, the commitment has not evolved into a management operating plan. Sometimes there was no clear statement of goals or priorities. Other times, employer efforts appeared as ad hoc responses to individual opportunities (or problems) and lost their effectiveness by lack of coordination. Occasionally, Native hire issues were assigned to a special unit that had no line relationship to production activity. In such a situation, the unit lost relevance to its organization's mission and was seldom effective.

One management link to operations was an explicit statement that the ability to function effectively in a cross-cultural environment is one of the qualifications required of persons applying for supervisory positions. Another was a clear statement in each supervisor's job description saying that he or she was equally responsible for production and the training and motivating of workers they direct. Several employers use supervisor orientations to reinforce the importance of the motivating and training responsibilities of supervisors.

During conversations with several small employers who had records of both operating profitably in the NWT and employing a significant proportion of Natives in their work forces, the importance of creating a job environment which motivates workers to both learn and perform up to expectations was frequently mentioned. Since these small employers also supervised their own crews, these
attitudes directly influenced their supervisory practices. In larger organizations, more formal methods appear necessary for converting management attitudes into supervisory behavior.

D. WORKER TRAINING

(1) Skill Training

Employers in the NWT use a full range of skill training approaches including on the job training (OJT), technical training courses, and apprenticeship training. Most of the skill training is done "in-house," although there is widespread use of outside organizations (both public and private) for providing technical courses. Some employers have developed programs with local schools and technical colleges for students to work for several weeks as OJT trainees. One employer commented that bringing the classroom into industry helped promote realistic expectations about working life and led to more successful recruitment.

Several employers commented on the need for training to be clear, simple, and fully explained. Differences of language and culture, they felt, cause a loss of subtlety in communication. They also felt that the casual connections implicitly contained in different cultures are not always the same. Training, consequently, must be laid out clearly and in a logical sequence. The reasons for doing things have to be fully explained (as well as demonstrated) during training. These employers felt that recognizing and adapting to the communications difficulties inherent
in cross-cultural training was essential for successful local hiring in the North.

(2) Non-Skill Training

Several employers commented on the difficulty many Native workers appear to experience when adjusting to the culture of an industrial workplace. Particularly when educational attainment is low, a combination of language and other cross-cultural barriers combined with the normal problems of learning to live in a large community after having spent an entire life in small ones, produce behavior which to employers appears to be a lack of assertiveness in job performance.

Employers had developed several different approaches to this perception of a problem. Most often, counselors were used to help workers find solutions to social, cross-cultural, and relocation problems. Some employers were considering contracting for training in interpersonal problem solving for new Native employees. A few had formal orientations. Most of these approaches were too new to judge their effectiveness, but several employers commented that they appeared to contribute to turnover reduction.

One employer commented about another difficult adjustment Native workers appeared to have to the workplace. Most employers assume that family, regional, religious, and other personal differences are left at home when an employee goes to work. The traditional Native
culture does not contain the sharp distinction between work behavior and personal behavior which our market economy and culture does. They, consequently, will bring rivalries based on family, village, band, or tribal identities to their behavior on the job. Rivalries between villages, for example, can produce high turnover if workers from the two rival villages are mixed together in the same work crew. This employer speculated that more emphasis on the non-skill aspects of expected worker behavior during orientation periods might be one way of addressing this problem.
Section III

In general, larger firms were observed making substantially greater expenditures on the recruitment, training, and retention of Native workers than smaller firms. This is reasonable since (1) all firms will maximize their profits so long as the savings from reduced turnover exceed the costs of a turnover reduction program and (2) the savings to the firm will vary directly with its size. For example, a fall in turnover which results in a 0.5 percent reduction in labor costs, assuming an average hourly wage of $10 and an overhead (including fringe benefits) burden of 2, equals a weekly saving of $100 for a firm with 25 employees but equals a weekly saving of $4,000 for a firm with 1,000 employees. While firms have a profit motive to reduce turnover, the larger ones will have the greatest motive (from potential labor cost savings) to develop specialized programs for that purpose.

The implications of this general tendency are twofold: First, larger firms may employ functionally trained staff (recruiters, counselors, facilitators, trainers, etc.) to operate programs directed toward hiring and retaining Native workers. The programs require the active involvement of management if they are to be effective. As is true for most things in large organizations, well designed management systems and actively involved managers are the essential ingredients for program success. However, it appears that
even where managers are actively involved, systems for achieving successful Native hire and retention programs are lacking. None of the employers we visited appeared to feel that a successful personnel management model designed for Native workers was available. All had experimented with different procedures as problems occurred and were addressed on an ad hoc basis. Some of these procedures worked and were retained, most did not and were dropped after a period of experimentation.

Where a larger firm's attempts to hire and retain Native workers do not produce any successful personnel practice innovations, an alternative solution may be sought. This alternative solution stems from the fact that, generally, it appears the administrative procedures of larger firms for dealing with employee turnover are elaborate and cause them to absorb higher turnover costs than do smaller firms. The use of Native preference clauses in subcontracts with smaller firms, consequently, is another method by which larger firms can reduce labor turnover costs while meeting commitments to provide employment opportunities to Native workers.

Both these patterns were observed during our visits to larger firms in Alaska and Canada's NWT. There was the widespread use of ad hoc personnel system innovations. At the same time, the use of small, locally-based subcontractors with significant numbers of Native workers on their crews was also widely observed. In a few cases, both patterns were observed in the same firm, giving the
impression that most larger firms would prefer (and would achieve the greatest cost saving from) directly employing Native workers if their turnover rates were the same as the non-Native work force. In the absence of a proven model for achieving this, they continue to experiment on a small scale while primarily using the lower cost administrative turnover procedures of small subcontractors to meet their organizations' Native hire objectives.

Smaller firms, on the other hand, appeared to follow a very different form of behavior. Not having the resources (or more accurately, the potential cost savings from reduced labor turnover) to employ a staff of persons trained in the different functional disciplines necessary to hire and retain Native workers, the entire responsibility falls upon the shoulders of the firm's top-line manager. This person becomes the recruiter, trainer, counselor, and supervisor. Since these firms are small, they usually have limited capability to recruit a work force outside their local labor markets, and the ability of the top manager (oftentimes the firm's owner) to work successfully with the local (often predominantly Native) persons becomes critical to the financial success of the business. For small firms, consequently, the interpersonal skills of the manager (owner, entrepreneur) are more important to success of a business venture than the technical skills that he or she may possess.
The importance of interpersonal skills for the managers of businesses operating in northern arctic and subarctic villages was reflected in our visits to employers in both Alaska and Canada. Successful small businesses were almost invariably run by persons described by their peers as people who "know how to operate in the North" and "know how to work with people." Managers and supervisors were regularly selected because they had the "right personality" even though they had little technical skill. There appeared to be a widespread presumption that functional competence could be learned on the job more easily than the ability to work with a locally recruited work force. Based on our observation of successful small businesses, this presumption was well founded.

Overall, it appears to us that neither large nor small firms have evolved successful models for operating in the arctic and subarctic north while employing local work forces. Large firms continue their ad hoc experiments with personnel system innovations but rely primarily on nonlocally-recruited work forces while using small subcontractors to meet their local (Native) hire objectives. Small firms, if they survive as successful ventures, are managed by persons with the interpersonal skills necessary to develop and retain a locally-recruited work force, even though the firm may not be able to meet technically achievable production standards.

A qualification to this pattern emerges because of the second general pattern we observed: differences in business ownership.
The major difference was between Native- and non-Native-owned businesses, and the difference in their operating procedures appears attributable to their differential ability to capture the benefits of creating a trained local labor force. The existence of such a labor force reduces the cost of operating for all firms in a local economy, a phenomenon commented upon over 200 years ago by Adam Smith in his discussion of factors influencing the profitability of business firms in Great Britain during the Industrial Revolution. Where job training is specific to an individual firm's operations and has little value to other potential employers, the firm will bear the full training costs. Where the training is generalized, as in the case of a local Native population learning entry-level industrial and business skills, employers have no profit incentive to undertake such training since its benefits become equally available to all firms in the local economy.

Alaska's Native for-profit organizations, however, are an exception to this general rule. To begin with, all of their shareholders are Natives participating in the local economy, and increasing their employable skills can be viewed as a rational form of wealth maximization on the part of the Native-owned firms. Secondly, the Native for-profit corporations and their operating subsidiaries often make up a majority of the total employers in a local economy. Consequently, the Native for-profit corporations can capture the benefits of a trained local labor force to a much greater degree than is true for any single operating firm. Finally,
both the Native corporations and the Native population appear to have a high degree of geographic immobility. Because of their expected long-term presence in a local economy (although it may be through a variety of different operating subsidiary firms), the Native corporations are again better able to capture the benefits of creating a local skilled labor force than any other private, profit-making firm.

For all of these reasons, it would appear that a rational, profit-maximizing Native corporation would invest more heavily than a non-Native firm in training local workers; this was the pattern we observed during our visits. Native-owned businesses will generally give preference to the hiring of Native workers, even when non-Native workers with more training or work experience are available. Preference is also given to Native workers in the selection of supervisors and managers. When non-Natives are selected for such positions, they are often given short-term (one- or two-year) contracts with the understanding that part of their job is to train their Native successors. As a result of these procedures, the proportion of Native workers in enterprises owned by Native corporations was greater than that found in non-Native-owned firms. In our judgement, however, these results follow not from a taste for discrimination (either by Native corporations in favor of Native workers or by non-Native corporations against them), but from the different abilities of Native and non-Native firms to capture the benefits of creating a trained, reliable work force in the local economy.
Section IV

Turning to the specific workplace adaptations that firms operating in the arctic and subarctic North have evolved, they fall into several broad categories including recruitment and hiring, job structuring, management procedures, and worker orientations. Each will be discussed in turn.

HIRING AND RECRUITMENT

All of the firms we interviewed found it necessary to have outreach programs if they wished to employ Native workers. Native people appear to respond, primarily, to individually identified opportunities for productive activity. By custom and habit, it appears they are not used to incurring the costs of job search. In particular, the costs of job search in labor markets outside their local area represent a behavioral pattern which is alien to traditional forms. Particularly where the site of employment is distant from workers traditional places of residence, outreach efforts are essential. Further, it appears that the continuity of the recruitment (outreach) staff is important. Potential Native workers appear to relate best to persons whom they have come to know over time and have learned to trust. The most successful recruitment efforts, consequently, are those which involve individuals who have visited the same village over a period of years and have developed a sense of trust with the local population.
Although the recruitment patterns of the firms we visited showed considerable variation, the continuity of recruitment staff (as well as recruitment activity) appeared to be important. Further, the willingness of the recruitment (outreach) staff to discuss the negative as well as the positive aspects of the available job opportunities seems to be important for creating realistic expectations of actual working conditions. The absence of such realistic expectations seems to be related to high worker turnover.

Native workers appear to function best when the workplace is organized around teams, or crews, rather than individual worksites. The optimum work environment would be flexibility of task assignments within a team so that each worker would perform a variety of tasks. Task assignments within the team (and work assignments for the team as a whole) should be clearly identified so that individual and team responsibilities are fully understood. If possible, both team and individual work assignments should be broken down so that they can be completed within a single day, thereby giving workers daily feedback on their accomplishments.

Hierarchical titles and status symbols should be minimized on the job. Supervisors should work with employers on the job site and not be separated from them. There should be no distinctive clothing, badges, or other status symbols. Special offices, eating areas, or other barriers to open and easy interaction between supervisors and workers should be avoided. The absence of
heirarchical titles and status roles should not be confused with any reduction of supervisory authority. Supervisors must have the authority to issue orders, assign job duties, monitor work produced for quality and exactness, and take other actions necessary to coordinate and direct the activities of workers for whose production they are responsible. Their role, however, is to be the lead person in a team of workers and not someone separate from the working team.

Firms operating in the arctic and subarctic North need to allow their Native workers sufficient time to participate in traditional subsistence activities. The amount of time allowed will vary with the type of subsistence activity traditional to a specific area and could range from as little as two weeks to as long as three months in duration. Subsistence time off is appropriately handled as leave without pay and should be scheduled in advance. The taking of subsistence leave, unless the entire worksite is shut down, presents major difficulties when key workers or supervisors are involved. Particularly when the period of traditional subsistence activity is of a longer duration, the absence of a key worker or supervisor can be disruptive to meeting production schedules. Consequently, while scheduled subsistence leave should be available to all workers, participation in the subsistence leave program will normally exclude workers from participating in advanced skill or other career development training.
Employers should have a clear discharge policy which is known by all workers at their time of hire and which is uniformly enforced for all persons who violate the firm's established work rules and procedures. There should be no exceptions allowed. At the same time, however, there should be no limits (with the one exception that will be noted below) to the rehiring of workers who have been discharged. The system that seems most appropriate is to allow discharged workers to apply for rehiring at any time following some minimum waiting period (a period of between two weeks and a month appears reasonable), at which time they would be placed at the bottom of the list of persons who have applied for jobs. The exception to this general procedure would be the case of persons who arrive for work either drunk or high on drugs. Drunkeness or other forms of drug abuse are so totally disruptive to the functioning of a workplace that they have to be totally prohibited. That is, a worker discharged for showing up to work high on alcohol or other drugs should be discharged and not rehired. If a person who is high calls in absent, however, he or she should be treated the same as any other person who calls in sick. A high frequency of such "call-ins" would be a reason for discharge, but the normal rehire policy would then apply.

To the maximum extent feasible, hours and patterns of work should be adapted to the normal social rhythm of the place where the worksite is located. In the case of an enclave worksite, this point becomes moot, but where the worksite is located in a local
village economy, it can take on significance. Most smaller villages we visited exhibited a living pattern that both started and ended late in the day. Little activity appeared to occur in the early morning and local residents were still actively participating in various community and household activities until late into the night. A worksite organized around an 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. schedule in such a smaller village would be analogous to working third shift in the lower 48. It would require that a worker follow a schedule that would isolate him or her from the everyday life of family, friends, and community. Such a schedule should be avoided. Hours of work should be tailored to a community's normal daily cycle of activity rather than any arbitrary definition of the working day.

In a similar way, the workplace should be patterned to reflect the normal social organization of the community in which it is located. Our observations were that Native communities exhibit a much higher degree of social interaction than do non-Native communities. Many hours are spent participating in social group activities such as talking, drinking tea, and going for walks. Traditional subsistence activities such as hunting, fishing, and the gathering of berries also are carried out in a group. Seldom is an individual observed engaging in any prolonged activity alone. This pattern of sociality should be reflected in the workplace. Individual work stations should be avoided. They should, instead, be clustered together such that the workers can communicate and otherwise interact with each other. Employers might also consider
starting the workday with a social period when workers could gather to have tea or coffee and converse with each other (and their supervisors) before going to their work stations.

Overall, the pattern of job structuring which we observed to work most efficiently in the arctic and subarctic North is that which most closely incorporates the traditional patterns of daily activity, productive effort, and authority into the organization of the workplace. When this occurs, the workplace becomes part of the community instead of an intrusion into it. The result, it appears to us, is a reduction in labor cost from the organization of a reliable work force which finds that modern production methods can be modified to incorporate many elements of traditional lifestyles.

WORKER ORIENTATION

Notwithstanding the style of job structuring discussed above, some Native workers will still find the social organization of work puzzling since it represents a set of interpersonal relationships not found in most aspects of their own culture. To cope with this problem, it appears advisable that employers provide orientations for all new workers.

One element of the orientation should deal with the culture of the workplace including the development of interpersonal skills. This element should begin by emphasizing the essential time/task/quality orientation of the workplace. Modern production
requires not only that a task be accomplished, but that it be accomplished in a specified period of time and to a specified level of quality. Unlike household-based production for own consumption where each household can make its own trade-offs between duration of effort, completion of task, and quality of product according to its own preferences, modern market production requires that all workers function against a set of time, task, and quality constraints imposed (ultimately) by a set of consumers whom they may never know. A person's only essential trade-off is between working and not working. If he or she decides to work at the prevailing wage, most other trade-offs are decided for him or her by the ultimate consumer. For example, a worker may prefer to concentrate long hours on making a product of high quality, but if consumers are unwilling to spend a lot of money for the product, the worker's only choices are (a) not to work, (b) accept a lower wage, or (c) produce what the consumer wants.

A second element that needs to be covered during the orientation is the interdependence of production. Modern work involves a division of labor where the ability of any one worker to do his or her job depends upon other workers doing their jobs. As discussed in Chapter II, this type of interdependent production plays a relatively minor role in traditional home production for own use and the responsibilities it imposes are generally unfamiliar to many Native workers. It is, therefore, important that the concept of interdependent production be fully discussed so that workers
appreciate the importance of work rules and schedules and not see them as arbitrary impositions.

In a similar manner, it appears to us that Native culture does not contain the distinctions between work behavior and personal behavior that exist in our market-oriented culture. As a result, many issues related to family obligations or interfamily rivalries affect workplace behavior. The orientation should, consequently, cover the concept of a "culture of work": viz, the idea that all workers (including supervisors) will work together in a friendly, courteous, and helpful manner to achieve their common goals.

Another related element that the orientation should cover is that new (and potential) workers be given realistic expectations of the conditions they will encounter on the job. This would include a thorough review of work rules, supervisory practices, performance expectations, and on-the-job safety. The key points covered in this element should be (a) that there are reasons for things being done in a specified way and these reasons have evolved through a lot of trial and error experience—they are not arbitrary and (b) working with people in an organized manner is always difficult—coworkers and supervisors may say and do inappropriate things for no apparent reason, for example, and that open communication is an alternative to quitting.
Finally, the orientation should address the concept of working as a career and not just a short-term activity to make a targeted amount of money.

SUPERVISOR ORIENTATION

The purpose of the supervisor orientation is to make all managers and supervisors aware that they are as responsible for training and motivating their workers as they are for meeting production quotas. The supervisors' role in the workplace is analogous to the role of an elder in the village. He or she is to be concerned with how workers mature on the job and develop meaningful careers, how they apply themselves, how they do their part as responsible workers, and not hurt the feelings of other workers.

The supervisor must learn enough of the customs and language of the workers to be sensitive to their needs. They should avoid blaming, criticizing, or using ridiculing remarks. Their role is to motivate and to help. They should try to avoid negative comments by using coworkers (or professional counselors or facilitators if they are available) when some worker needs to be told he has done something wrong, thereby always exerting a positive presence.

PAY SYSTEMS

It appeared to us from our discussions with Native workers that taking a job in the market economy was usually viewed by the elder
members of their families as an act of leaving the traditional family and village structure. Unlike the stories told of immigrant families to the United States who viewed the career mobility of their children as advancing the status of the family (e.g., see Louis Howe's \textit{Land of Our Fathers}), it appears that many Native elders view this type of behavior as a desertion of the family and its traditional values. It seems to us, consequently, that in addition to incorporating traditional values into the workplace, it would be advisable to do something which brings the benefits of working back to the traditional family. To do this, however, will require a modification of the normal methods of worker remuneration.

Worker remuneration normally consists of wages plus a fringe benefit package consisting of health insurance, life insurance, and retirement. The value of this fringe benefit package usually equals about 20 percent to 25 percent of the hourly wage. We would recommend that the fringe benefit package be replaced by (or at least be modified to include) a system of "elders pay."

The system we envision would allow a worker to equally allocate the value (or a portion of the value) of his or her fringe benefits for distribution to elder family members. For example, if there were four elderly members in a worker's family and the value of the fringe benefit package equaled $1.60 per hour (i.e., 20 percent of an hourly wage of $8.00 per hour), each elder in the family would receive $.40 for each hour the worker spends on the job. If the
regular pay period were every two weeks, each worker would receive five checks: a pay check for 80 hours of work with a gross value of $640.00 and four checks each made out in the name of a family elder with a value of $32.00. The elder checks should be given to the workers (not mailed) so that they will have the psychological reward of personally giving the check to each elder family member. While the amount of money going to each elder in our example is not large, it will amount to over $800.00 a year for each elder if a worker is employed full time and could be an important contribution to the elder family member's welfare. More importantly, however, the elder pay system has the potential to support the continuity of traditional family relationships when one of the younger family members elects to enter the market economy as a wage or salary worker.
Section V

The information presented above was based on a few field visits, interviews (mostly) with employers, and a review of published materials about work practices in the NWT. Whenever possible, data on Native hiring and in turnover trends was collected and reviewed. No attempts at quantitative analysis were made, and the above information undoubtedly reflects the subjective judgments as well as the experiences of NWT employers. With that note of caution in mind, the following conclusions seem warranted.

The operational commitment of top management is essential if a positive program of Native hiring is to succeed. In small firms, this occurs automatically. In larger firms, it requires operational procedures to be communicated.

The workplace has three major components which require coordination if they are to reinforce each other. Supervisors who know that worker motivation and training are as much a part of their job as production, and who have had the training they need to be effective. Workers who know what is expected of them on the job, and the training to do it successfully. Finally, a workplace organized around a realistic approach of the difficulties involved in cross-cultural work settings and structured to facilitate
solutions which make sense to both cultures. The following activities appeared to contribute toward this type of coordination.

Recruitment of (or initial contact with) potential employees should include the most realistic description possible of the job environment including skills required, behavior expected, and working conditions which will be encountered. Sufficient time should be allowed for potential workers to think it over and have the opportunity to ask additional questions before he or she decides whether or not they want the job.

Immediately after hire, most employers felt it was important to give new employees an orientation to industrial work in the North. For some new supervisors, this included information about language and other cross-cultural factors that might be encountered on the job. Employers who engaged in more extensive orientations for supervisors felt it contributed to keeping down their Native turnover rates. Employee orientations usually covered an introduction to work rules and working conditions, safety procedures, and the handling of tools and equipment. Several employers expressed the opinion that more time should be spent during worker orientations on the non-skill aspects of work behavior.

Most employers felt it was important to pay prevailing wages. There was also agreement that where the job involved rotational
(commuting) work, the stay-away-from-home time for Native workers should be relatively short, something in the range of two weeks.

The granting of leave to Native workers to engage in traditional hunting and fishing activities was generally considered important. Employers also felt it was necessary to develop procedures so that this type of leave would be planned for and scheduled in advance.

All employers agreed it was important to have a clear, well defined, and impartially applied discharge policy. They also agreed it was important to have a rehire policy for Native workers. Several employers said they viewed their hire/discharge/rehire policies as part of the process by which persons with little experience in the market economy learn about expected work force behavior.

Most employers emphasized the importance of building good interpersonal relations between Natives and other workers and between Native workers and their supervisors. Among the techniques used to accomplish this end are: minimize (if not eliminate) signs of status differentiation on the job, organize work crews so that Native employees from the same village or area work together, use Native supervisors with Native work crews, and use counselors to facilitate a good worker/supervisor relationship.
Finally, so long as this variety of techniques is applied in an ad hoc, one-at-a-time manner, it will not be sufficient to produce a reliable, steady Native work force. Large non-Native employers will continue to meet their Native hire objectives through the use of subcontractors, and small ones will survive only to the extent their owners have natural interpersonal skills. Native-owned firms will continue their policies of Native hire by absorbing higher than normal labor costs which they appear to view (correctly, it seems to us) as investments in the human capital embodied in the arctic and subarctic North's local labor markets that will produce benefits capturable in the future.

Alternatively, it appears to us that the clustering of these techniques in the manner described in Section IV can result in a reorganization of the workplace such that it will motivate indigenous Northerners to participate in local labor markets in a reliable manner. We have recently entered into agreements with two firms (one, a light manufacturing establishment; the other, a retail firm) to reorganize their personnel management system by adapting our general descriptive model to the particulars of their specific operations. We will be monitoring and documenting the results of these two experiments over the next six to twelve months and will be reporting on them by next year.