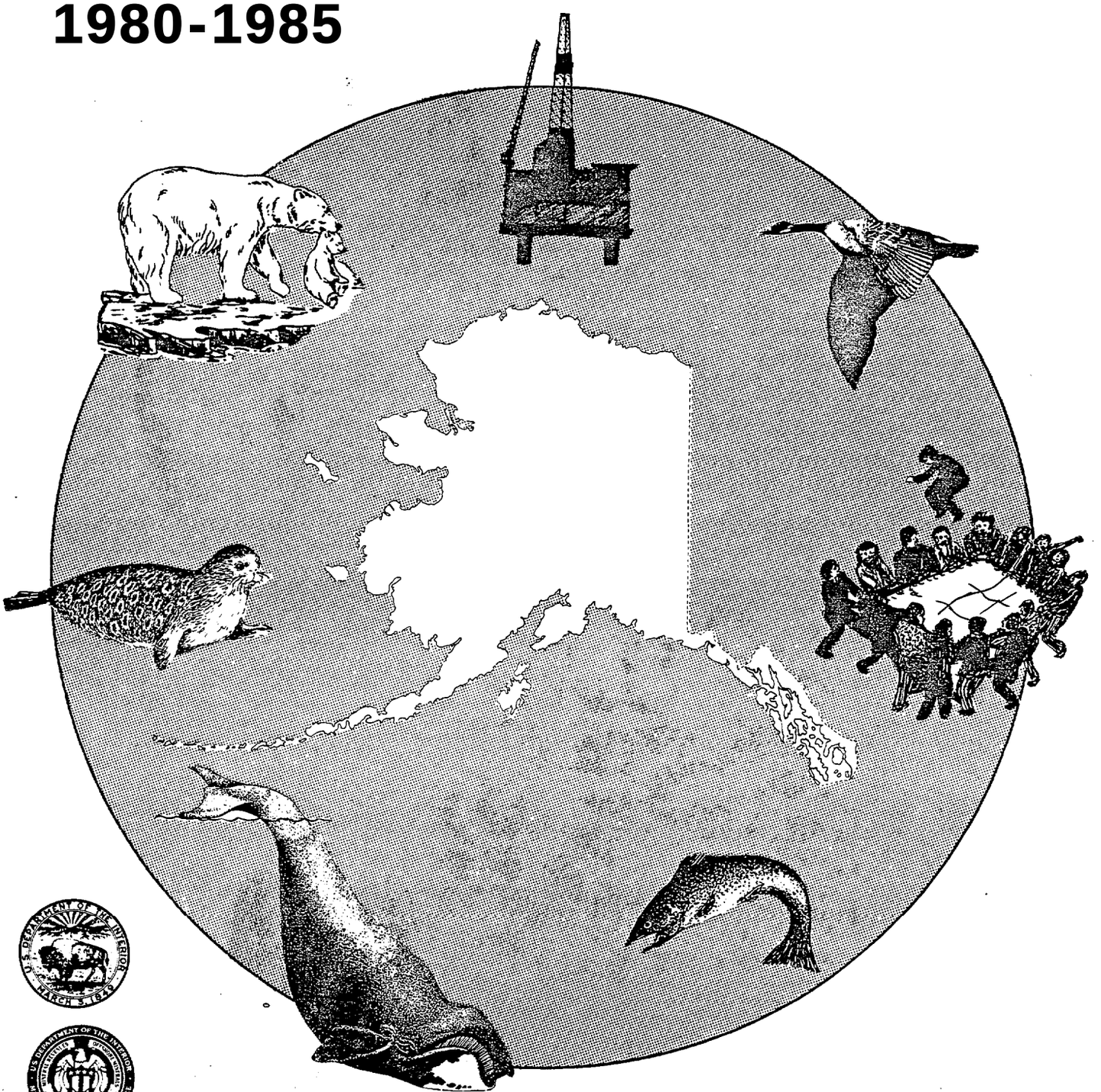
OCS Study
MMS 87-0074

Analysis of Aleut Institutional Response and Change: 1980-1985



U.S. Department of the Interior
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Social and Economic Studies

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FINAL TECHNICAL REPORT

ANALYSIS OF ALEUT INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE AND CHANGE: 19 S0-1985

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Alaska OCS Socioeconomic Studies Program

Analysis of Aleut Institutional Response and Change: 1980-1985

Prepared by:

John S. Petterson, Ph.D.
Michael A. Downs, Ph.D.
Lawrence A. Palinkas, Ph.D.

This project was conducted under the direction of Ms. Karen Gibson, MMS Contracting Officer's Technical Representative. Ms. Gibson's contributions have been central to the success of this project and her efforts are appreciated by the study team.

August 1987

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Abstract of the Final Technical Report
Analysis of Aleut Institutional Response and Change: 1980-1985

This report represents an effort to monitor Aleut institutional response and change over the six-year period of 1980 through 1985. It is the second phase of a Minerals Management Service (MMS) research program designed to closely monitor institutional change in coastal Alaska communities and regions due to Outer Continental Shelf (OCS) oil and gas activity.

The first phase of this program was conducted in the North Slope region, and the monitoring methodology developed in that phase was modified and applied to the Aleutian-Pribilof region for this study. For an extended treatment of the North Slope work, the reader is referred to MMS Technical Report #l 17 ("Monitoring Methodology and Analysis of North Slope Institutional Response and Change: 1979-1983") by the Chilkat Institute (1986), and for a summary of this work, and an extended treatment of the monitoring methodology design, modification, and application process the reader is referred to MMS Technical Report #126 ("Workshop Proceedings: Sociocultural and Institutional Change in the Aleutian-Pribilof Region") by Impact Assessment (1 985).

The Aleutian-Pribilof region is geographically, socially, and culturally diverse. Aleutian-Pribilof region communities are located on the Alaska Peninsula and the Shumagin Islands, as well as on the Aleutian and Pribilof islands themselves. This far-flung region is of military/strategic importance. By far, the largest "community" in the region is the military base on Adak. The region is of present and potential future economic importance to the state and nation as a whole. It is currently the home of several large commercial fisheries and is likely to see expanded offshore oil and gas activity in the future. A number of ethnic groups are represented in these communities, and communities range in their composition from virtually entirely Aleut to entirely non-Aleut.

Traditionally the home of Aleut peoples, the region has experienced sociocultural change over time, with the pace of change quickening with a rapid influx of outsiders over the last several decades. Four communities were chosen as monitoring sites for this study. These communities were selected on the basis of (1) the representativeness of their social, economic, cultural, and political organization to their respective subregions; (2) their size; (3) their location vis-a-vis the regional polity, economy, and potential OCS-related development; and (4) their relevance to the analytic objectives of the study (i.e., the requirements of the sociocultural monitoring methodology). The study communities were identified as representative of the four sociocultural subregions of the Aleutian-Pribilof region: Sand Point (as the center of the subregion composed of the communities of Sand Point, King Cove, False Pass, and Nelson Lagoon), Unalaska (as the regional center), Atka (as a static [control] community of the Akutan, Nikolski, and Atka subregion), and St. Paul (as the center of the St. Paul and St. George subregion).

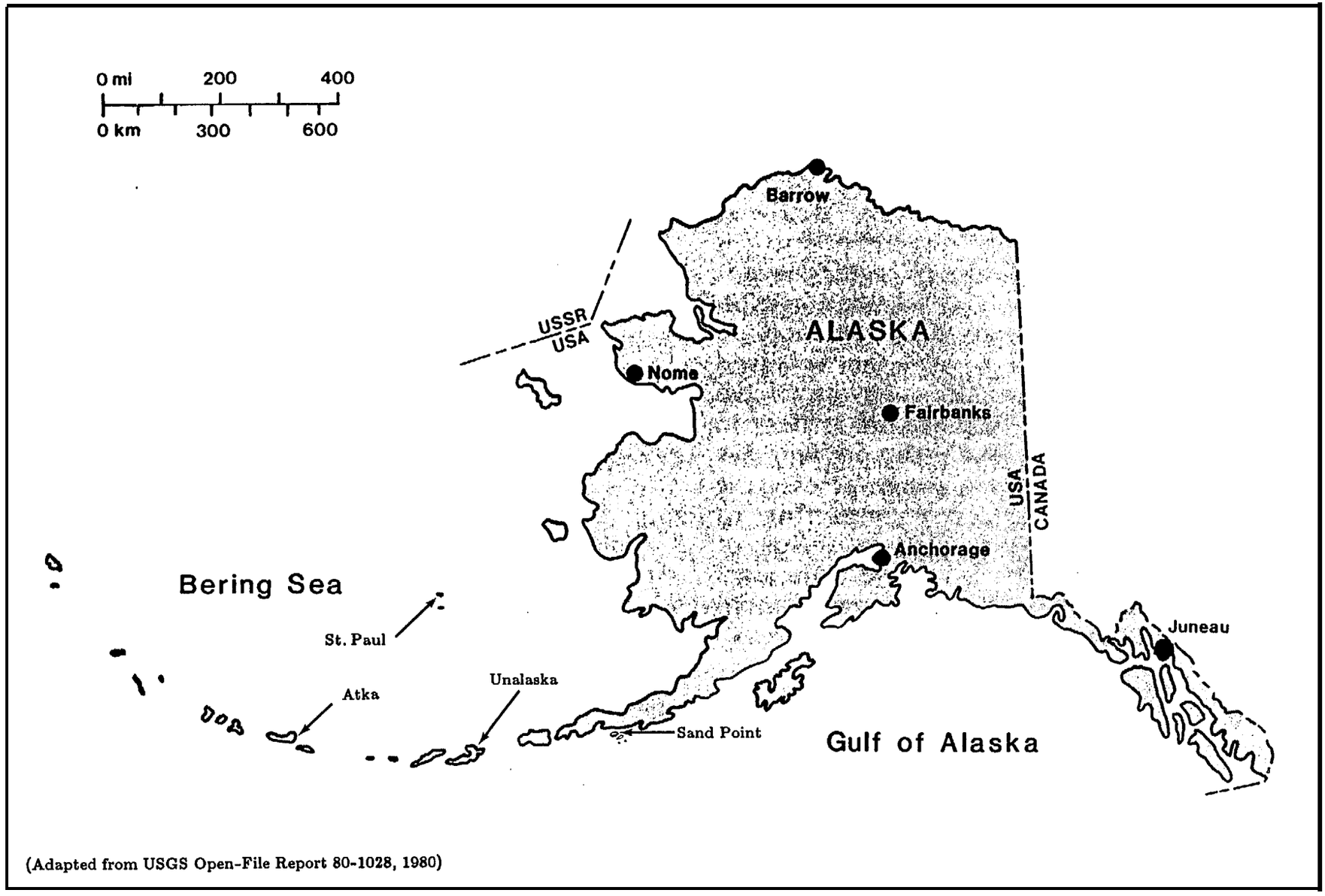
Sand Point is located on Popof Island in the Shumagin Islands group south of the Alaska Peninsula in the Pacific Ocean, Sand Point is an affluent community whose economy is centered around commercial fishing. This community has experienced a significant demographic shift over the last decade, from a predominantly Aleut population to an approximately even balance between Aleut and non-Aleut residents. Unlike other communities in the region, Sand Point has a long history of ethnic mixture between the indigenous Aleut population and Scandinavian fishermen, the results of which have borne a significant influence on the course of social and cultural change. We examine the wide range of factors which establish Sand Point as one of the pre-eminent social, economic, and political centers of the region.

Unalaska is's socially and culturally heterogeneous, essentially non-Native, community on Amaknak and Unalaska islands in the eastern Aleutian Chain. Aleuts comprise a small minority in a population of approximately 1,500 residents and several hundred transients. The social, political, and economic organization of Unalaska focusses on the commercial fishing industry and the community is characterized by an extraordinary level of involvement in the commercial economy. The monitoring period, 1980-1985, saw significant changes in the local economy and social structure. The commercial fishery went through a boom-bust style decline, followed by a diversification and slow growth of the economy in general. Community structure is influenced to an exceptional degree by external commercial and governmental forces. Unalaska is a large community by the standards of the region, and in several senses serves as its commercial center. Its deep-water port and placement close to significant resources assures its continuing importance as a supply and shipping center. During the monitoring period, Unalaska was home to an oil operations support base.

Atka is a small, ethnically homogeneous community on Atka Island. In 1986 there were ninety residents, eighty-eight of whom were Aleut. It is the western-most of the civilian communities on the Aleutian Chain, and is considered by other residents of the region to be the "last bastion of Aleut culture." Atka has not experienced the commercial development seen in the other study communities, although the infrastructure changed significantly over the monitoring period. Atka is relatively isolated, both in terms of distance from other settlements and frequency and intensity of interaction with outsiders. Compared with other communities in the region, a significant number of the young people in the village speak Aleut. There are only eight full-time jobs in the community, combined with a relatively high level of subsistence resource utilization. It is highly unlikely that Atka will be the site of any future offshore oil-related activity; consequently, it serves as a control community for this study.

St. Paul is an ethnically homogeneous Aleut community located on St. Paul Island of the Pribilof Islands in the Bering Sea. With 477 residents in 1986, it has the largest Aleut population of any community in the region. During the period 1980-1985, the economic structure of the community changed radically. At the beginning of the period the economic life (and many other aspects of the life) of the community revolved around the federally subsidized commercial seal harvest. This federal support, withdrawn in 1983, precipitated a major reorganization of the economy and, paradoxically, increased the degree of local control over the community economy. While local control of the day-to-day decision-making processes of the entities that control the community economy is perceived as desirable, the general outlook on the economy in the long-run is characterized by a high degree of uncertainty. This was (and is) perceived as a time of potential and stress. St. Paul experienced oil-related activity during the monitoring period when it served as a forward support base for operations in the Bering Sea. The commercial economy is clearly the dominant aspect of St. Paul's economic organization. Recent construction and economic development activities, in addition to a small tourist industry, have made this geographically isolated community accessible to outsiders.

Comparisons across the study communities are drawn in a concluding chapter. The reliability of the methodology is evaluated by comparing and contrasting its application in the four study communities and general trends of change and community-specific changes are noted for each of the major study topics: population, land, political control, economy, health, and education.



(Adapted from USGS Open-File Report 80-1028, 1980)

EXHIBIT 1 LOCATION OF STUDY COMMUNITIES

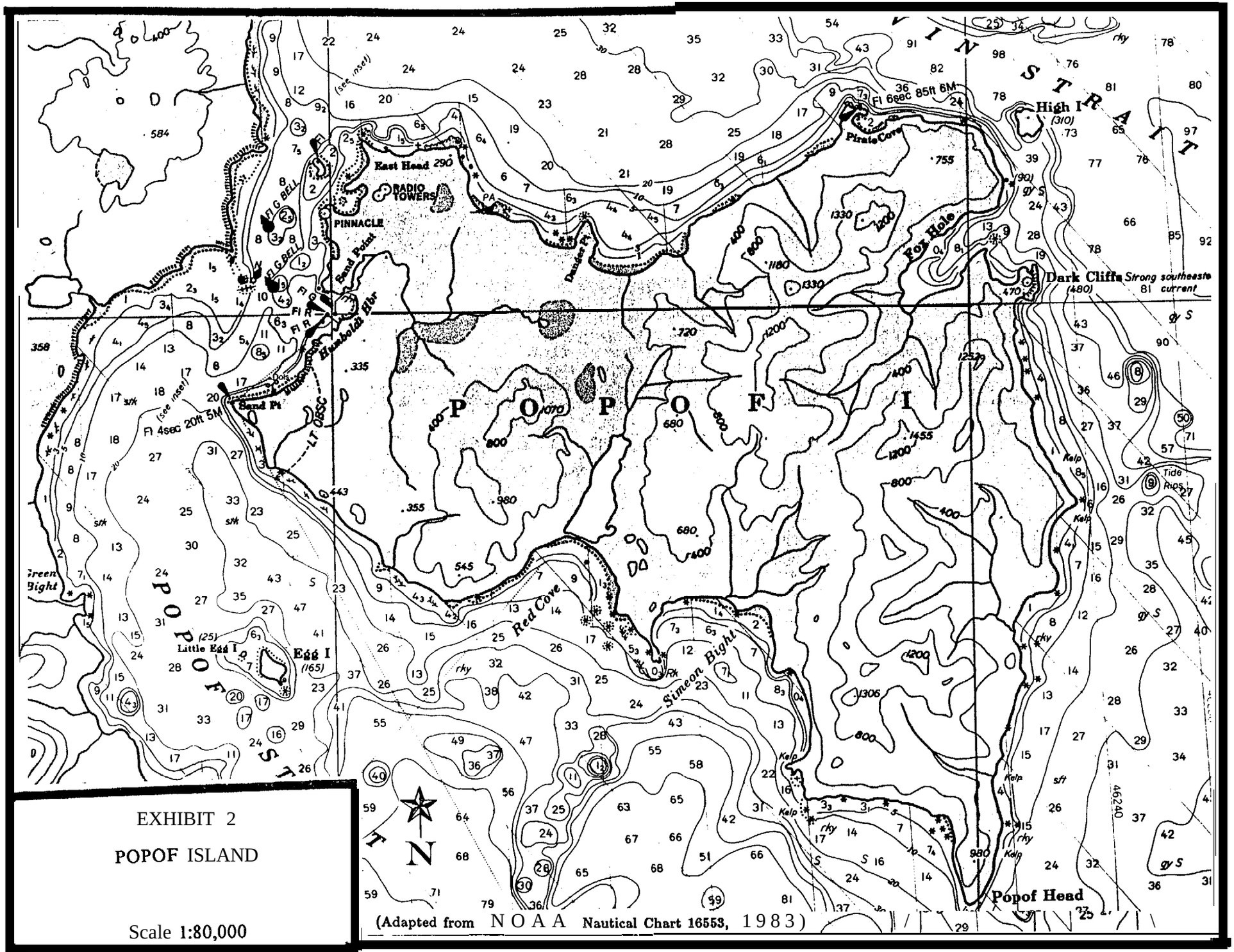


EXHIBIT 2

POPOF ISLAND

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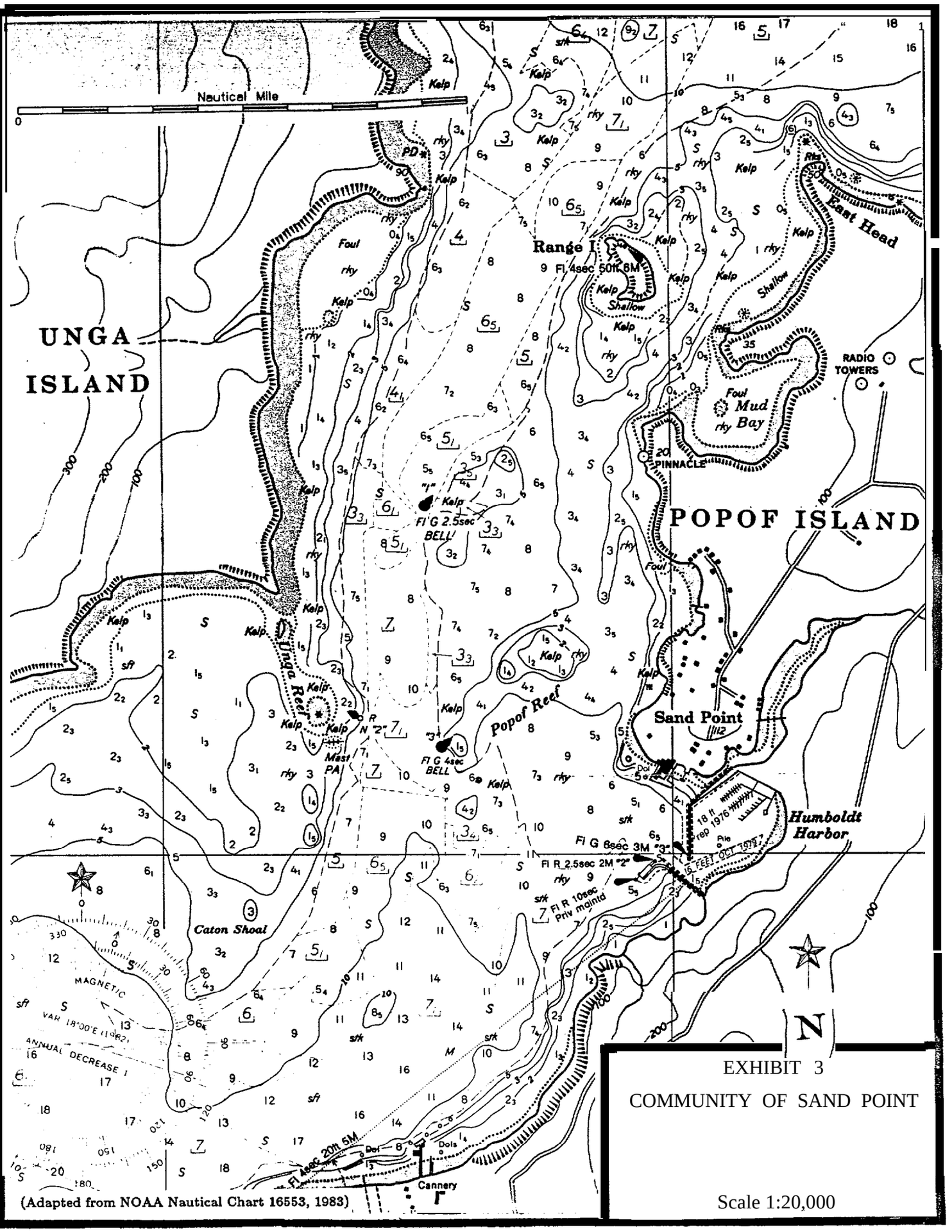

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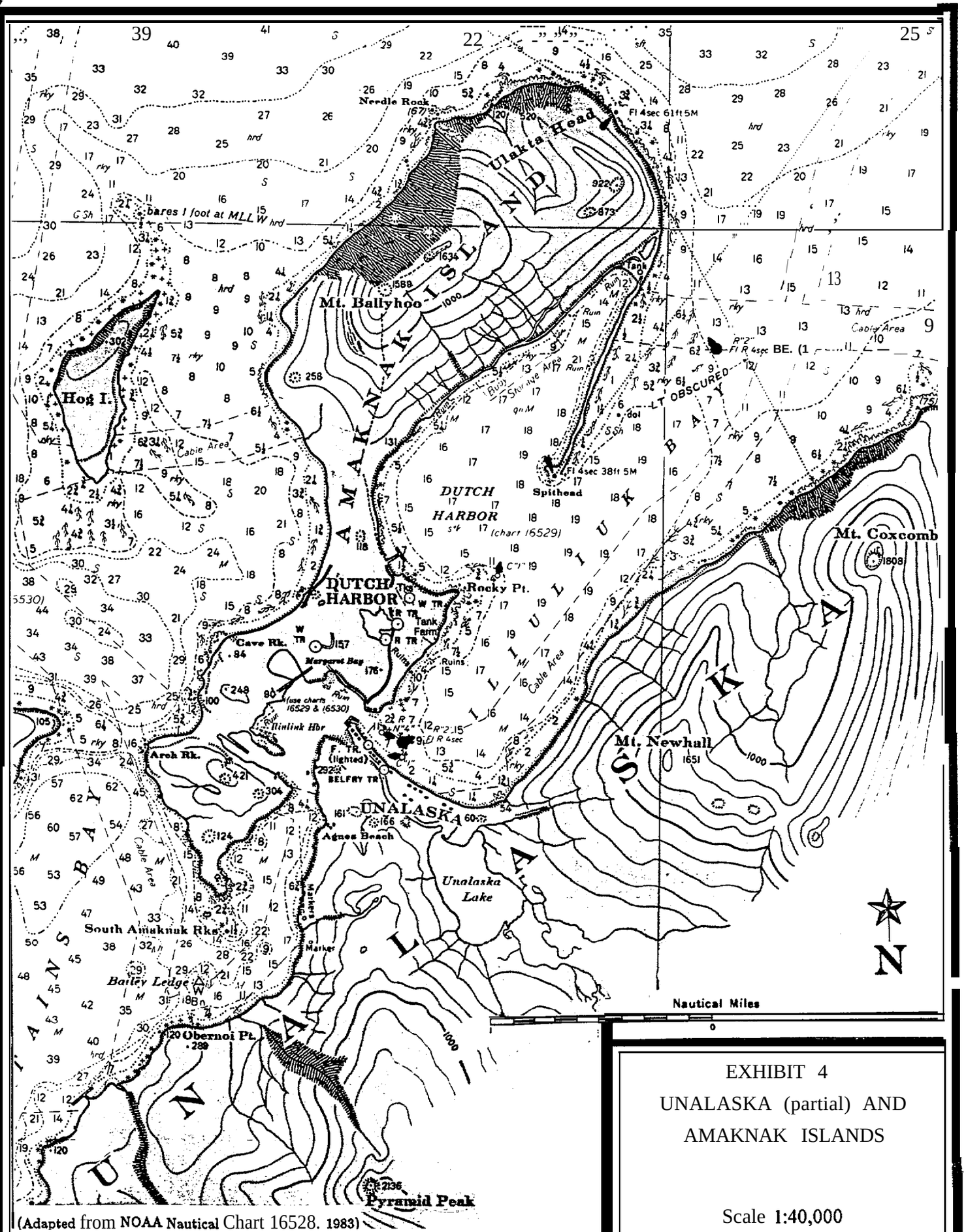
EXHIBIT 3

COMMUNITY OF SAND POINT

Scale 1:20,000



(Adapted from NOAA Nautical Chart 16528. 1983)

EXHIBIT 4

UNALASKA (partial) AND AMAKNAK ISLANDS

Scale 1:40,000

EXHIBIT 5

COMMUNITY OF UNALASKA

Scale 1:10,000

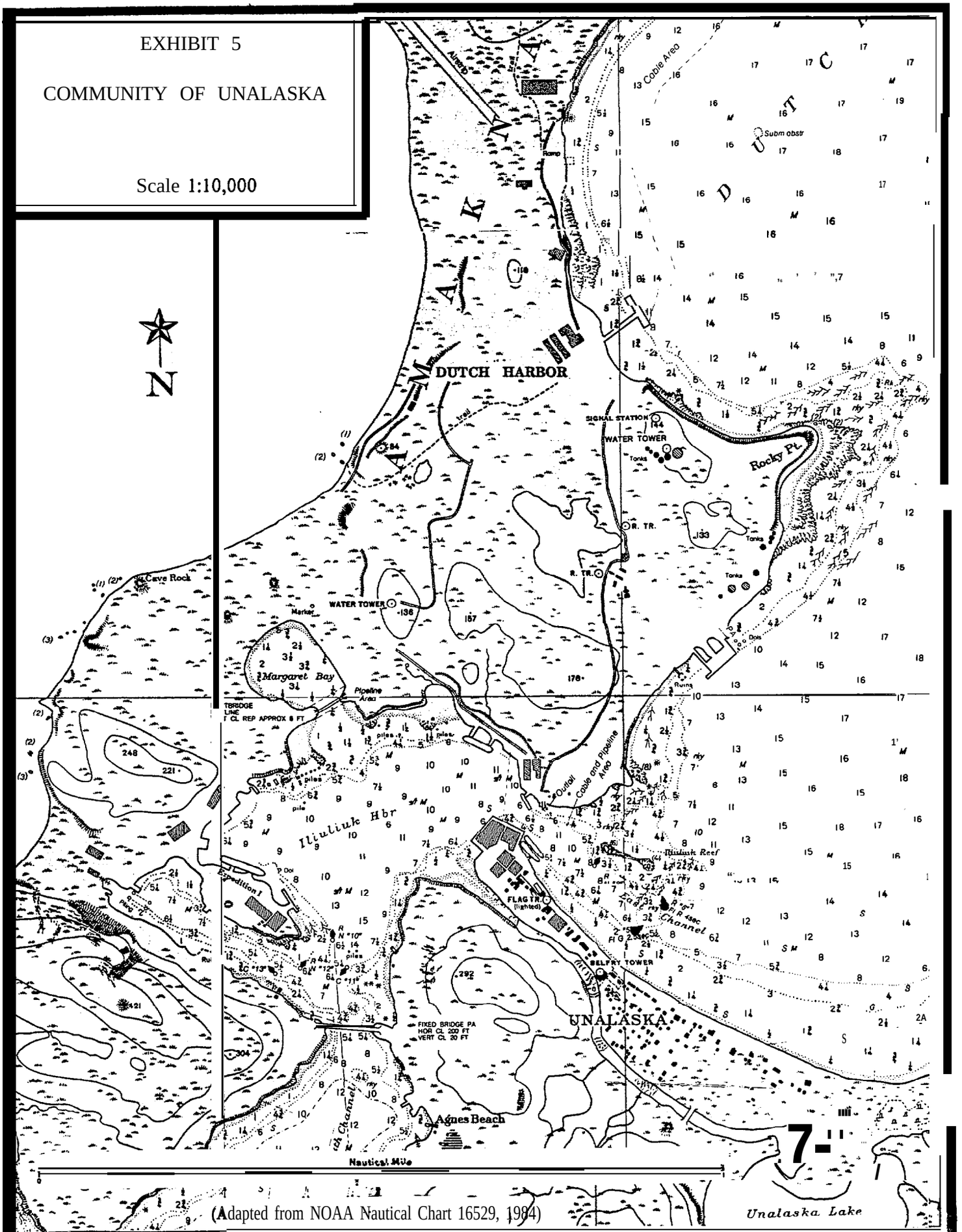


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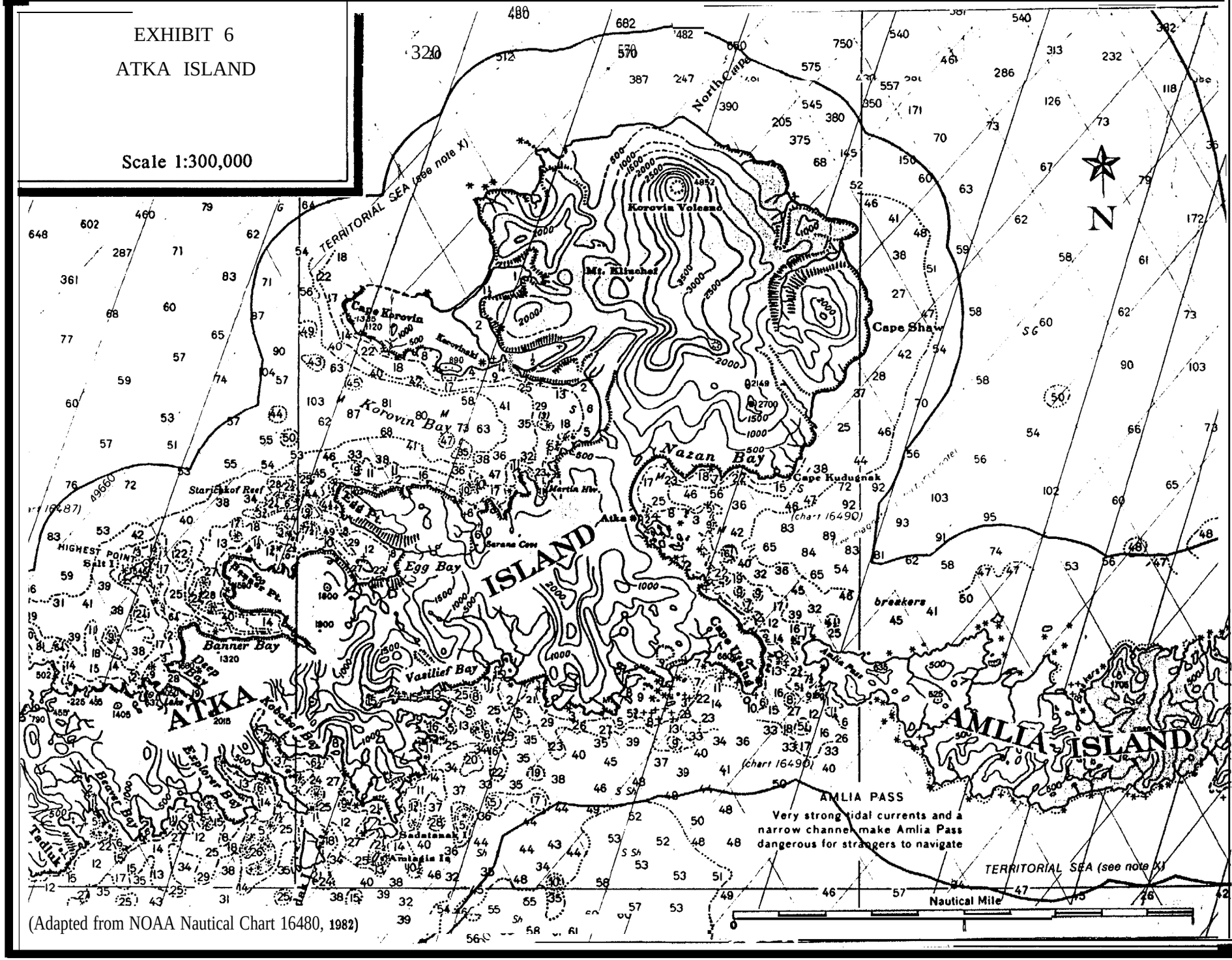
EXHIBIT 6

ATKA ISLAND

Scale 1:300,000



(Adapted from NOAA Nautical Chart 16480, 1982)

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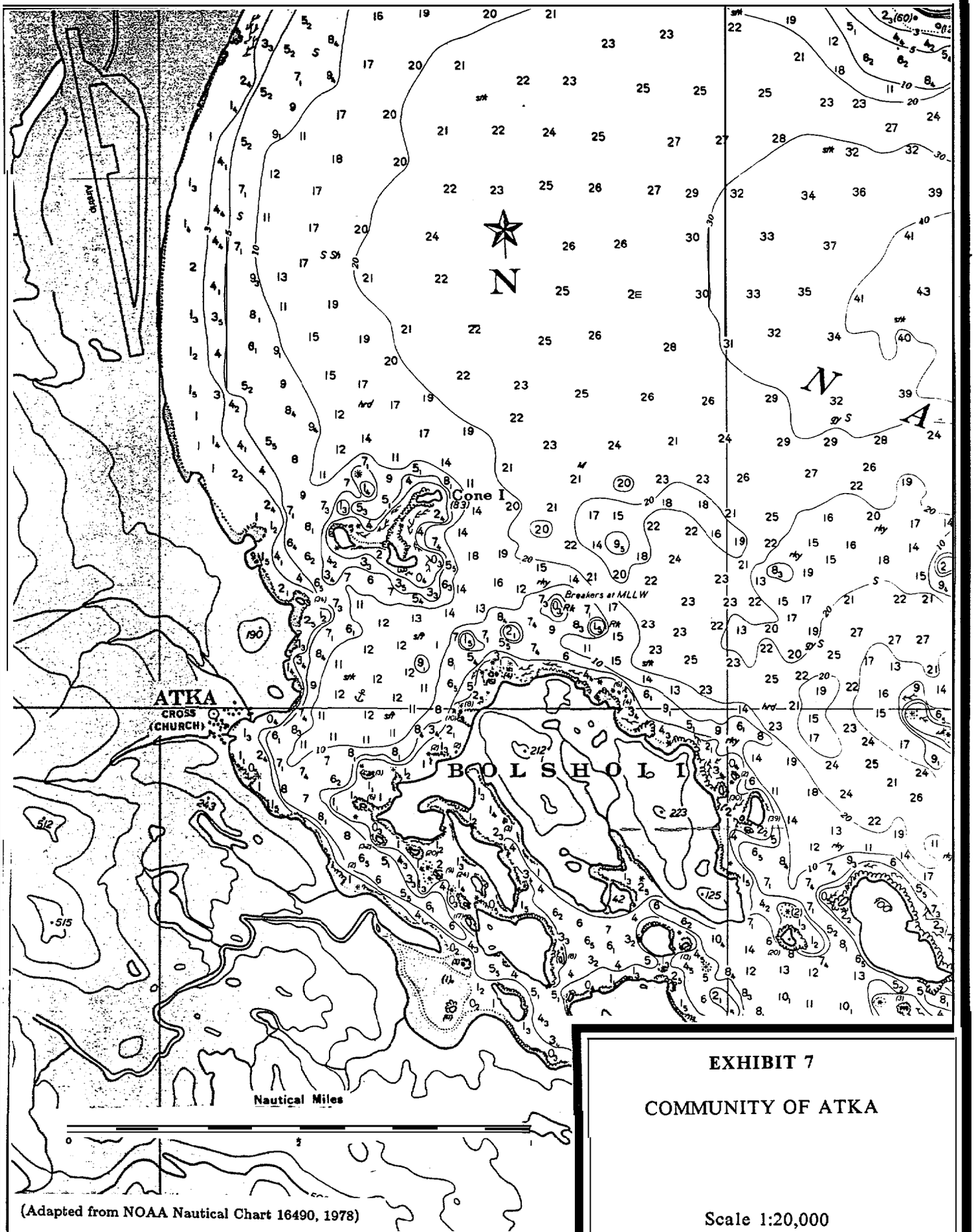

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EXHIBIT 7

COMMUNITY OF ATKA

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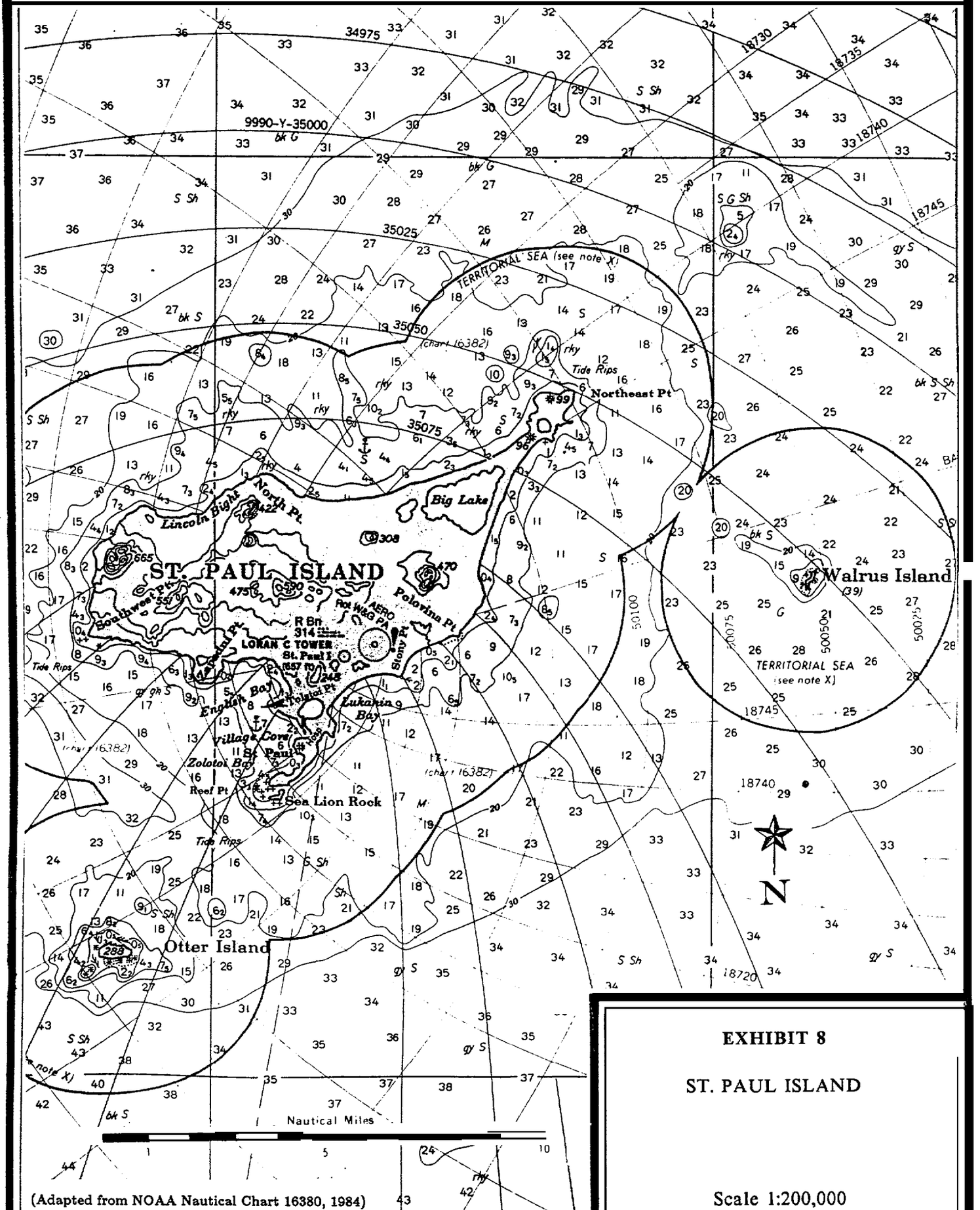
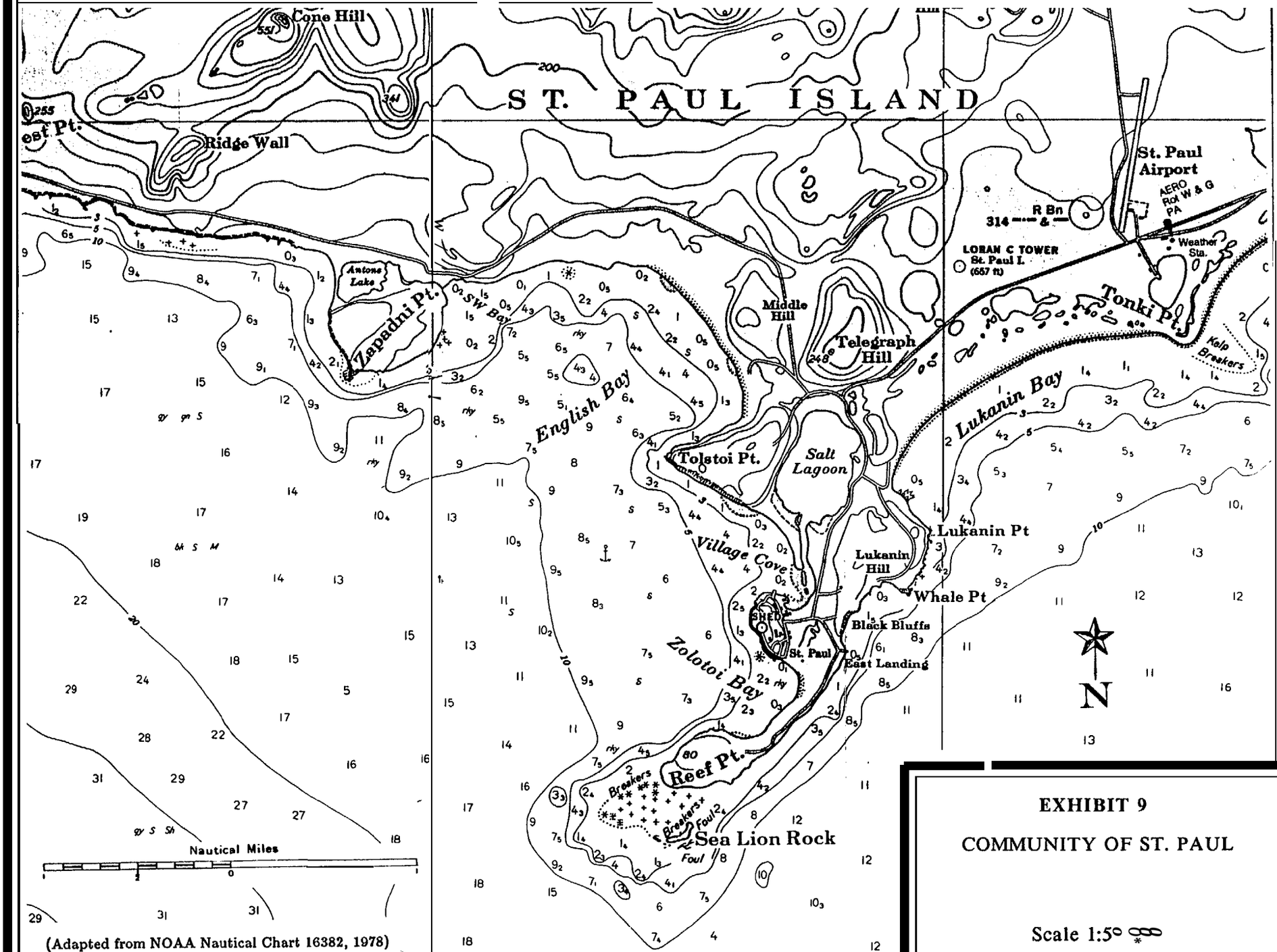


(Adapted from NOAA Nautical Chart 16380, 1984)

EXHIBIT 8

ST. PAUL ISLAND

Scale 1:200,000



(Adapted from NOAA Nautical Chart 16382, 1978)

EXHIBIT 9

COMMUNITY OF ST. PAUL

Scale 1:5°

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This report describes institutional response and change which has occurred in the Aleutian-Pribilof region of Alaska between 1980 and 1985. It represents the second phase of an effort by the Social and Economic Studies Program of the Minerals Management Service (MMS), Alaska OCS Region to develop a methodology for monitoring sociocultural change in areas likely to be affected by potential OCS development. This methodology is based on the assumption that the processes of sociocultural change are reflected in changes in specific institutions. A description of the methodology is provided in detail elsewhere (Impact Assessment 1985) and thus will not be repeated here. Rather, this report contains a description and analysis of institutional response and sociocultural change in a specific region of Alaska based on the application of this methodology. In it, we attempt to describe how the major sociocultural institutions in the Aleutian-Pribilof region have changed over the past six years (1980-1985) and explain why the changes occurred as they did. Nevertheless, before proceeding with this description and analysis, we will briefly summarize the methodology, examine some of its underlying assumptions, and place it within the context of the goals of MMS.

This effort by MMS to monitor sociocultural change among Alaska's rural coastal communities is the latest in a series of studies initiated by MMS to assess the existing or potential effects of its Outer Continental Shelf (OCS) lease sale program. When the Social and Economic Studies Program (SESP) of MMS (then Bureau of Land Management) began to conduct studies on which to base corresponding lease sale environmental impact statements (EISs), much of the fundamental social, cultural, and economic information on the communities potentially affected by the lease sales did not exist. Consequently, the SESP began by collecting information which would serve as a sociocultural "baseline" against which subsequent changes, both those related to and unrelated to OCS activity, could be measured. These initial baseline studies were primarily descriptions of the communities or regions adjacent to lease sale areas. This information was then summarized and included as the "description of affected environment" in the EISs. A long-term objective of MMS was to develop a set of such baseline studies for all lease sale areas which later could be compared with post-development update studies for the purpose of assessing the "impact" of OCS development.

In addition to this work, projections of future conditions and changes were also made. These projections typically used linear assumptions of change; that is to say, they assumed that current processes or "trends" would continue into the future if a particular OCS activity did not occur. These projected changes to the "unaffected environment" were then compared with projected employment, population, and economic changes associated with specific scenarios of various levels of OCS activity. This approach, dictated by the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) guidelines for EISs, assumes that the differences between the 'unaffected environment" and the projected changes under the OCS scenario would add up to "effects" of OCS activity.

As the program progressed, the initial limitations of the baseline studies approach for making impact assessments became evident. They lacked the detail and analytical precision useful for assessing social change. Moreover, they lacked the precision necessary to assign causality to OCS or any other external factor suspected

of generating change. The MMS, in response, began a series of ethnographic studies which sought to provide the necessary level of detail. While this phase of the study program produced some of the best and most frequently cited of MMS research products, these studies also pointed out the fact that changes in rural Alaskan villages were occurring at an unprecedented rate.

It became apparent that these changes were the result of a vast number of social forces which were, in most cases, unrelated to the MMS OCS leasing program (although on the North Slope a great many were related to other forms of oil development). In most areas, including the Bering Sea, these "background" (non-OCS) forces of change dwarf those expected to result from oil development. Sweeping changes have occurred in the economic, social, and political contexts of many rural communities over the last decade, while OCS development is perceived as either a future threat or benefit.

In response to the limitations of the "baseline/update" approach, MMS also began a series of studies which focussed on "social indicators" (the measurement of changes in varying sets of social indices across time) in an attempt to correlate these social changes with OCS development. To date, this series of studies has not successfully assigned causality for these changes. However, in earlier phases, these studies did demonstrate the extreme range of adaptive responses to change among rural Alaskan villages. It was shown, for example, that rural villages cannot be expected to respond to changes in employment, income, and population projected to occur with OCS development in ways that are similar to larger regional centers. Additionally, communities in virtually identical ecological and geographic contexts were found to have radically differing social, economic, and political organizations, and are therefore likely to respond to a particular external impetus in very different ways. It was learned that while one community may be favorably preadapted to events associated with OCS-related change, its neighbor may be negatively predisposed to the very same forces of change. Another problem encountered by those charged with assessing the impact of OCS activity was a temporal one. In those communities where development has occurred it has proven difficult to accurately and sequentially reconstruct events necessary for the analysis of the role of OCS or other development forces in the changes in the study communities.

These facts posed significant theoretical, methodological, and analytical problems to both field analysts and EIS writers. However, as the program progressed and experience with oil-related development accumulated, the task was made more manageable as it became evident that employment and other significant economic changes resulting from OCS lease activities would likely affect only certain communities (specifically, those in the immediate vicinity of OCS activity and those with existing support facilities sufficient to enable them to become centers of communication, support, or transportation). As a result, MMS has increasingly focussed its concern on communities more likely to sustain OCS-related effects.

There are two major categories of sociocultural impacts on which MMS studies have focussed: (1) those resulting more or less directly from physical/environmental changes brought about by the extraction, handling, storage, and shipping of oil and oil-related products; and (2) those resulting from the sociocultural/human processes accompanying oil development. An oil spill in the vicinity of a village would disrupt subsistence-related activities as well as its commercial fishery which, in turn, would have other economic, political, and social effects. In contrast, the number of wage labor jobs available to rural residents, by the intrinsic nature of oil exploration or development, would be small under even

those scenarios which assume the discovery of very large oil deposits.[1] This finding resulted in an increased effort by MMS to conduct studies of the potential effects of "harvest disruptions" on local commercial and subsistence pursuits. The odds of such an event affecting any particular village, however, was regarded as remote, and the potential effects likely to differ significantly from community to community.

What has occurred in some instances of oil development, such as in Barrow and Prudhoe Bay, is a gradual shift over several years in the ethnic composition of the communities, and a subtle increase in the number of individuals (from peripheral communities) who came to regional centers in search of oil-related employment opportunities. (It is important to note, however, that this shift has occurred as an indirect result of NSB policy. The oil workers themselves do not live in the regional centers, rather, they live in industrial enclaves.) In the cases of St. Paul and Unalaska, on the other hand, these changes were not in evidence, as the oil firms established and maintained enclave-style developments which interacted only tangentially with the two "host" communities and peripheral activities were minimal.

Gradual evolution in the approach of MMS SESP studies came with the realization that: (1) the distribution of effects, if there are to be any, will be highly differentiated; (2) regions will not be affected uniformly; and (3) certain communities will be subject to disproportionate effects (i.e., employment, population, resource disruptions, etc.). This was combined with the realization that the intraregional differences among rural coastal communities of Alaska are often as great as interregional differences, particularly with respect to those factors which most affect the community's reaction to change. Great differences are sometimes found among communities that are geographically associated, share similar economic and resource niches, and have roughly the same population.

One of the conclusions to be drawn from previous MMS studies is that OCS development effects have been more subtle and indirect than previously assumed. This brings us to the current effort to monitor sociocultural change. What is needed is an analytic approach and corresponding observational techniques capable of identifying with more precision the point at which effects are felt, the dimensions and scale of those effects, and the relationship of those specific effects to other changes that are occurring in the community in response to other stimuli. The specific objective of the current study is to provide information and techniques that will enable the analyst to distinguish co-occurring events and begin to establish causal relationships.

The problem, briefly stated, is that while certain kinds of changes do occur in linear fashion, can be considered "trends," and are relatively predictable, many other kinds of change are the result of unpredictable environmental events. What is called for is a standardized method of collecting, storing, reporting, and comparing information on a wide range of social phenomena across significant periods

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1. ***In areas where oil development has taken place, the employment opportunities created were invariably of a temporary nature, appearing for only a brief period of time. The brevity of their appearance, in turn, posed a formidable obstacle to the analysis of effects. Researchers were faced with going into a community two or three years after an event attempting to detail its effects.***

of time. This will provide a continuous record of events that will allow the identification of particular events, their location in time, and their relationship to other events. The objective is to disentangle the complexity of relationships between environmental variables and resulting events and, ultimately, to enhance our understanding of the relationship between cause and effect.

Institutional change may be said to be influenced or determined by two sets of factors: (1) the conditions of the environment which provide resources or exert demands or pressures on a social system; and (2) the system of rules embedded in values, world views, and moral precepts which organize behavior and provide it with meaning (Bailey 1969; Geertz 1973). Institutions are regarded as organized patterns of behavior am-ong members of a social group (Firth 1961). According to Firth they comprise the organization of social life.

Values constitute a set of rules or guidelines for the organization of behavior, comprising the structure of social life and its institutions. Values establish priorities identifying the goals or objectives of the social group. The willingness of the residents of a community to sacrifice subsistence resources in favor of wage employment, for instance, is indicative of the priority accorded to each value. Values also identify which aspects of the environment serve as resources and which serve as constraints, although paradoxically a single aspect of the environment may be perceived as simultaneously a resource and a constraint. The availability of federal subsidies or oil-related employment opportunities, for example, may be viewed as either a resource, in the sense that they provide income and employment for local residents, or a constraint in that they encourages dependence on outside agencies and threatens existing patterns of social interaction. They are, in fact, operating in tandem and local perceptions, obviously, must inform the analysis. Finally, values may act as constraints themselves in that the rules establish negative sanctions or prohibitions on certain forms of behavior. The unwillingness of some Native corporations to sell off their land holdings for fear of selling out their cultural heritage is an example of a prohibitive effect of a value system.

The relationship between values or rules and behavior or institutions is not inflexible, however. Not all behavior conforms to rules. There is often a discrepancy between normative rules and observed behavior (Murphy 197 1). The rules are subject to manipulation or negotiation in response to the needs of different actors or in response to changes in the resources or demands exerted on the sociocultural system by the environment (Bailey 1973). The rules themselves which organize the institutions may change, ultimately producing a new sociocultural system (Bailey 1983).

Our monitoring methodology employs a combination of quantitative and ethnographic techniques to assess the *rate* and *direction* of change in one or more institutions over a specified period of time, It is a three-stage process. In the first stage, the sociocultural system and its institutions as they existed at the beginning of the monitoring period are examined. In the second stage, changes in these institutions over the monitoring period are identified on the basis of secondary sources and field data collection. These changes are based on both an emit view (i.e., the perceptions of local residents) as well an etic view (i.e., measurable changes in frequently used social and economic indicators chosen by outside analysts utilizing a comparative framework developed with categories meaningful to the analysis, but not necessarily reflective of local categorization or cognition). In the third stage, these changes are explained in terms of the

interaction between the sociocultural system and its environment. Included in this stage is an explanation of the changes between the value system and institutional patterns of social interaction, and an analysis of the resources and constraints exerted upon the sociocultural system by its environment.

The institutions selected for analysis were determined to have sociocultural significance to the Aleutian-Pribilof region and include the following: population; land; political control; sociocultural institutions (e.g., kinship and traditional associations, voluntary associations, and religion); economy; health; and education. All of these institutions are interrelated, in that environmental conditions affecting one institution inevitably have secondary impacts on other institutions as well, Changes in each institution are also assumed to have varying degrees of impact on the other institutions.

The monitoring methodology was arranged in the form of protocols. Each protocol contained several units of analysis by which change in each institution could be assessed in either a quantitative or qualitative fashion; these units are described in the Workshop Proceedings (Impact Assessment 1985). They served as guides for the collection and analysis of secondary sources and primary data collected in the field. The intent of the protocol construction was to assist in the standardization of the data collection approach and to assist in the analysis of the data by triangulating data on issues of importance. Protocols were not expected to be rigidly adhered to or utilized in the manner of a questionnaire, but rather were intended to serve as guides which guarantee an acceptable minimum standardization of data collection. They were intended to assure a sufficient level of continuity between researchers and sufficient analytic comparability for the purposes of the study (Impact Assessment 1985).

Our evaluation of the direction of change was made by focusing on several different processes of sociocultural change within each institution. These processes included linearization, centralization, promotion, formalization, stratification, and diversification or differentiation. As communities or societies become more complex, the decision-making process tends to move upward in the social hierarchy as lower-order controls are routinely by-passed in favor of higher-order controls; this is known as linearization. Centralization is where control over resources 'becomes focussed in a smaller group of actors. Associated with centralization is promotion, which occurs when a group with control ***over*** a resource which increases in value comes to have increased political power in a community. Formalization is defined as the process where informal social groups establish a charter explicitly defining their structure and function. Social stratification exists when a society becomes more stratified as power becomes unevenly distributed. Differentiation or diversification occurs when institutions expand into new organizational forms, creating new statuses and roles for individuals, changing their relationship with the rest of the social system (Impact Assessment 1985). In most contexts, these types of "evolutionary" changes are meaningful only in the long-term and, indeed, these processes of change, even in the rapidly changing context of rural Alaska, are difficult to observe over a time period as short as the six-year span covered by this study. The data from the study communities are suggestive, however, particularly those on formalization and differentiation (where one can observe the formation of new institutions and the growth and development of relatively distinct population segments with significantly different values and goals).

Where possible, our evaluation of the rate of change was made in quantitative terms. For instance, changes in population could be described in terms of rates and proportions. Of course, changes in population are not sociocultural

changes, *per* se, but they are suggestive of sociocultural change if the population composition changes significantly. Similarly, changes in employment could be described in terms of revenues, expenditures, community debt, employment rate, and income levels. Elsewhere, we were forced to describe rates of change in qualitative terms due either to the nature of the unit of analysis or to the lack of quantitative data for the entire period. For instance, constraints on the use of surveys forced us to describe changes in religious organization or political control in general terms, relying on qualitative interview and observational data.

Our analysis of institutional change was also constrained by the uneven time periods for which data were available. For some institutions in some communities, data were available for each year of the monitoring period. In other instances, data were incomplete, being available for the beginning, middle, or end of the monitoring period but not for the entire period. When we felt competent to do so, we were able to extrapolate trends from available data, relying on our understanding of the region and of general processes of sociocultural change. Thus, our description of the sociocultural system of a community at the beginning of the monitoring period may occasionally rely on data collected in the 1970s.

Finally, where possible, we have identified the assumptions implicit in our use of the methodology based on our knowledge and experience in the area. For instance, changes in population and population characteristics (such as age and sex ratios) are among the most concrete measures of sociocultural change available. Because annual censuses are required by the State of Alaska in support of applications for community shares of the state revenue sharing program, Alaskan rural communities, in general, have probably the most frequently reported population counts in the world. Thus, outside analysts have access to a population data base that has been routinely collected according to consistent criteria. Unfortunately, the most consistent criterion employed by Alaskan communities in conducting their censuses is physical presence at the time the census is conducted. This will not present an insurmountable problem for communities with small, relatively stable populations (such as Atka, where actual effective permanent population can be determined on-site at any one point in time and subsequent changes assessed from that point in a linear fashion). In these relatively static communities, the correlation between effective permanent population and census count will normally remain fairly constant over time and accurate measures of change can be obtained directly from the community census.

However, for the larger, highly variable population centers of Unalaska, Sand Point, and St. Paul, community censuses are more unreliable because incentives to inflate population figures are strong, while disincentives are nonexistent. While US Census standards are relatively rigorous in their enumeration methods, other censuses conducted for various purposes in the study communities allow a degree of latitude in the interpretation of residence. Sand Point characteristically identifies "transient fisherman" as a residence category; thus anyone who temporarily makes their home in the community during the summer fishing season is invariably included as a permanent Sand Point resident (in addition to being counted as a resident on some other census in their other community of residence). At times, Unalaska has also inflated its population figures by including its transient work force and part-time resident fishermen in its annual population counts, while at other times these categories are excluded entirely from census figures. In Unalaska, which endured a population boom and then a rapid decline, the recent tendency to inflate population figures resulted in an appraisal of the significance of change which overstates the social and economic consequences on actual permanent residents. That is, the absence of nearly 1,000 transient residents has not had the impact of an effective population decline of nearly forty-five percent implied by the various

census figures published for the community over this time period. Moreover, for reasons discussed in the **Unalaska** section of this report, **Unalaska** has applied varying standards to their population counts. In St. Paul, the problem is magnified by several factors: (1) recent major construction projects (HUD housing, **Pribilof** Offshore Support Services facility, breakwater, Public Health Service water and sewer projects, etc.) have resulted in an influx of temporary residents; (2) as a result of high activity level, city censuses were not actually conducted every year; and (3) seasonal differences in population over the course of a single year have been considerably more variable than in earlier years.

In all of the study communities, we have made a distinction between effective population and "other" residents. For rural coastal communities of Alaska, we define ***effective population*** as the total number of individuals who reside no less than nine months of the year in the community. Field interviews were used to identify these residents in each of the study communities. While it can be argued otherwise, changes in effective population will provide the most appropriate and accurate measures of change for the analytic conclusions required by MMS in the event of future OCS development.

CHAPTER 2: SAND POINT

INTRODUCTION

Sand Point is located on the northwestern edge of Popof Island on Popof Strait. The island is part of the Shumagin Islands group in the Pacific Ocean and lies off the southwest edge of the Alaska Peninsula between Pavlof and Stepovak Bays. The community is approximately 570 air miles from Anchorage.

Although the area was first explored by Russian traders in the mid-18th century, Sand Point received its name in 1872, when a U.S. Coast Guard survey vessel sailed throughout the area and applied names to various landmarks. The village of Sand Point was founded in 1887, when a San Francisco fishing company established a trading post, salmon fishing station, and supply post for cod fishing. The early residents were Aleuts from other villages and Scandinavian fishermen who made their living raising silver and blue fox in addition to salmon and cod fishing. Fish processing began nearby in the 1930s and eventually became the dominant element of the community's economy. In the 1950s and 1960s, the community grew with increased immigration of Aleuts from nearby communities.

Sand Point has experienced a constant rate of economic and population growth over the past six years. This growth has been fueled by several different factors, including record salmon harvests in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the community's emergence as a regional service center (RSC), and the cooperation between the city government and the local Native corporation. This growth has brought about several changes in the community's sociocultural system, reflected in its institutions. This chapter will detail the institutional response to these sociocultural changes in Sand Point and will identify the effect of the institutional response on the values of local residents.

POPULATION

Total Population

The population of Sand Point is characterized in Table 1. These figures were obtained from a community census administered by the City each June. The U.S. Census of 1980 (April, 1980) reported a total of 625 persons residing in Sand Point. A local census performed in June, 1980, however, indicated that there were 794 persons residing in Sand Point. Almost all of the difference between the two figures was accounted for by transients who reside in the community during the summer fishing season.

The proportion of residents classified as transient has remained relatively constant during the past six years, ranging from twenty-six percent to thirty-one percent of the total population. Fluctuations in this proportion appear to be contingent upon the economic viability of the commercial fishing industry.

Between 1970 and 1980, the population of Sand Point grew by seventy-three percent. This was in marked contrast to the population trend for the Aleutian Islands as a whole, which had declined by several hundred people during the same

Table 1. Sand Point Population, 1980-1985

Residential Category	1980	1981	19S2	1983	1984	1985
Residents in Households	587	581	584	616	N/A	640
Number of Households	171	178	177	192	N/A	203
Persons/Household	3.4	3.3	3.3	3.2	N/A	3.1
Persons in Transit	2	2	0	0	N/A	5
Persons in Group Quarters	96	103	53	99	N/A	59
Persons Living on Boats	109	160	158	174	N/A	192
Total Population Counted	794	846	795	889	870	896

Source: City of Sand Point Census, 1980-1985.

period. As indicated by Table 1, the permanent resident population of Sand Point has shown a small but steady increase of 1.5 percent per year during the study period. Total population increase, however, is directly tied to the commercial fishing industry. For instance, the population decline in 1982 reflects a poor season that year, in contrast to the highly successful 1981 season. This decline was accounted for almost entirely by the drop in the number of processing workers living in group quarters in the community. Nevertheless, the number of people living on fishing boats operating out of Sand Point during the summer fishing season has grown steadily at a rate of 12.7 percent per year during the six-year study period.

The Bristol Bay Cooperative Management Plan study estimated that Sand Point would grow at an average annual rate of 2.45 percent in the next twenty years (1983-2003) (Nebesky, Langdon and Hull 1983). However, given the volatile nature of growth and decline in the fishing industry, it is difficult to predict future population trends on the basis of economic forecasts.

Migration trends to Sand Point from other communities in the area are very apparent. During the previous two decades, many residents of Sand Point came from Unga, King Cove, Squaw Harbor, Sanak, and other Aleutian communities. There had been relatively little permanent migration into Sand Point from outside the Alaska Peninsula. Until recently, the population was considered relatively stable, with sixty percent of the population having resided in the community for ten years or longer (Aleutians East CRSA Survey, 1983). However, fourteen percent of Sand Point's population has resided in the community for only two years or less, indicating the proportion of the community's population accounted for by recent migration. Interviews with local residents in April 1986 suggested that there was a small but growing migration of fishermen from other parts of the state into the community wishing to exploit local resources. In addition, residents from other communities on the Alaska Peninsula are migrating to Sand Point in small numbers. According to one local businessman:

> The drift of people to Sand Point has not ended. Perry vine, Ivanof Bay, King Cove, False Pass, and Akutan have continued to supply residents to Sand Point. That trend should continue as people decide to use lift facilities at Sand Point to haul out their vessels, work on their vessels, and spend more time actually living in the community . ..their kids going to school here. The travel lift [at the boat harbor] should become a significant element in encouraging people to come and live in Sand Point.

Finally, there appears to be little outmigration from the community in comparison with other communities in the region. This is because the large majority of the young population residing in Sand Point tends to remain, seeking either to fish or to work in fisheries-related businesses.

In the past, both the natural rate of increase and the rate of immigration were constrained by the lack of available land and housing. However, with the recent construction of new homes in the community and the subdivision and sale of land by the local Native Corporation, these factors will not be as critical as they have been in the past.

Population and Ethnicity

The Aleut population of Sand Point rose from 74.4 percent of the total population in 1970 to eighty-seven percent in 1978. While much of this increase may be attributed to the immigration of Aleut residents from other communities in the Alaska Peninsula, it may also be accounted for by the enactment of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act and the assertion of Alaska Native ethnic identity to qualify for land ownership in the region. Prior to 1971, most residents considered themselves to be of Euro-American (largely Scandinavian) descent. However, while the Native population increased by forty percent over the last ten years, the non-Native population increased by 162 percent. According to the 1980 Census, the percentage of Native residents had decreased to fifty-seven percent of the total population. Today, there is an almost equal balance between "identified" Natives and non-Natives.

The distribution of Sand Point's population by ethnicity reflects two very different migrational trends. The first trend, noted above, is a migration away from the smaller communities in the area toward Sand Point because of the attraction of centralized services and employment opportunities (Impact Assessment 1982a). During the last ten years, the nearby communities of Unga, Squaw Harbor, and Sanak have virtually disappeared as a result of this depopulation, while the population of Native origin in Sand Point has increased by more than forty percent. However, both outmigration and mortality appear to be primarily Native phenomena (Combs 1982; Impact Assessment 1982b). The second trend is a migration of the Alaskan fisheries population westward along the Aleutian Chain in pursuit of the less-exploited fishing grounds. Interviews with community residents indicate a growing influx of persons moving from the Gulf of Alaska to Sand Point because they regard the city as a preferable place to live. As a result, future increases in Sand Point's population are likely to include much higher proportions of non-Natives from other parts of Alaska and "outside."

Demographics and Household Size

As indicated by Table 1, the average household size has shown a steady decline during the study period, from 3.4 residents per household in 1980 to 3.1 per household in 1985, notwithstanding the public perception that adequate housing is in short supply. The decline in household size may be attributed to the construction of eleven units of HUD housing in 1980 and an additional fifteen HUD units in 1985-86, as well as the recent construction of a number of single-family dwellings, as evidenced by the number of building permits issued.

As in the entire region, the decline in household size has several implications with respect to institutional change in the community. In the past, several components of extended families have resided in the same household because of the lack of housing. The construction of eleven units of HUD housing in 1980 and the availability of land for ownership, however, has produced a minor housing boom in the community during the past six years. Even though housing is still perceived to be a problem, the decline in the number of residents per household indicates the dispersion of extended kin groups and the formation of nuclear family households. This change also appears to be connected to the declining importance of kinship as a basis for social organization in the community, a question that will be addressed below.

Age/Sex Distribution

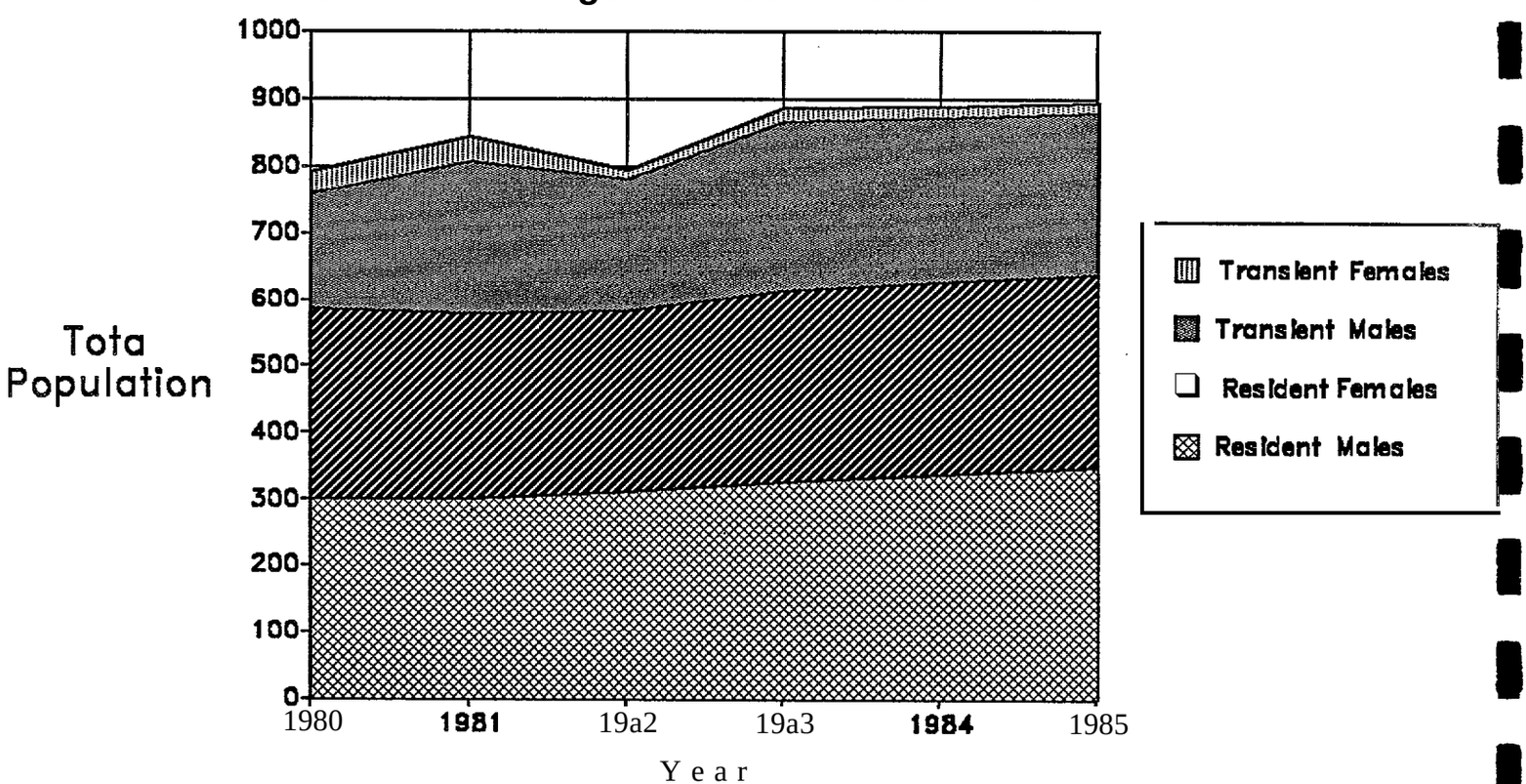
The distribution of Sand Point's population by sex is reflected in the figures in both Table 2 and Figure 1. Overall, the population is distinguished by the over-representation of males, which is common in rural communities throughout Alaska. This imbalance is accounted for almost entirely by the transient population of the community. However, the percentage distribution of the permanent resident segment of the population" shows that the proportion of women in the population has declined from forty-eight percent in 1980 to forty-five percent in 1985. As the commercial fishing industry has grown, the number of males in the population has increased at a faster rate than the number of females, particularly in the transient population but also in the permanent resident population.

Unfortunately, no data are available on the age distribution of Sand Point's population. On the basis of school enrollment figures, it is estimated that the percentage of the community's permanent resident population between the ages of five and eighteen has declined from slightly more than twenty-five percent (146 residents) in 1980 to 18,6 percent (119 residents) in 1985.

The trend represented in these figures would tend to support the hypothesis that the new immigrants are development-related and likely to remain only as long as the local economy continues to grow. Many of those moving to the community during the next five to ten years will not become permanent residents, yet their influence on community services and facilities will be dramatic and wide-ranging. Any significant increase in the population could contribute to a shortage of housing and a burden on existing utilities, transportation facilities, and social services.

One recent change which may have a bearing on the community's age and sex distribution is the sale of the Aleutian Cold Storage facility to Trident Seafoods. The policy of the former owner, Pelican Seafoods, was to encourage only single

Figure 1
Sand Point Age and Sex: 1980–1 985



(Impact Assessment, Inc., 1987)

Table 2. Sex Distribution by Residential Status, Sand Point, 1980-1985

Residential Status	1980		1981		1982		1983		1984		1985	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Resident												
Males	302	52	302	52	314	54	329	53	N/A		-350	55
Females	285	48	279	48	270	46	287	47	N/A		290	45
Transient												
Males	174	84	227	86	198	94	252	92	N/A		241	94
Females	33	16	38	14	36	6	21	8	N/A		15	6
Total												
Males	476	60	529	63	512	64	581	65	N/A		591	66
Females	318	40	317	37	283	36	308	35	N/A		305	34

Source: City of Sand Point Census, 1980-1985.

persons to work for them. The policy of Trident is to hire family men. Since the sale of the processing facility in March 1986, one new family has moved into the community, two more families have recently returned to the community, and another new family is expected to move to the community soon.

LAND .

Land Ownership

In accordance with the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA), the Shumagin Corporation selected and received conveyance to most of the land within Sand Point. In April, 1982, the Shumagin Corporation conveyed to the City of Sand Point 100 acres for community development and expansion in accordance with ANCSA Section 14(c). Under the terms of this section, the City was entitled to 1,280 acres; however, under the terms of the Alaska National Interest Land Act (ANILCA) of 1980, an agreement was reached between the City and the Shumagin Corporation for further conveyances totaling 670 acres. Included in these conveyances was acreage designated for use as a landfill, watershed/reservoir, public works/bulk fuel storage, school site, boat harbor road, school road, service road, and all public road rights-of-way and easements. Land was also conveyed to the city for a city park, cemetery, and industrial park. The City and the Shumagin Corporation also jointly own a thirty-seven acre rock quarry. Among the community facilities owned by the City are a jail, community building, and municipal building. The health clinic is also owned by the City, which leases the facility to the Sand Point Health Board (see subsequent discussion of conveyance issues under “Local Organizations” below).

Other landowners include Trident Seafoods, which purchased the Aleutian Cold Storage facility in 1986, from Peter Pan Seafoods, the Aleutian Commercial Company, and private individuals. Trident Seafoods now owns approximately five percent of the land within the city limits, nearly all of it in the main portion of the city. Peter Pan Seafoods owns land zoned for industrial use on the spit adjacent to the airport. Aleutian Commercial Company owns a complex of stores, restaurants, apartments, and a bank in the center of the city. Some land is owned by partnerships formed by local residents for the construction of apartment buildings, while individual residents in the Meadows subdivision own their own lots, The State of Alaska owns the airport and a small amount of land housing the Department of Fish and Game office and warehouse. State land adjacent to the airport is leased to air carriers providing service to Sand Point. The only property owned by the Federal Government is the harbor breakwater and beyond.

Changes in land ownership over the course of the monitoring period have included the conveyance of property owned by the Shumagin Corporation to the City of Sand Point and the sale of residential lots in the Meadows subdivision by the Shumagin Corporation to local residents. As both of these transfers have had significant impacts on the course of economic development and political control in the community, they will be described in greater detail below.

Land Use

Most of the western half of Popof Island is incorporated into the city limits. The development pattern of the city reflects its origin as a company town, with development originating in and around the Aleutian Cold Storage complex and extending north and west along the main thoroughfare and down to Popof Strait. Prior to the beginning of the monitoring period, development remained concentrated in this area and consisted primarily (~86%) of single-family residences, duplexes, mobile homes, and apartments, with approximately twelve percent public buildings and two percent commercial. This was to change in 1983, however, with the development of the Meadows subdivision by the Shumagin Corporation, a development located near the new school approximately one mile from the center of the existing townsite (Nebesky, Langdon and Hull 1983).

The Aleutian Cold Storage facility, owned by Trident Seafoods, is located on Humboldt Harbor within the city limits. Only thirteen percent of the company's land is industrial; the remaining property includes a mess hall, laundry, commercial fuel facilities, power facility, its own water utility, and residential land. The spit adjacent to the airport, owned by Peter Pan Seafoods, is also zoned for commercial use.

Other commercial enterprises located within the main portion of town include the Aleutian Commercial complex, a motel, a tavern, a cafe, a movie house, several gift shops, and various small businesses operating out of homes. The Meadows subdivision also includes ten commercially zoned lots.

One of the most significant measures of institutional change and community development during the past six years has been the physical expansion of the community. This expansion is reflected in the distribution of Sand Point's population, which is characterized in Table 3. Of the permanent population, most live in the downtown section of the city. During the study period, the Mountain View Estates area has grown in population and has surpassed the Humboldt Harbor Estates

subdivision to become the second largest neighborhood in the community. A decline in population and the number of households has been noted for the downtown area, Humboldt Harbor Estates, and Harborview Estates, while the Bayview Estates and Ridgecrest areas have shown the greatest increase in population.

As Sand Point has grown, it has become a community of several different neighborhoods. Russian Town, to the north of the Baptist Church, was so named because it was the grave site of an early Russian resident. This residential area was established in a swampy part of the island which has a slope of approximately five to ten percent. A road was established along its periphery, but access is almost entirely by boardwalk on private property. Housing in this area consists of single-family homes and a few scattered trailers.

Table 3. Distribution of Sand Point Permanent Resident Population by Neighborhood, 1980-1985

Location	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Downtown	205	182	172	176	N/A	168
Humboldt Harbor Estates	99	83	85	87	N/A	66
Baranof Estates	19	15	16	15	N/A	23
Harborview Estates	70	75	76	79	N/A	64
Ridgecrest	0	0	0	8	N/A	24
Mountain View Estates	98	104	108	98	N/A	105
Bayview Subdivision	5	30	29	37	N/A	37
Meadows Subdivision	0	0	0	0	N/A	7
Trailer Court						81
Other Areas	0	0	0	20	N/A	46
Anchor Inn	10	4	2	2	N/A	2
Processor Facilities					N/A	17

Source: City of Sand Point Census, 1980-1985.

To the south of the old school facility is Little Sanak, so named because a large portion of its residents come from Sanak Island. This residential area shares many of the same problems as Russian Town, having five to fifteen percent slopes, poor drainage, lack of road easements, and poor quality housing.

Two new residential subdivisions, Humboldt Harbor Estates and Mountain View Estates, have been developed along the ridge on the main road. These subdivisions are made up of single-family dwellings and six apartment buildings for a total of forty units. These subdivisions, along with others recently developed, contain planned road easements with utility corridors.

Two other residential areas are a complex of mobile homes and an old cannery buildings adjacent to the airport. The mobile home park is located across the road and east of the apartment buildings toward Humboldt Slough. Constructed by the City, the park now contains twenty-four mobile homes. The City has sold most of the spaces to those who occupy them. This is the only area in the City zoned for mobile homes.

Other residential areas consisting mainly of single-family residences are: the first addition to Humboldt Harbor Estates, located across the main road from the Aleutian Commercial store; the first addition to Mountain View Estates, located" north of the store; and the Bayview Subdivision. Bayview, situated on the northeastern side of the city, was funded by HUD and consists of eleven single-family units.

The newest residential development is the Meadows Subdivision, which borders the new school site northeast of the present community. Planned by the Shumagin Corporation, the subdivision consists of 225 residential lots of approximately one acre in size. A major event in Sand Point's development was the sale of 113 of these lots in January 1983. There was a great demand for the lots even though no provision had yet been made for water systems, sewerage, or electricity. These utilities have since been made available. Parcels were offered first to Shumagin Corporation shareholders at a base price of $7,000. Remaining lots were offered to other local residents by auction at prices ranging from $7,000 to $15,500 for the residential plots and up to $29,000 for the commercial plots. According to the President of the Board of Directors, "our intent was to provide land to people who live here and will "make something of their lands. We didn't want a bunch of speculation; we wanted growth." With the decline of the king crab fishery in 1983, however, a few of the property owners sold their lots back to the Shumagin Corporation at the price paid. In all, about thirty individuals returned their parcels, which are now up for sale at fixed prices ranging from $7,000 to $12,000.

Housing

Like other communities throughout the region, Sand Point has housing that has been characterized as poor in quality and in short supply. The availability of housing is tied to the commercial fishing industry. An increase in the vacancy rate was reported during the poor crab fishing seasons of 1982 and 1983 and during the poor salmon fishing season of 1983. By 1984, however, housing once again became very hard to obtain. As noted above, the Shumagin Corporation attempted to fill a large part of that demand in 1983 through the subdivision of more than 250 acres to the north of town into 225 residential parcels. In the first six months of 1986, construction began on six privately financed homes and fifteen HUD homes funded by the Aleutian Housing Authority. There are currently 216 households in Sand Point (City of Sand Point 1985), and the Bristol Bay Cooperative Management Plan estimates that this number will grow to 394 by the year 2002 (Nebesky, Langdon and Hull 1983).

The quality of existing housing in Sand Point varies from poor to quite good (Impact Assessment 1982b; City of Sand Point 1981). The housing stock consists primarily of single-family frame structures and trailers. Many dwellings are subject to drainage problems causing foundation deterioration and structural damage.

The Aleutian Housing Authority has been responsible for much of the new housing in the community during the past six years. Eleven single-family HUD units were constructed in the northeastern section of town in 1979-80. Construction of fifteen additional HUD homes began in spring 1986, and twenty additional units are scheduled for construction in 1987.

In addition to the HUD homes, there has been considerable private housing construction on individual plots in the community. City records indicate that twenty building permits for new homes have been filed in the past two years. Additional

homes could be placed on many of the approximately forty vacant lots scattered throughout the developed community.

Company housing accounts for approximately 5.5 acres, or fourteen percent of Sand Point's total residential land. On the crest of the bluff and behind Little Sanak, single-family housing and one duplex have been made available for senior employees who are not permanent community residents. Some housing of essentially the same type is located in the immediate vicinity of the plant. Other company housing includes three bunkhouses located in the plant area.

The physical separation of housing for processor employees from the rest of the community appears to have some effect on relations between permanent residents and transients. During fieldwork in the community in 1986, local residents commented that bunkhouse tenants in particular have acquired a reputation for being disruptive and undesirable, reinforcing the attitude of many permanent residents that transient processor employees are unwanted "outsiders." If economic expansion of the commercial processing industry in the community continues, an increase in the number of employees residing in company housing may amplify this distinction and exacerbate its negative connotations.

Values Related to Land and Sea

The relationship between the sociocultural system of the Aleuts of Alaska and the sea has been well documented in several previous studies (Hrdlicka 1945; Lantis 1970; Palinkas, Harris, and Petterson 1985; Veniaminov 1840) and need not be reiterated in detail here. Traditionally, the sea has provided most of the resources necessary for a subsistence economy. Sea mammals (e.g., fur seals and whales), fish (e.g., salmon and halibut), and shellfish were important sources of food, clothing, and tools for residents of the Aleutian Islands. For the Aleuts of the Alaska Peninsula, land-based resources were also very important. Caribou, moose, and the Alaskan brown bear have been primary sources of food. Like the Aleuts living on the islands, peninsula dwellers have also regarded wild celery and berries as important items of subsistence production.

In addition to hunting and fishing, the values and social relations of Aleut communities on the Peninsula were patterned on this relationship with the environment. Kin-based social relations were maintained by the distribution of subsistence resources. . This distribution emphasized reciprocal exchange and egalitarianism within various segments of the traditional class structure. The pattern of subsistence production and distribution has placed particular emphasis on the personal qualities of generosity, cooperation, endurance, bravery, self-sufficiency, self-effacement and humility, and excellence of performance. These values also extended to other spheres of the social and cultural life of Aleut communities. Finally, the world view and religious belief system of the Aleuts tend to give very special emphasis to the relationship with the environment (Black 1980).

This practice remains clearly visible. Residents still engage in substantial subsistence activity, especially with respect to hunting and salmon fishing. However, marine mammals are of less importance to the Aleuts of the Alaska Peninsula than they are elsewhere on the Aleutian chain. Subsistence exchange is still used to maintain ties among kin group members and between communities. The values associated with subsistence activities still prevail and have an impact on

commercial activities. One of the major manifestations of the continued existence of this relationship is the concern for protecting local resources from outside exploitation or disruption by commercial development.

In Sand Point, this traditional relationship between the people and their environment is less obvious. While almost all Sand Point residents engage in some form of subsistence activity, the extent of this activity does not appear to be as great as elsewhere in the region. Subsistence activities are seen as incidental to commercial activities and are usually restricted to the end of the salmon fishing season, the fall hunting season, and berry picking during the spring and. summer months. There is less perceived economic need for such activities because of the relatively high household income, which gives residents the luxury of purchasing food items either from the Aleutian Commercial store or in bulk quantities from Anchorage. There is also less social need, because, as noted above, Sand Point has very few large lineages.

This decline in the traditional relationship with the environment can be attributed to the socioeconomic history of the community and recent changes in the commercial economy. Sand Point has been a center of the region's commercial fishing industry since the late nineteenth century. The village of Sand Point began in 1887 when a San Francisco company established a facility which served as a trading post, salmon fishing station, and supply post for cod fishing. In addition to fishing, the raising of silver and blue fox was an early industry in Sand Point. Early settlers worked on the fox farms and built and repaired dories for cod fishermen. The Scandinavian heritage of many of these early residents reinforced the value of the sea as a commercial resource. Fish processing in the area increased greatly after the 1930s and has been the dominant industry ever since. Even residents from smaller, more traditional communities such as Sanak and Unga were motivated to move to Sand Point because of the availability of goods, services, and employment opportunities in the commercial fishing industry.

The relationship between the sociocultural system of Sand Point and its environment has undergone a transformation in the past ten years, largely as a result of three specific factors. The first has been the recent growth of the commercial fishing industry. The size of the Sand Point fleet, the large number of purse seiners, and the record number of salmon caught in the past six years, have all contributed to the industry's growth. Sand Point fishermen are upgrading their equipment and traveling greater distances with each passing season. Processor activities in the community have also undergone some changes in the past six years, especially with the sale of the Aleutian Cold Storage facility to Trident Seafoods, which plans to operate year-round and process bottomfish. Change is also reflected by the community's efforts to attract other processors to Sand Point.

The second factor affecting the relationship between the sociocultural system and its environment has been the emergence of the community as a regional service center. The expansion of health and educational services in the community and the development of new businesses has not only enhanced the importance of the commercial economy in the sociocultural system, but has also made Sand Point an entrepot for the influx of goods and services and values and behaviors from the larger Euro-American sociocultural system. As a result, the land and sea are perceived more as commercial resources than as subsistence or cultural resources.

Third, the recent availability of land for private ownership has had a major impact on the changing relationship between the community and its environment. Prior to ANCSA, the processors were the largest private landowners in the community. With the passage of ANCSA in 1971, the Shumagin Corporation became the largest landowner. In other communities, land ownership has been important as a means of retaining local control over subsistence resources and providing a "heritage for future generations." The pattern for the community as a whole, represented by the local Native corporation, has been to retain control of the land. In Sand Point, however, land ownership is seen as a means of retaining local control over commercial resources and economic development. When the Shumagin Corporation offered lots for sale in the Meadows Subdivision in 1983, the auction was held as quickly as possible to prevent large-scale purchases by outside interests. Thus, the pattern has been for individuals to retain control. This, in turn, has had a critical impact on sociocultural, economic, and political change in the community.

The impact of these changes can be observed in the attitudes of local residents toward economic development and its effect on the environment. In the Aleutians East CRSA Survey of 1983, for example, ninety-five percent of the respondents favored growth in the processing sector of the commercial fishing industry. Of those who favored fish and seafood processing, sixty-nine percent felt that promoting the fishery resources would improve residents' livelihood by providing more jobs and income. This positive attitude is also reflected in the community's views on economic development in general. Ninety percent of the respondents favored commercial development of goods and services in Sand Point and fifty-four percent indicated that they wanted to see more people in their community in the next ten years.

Perhaps the most dramatic proof of this changing relationship, however, may be seen in the community's attitudes toward oil and gas development in the region. Many residents in the region are of the opinion that such development interferes with their traditional relationship with land and sea, by threatening existing resources, bringing in more outsiders to compete for the use of land and sea, and introducing disruptive changes into existing sociocultural systems. This concern was expressed repeatedly to the investigator in the course of fieldwork in the community and corroborates the less-than-enthusiastic responses given to the following questions in the 1983 Aleutians East CRSA survey:

(1) Should oil and gas facilities be located near the community?;

(2) Should oil and gas workers be allowed to live in the community?; and,

(3) Do you want work on an oil and gas project located in the Aleutians East Region?

The responses were included in a brochure published by the Aleutians East Coastal Resources Service Board and sent to each community. The responses by community are provided in Table 4. Nevertheless, with the exception of Cold Bay, which is a non-Native community largely comprised of long-term transients (see Impact Assessment, 1983 b), Sand Point appears to be the community most in favor of oil and gas development among residents of the Alaska Peninsula.

Table 4. Attitudes of Aleutians East Communities to Oil and Gas Development in the Region

Questions	Percent of Respondents Answering Yes to these Questions				
	Nelson Lagoon	False Pass	Cold Bay	King Cove	Sand Point
Should oil and gas facilities be located near community?	19	10	70	24	32
Should workers be allowed to to live in community?	0	0	56	11	20
Do you want work on oil and gas project in the region?	35	10	54	24	28

Source: Aleutians East CRSA 1983.

Finally, the recent trend in land ownership has had an impact on the attitudes of local residents to the community in general. Now that land ownership has become more common, social and economic change is viewed from a long-term rather than short-term perspective. Residents are more interested in the land as a basis for economic development and provision of support services. A new pattern of long-term commitment to the community has emerged as residents seek to build their own homes, send their children to school in the community, and abandon the old pattern of dual residences. Support for community development appears to be positive, particularly since the sale of the Shumagin Corporation plots in the Meadows Subdivision in 1983.

In summary, the historical relationship between Sand Point and its environment has combined with the recent changes in the socioeconomic system to create a new relationship between the community's sociocultural system and its environment which is qualitatively different from that of other communities in the region. Although this relationship throughout the region may be said to be influenced by the interaction between a traditional subsistence orientation and a modern commercial orientation, the commercial orientation in Sand Point appears to hold a greater influence over this relationship than it does in the smaller Aleut communities of the Alaska Peninsula.

POLITICAL CONTROL

Three major themes have characterized the political system of Sand Point in recent years. The first has been the formalization of political institutions. In the past, political activities were handled on an informal basis and were dominated either by the head of one of the larger lineages or a local businessman interested in enhancing his commercial interests. Disputes over property, access to resources, and

expenditure of revenues were handled between individuals. This began to change with the proliferation of local political institutions in Sand Point in the late 1970s and early 1980s. A high level of interest and participation in the wide range of locally elected bodies in Sand Point emerged alongside these institutions, reflecting a belief that they are effective means of voicing local needs and desires.

The second major theme characterizing the political system of Sand Point is the high value placed on local control. This issue dominates local political life and characterizes interethnic relations. The value of local control was reflected institutionally in the establishment of an independent school district and resulting incorporation of the community as a first-class city, reliance upon local sales tax for generation of municipal revenues, and local initiatives in health care. Political conflicts have occurred during this period because of the unequal distribution of political power among local residents. Underlying much of this conflict has been the perception that control over the rate and direction of change in Sand Point is slipping from the hands of the long-term Aleut residents into the hands of the recent non-Native immigrant. This perception appears to be changing, however, as different segments of the community join together to plan for community development. The economic viability and political effectiveness of the Shumagin Corporation has also played an important part in changing attitudes. More will be said about this later.

Local residents express concern not only about who will control future community development, but how a rein can be kept on such development. While most residents have approved of many of the amenities offered by the growing city infrastructure, there is also concern that the city may be growing too fast, approaching a rate of growth that will soon be beyond the ability of local residents to manage. Dutch Harbor (Unalaska) is frequently held up as a model of unrestrained development in the sense that rapid economic growth brought with it a rapid influx of non-Native transients, which has led to increased heterogeneity of values and attitudes, local political factionalism, over-extension of existing facilities and services, and an inadequate supply of housing. Sand Point residents seek to avoid the negative consequences of such development at all costs.

The third theme of the Sand Point political system is the increasing regionalization of political control. Regionalization is reflected in the development of services and facilities in the community that have implications for other communities in the region. In light of the projected decline in state revenues for Regional Education Attendance Areas, for example, the educational system in Sand Point could fill a potential gap in services and provide education for children from neighboring communities. The Sand Point Health Clinic is making moves to provide health care services to other communities in the Alaska Peninsula and may eventually expand into a small hospital facility. As funding for rural health care provided by the Indian Health Service declines, the regional role of the Sand Point clinic may expand even further. Sand Point is also becoming a regional service center thanks to the recent addition of stores and support services and the improvement of harbor facilities. Improvements of local roads and the Sand Point Airport to accommodate jet traffic, in addition to the expansion of ferry services should make Sand Point more accessible. As Sand Point plays an increasingly important role in providing such facilities and services for the Alaska Peninsula, so political control of these facilities and services will become ever more important.

Another activity that points to increasing regionalization of political control has been recent efforts on the part of the Aleutians East Coastal Resource Service Area to explore the possibility of forming a borough which would include the communities of Sand Point, King Cove, False Pass, Nelson Lagoon, and Cold Bay. There is a perceived need throughout the region to organize in order to protect existing economic resources and to plan for development in the commercial fishing and oil and gas industries. As will be discussed in greater detail below, such a move would have profound implications for institutional and sociocultural change in Sand Point.

Formal Political Organization

Local *Government*

Sand Point was incorporated as a first-class city in 1978 and has a local government consisting of a mayor, city council, planning commission, city administrator, and city clerk. The City also employs a harbormaster, four maintenance/shop personnel, two janitors, a recently hired building supervisor, and four temporary employees. The City provides such services as water, sewerage, and a small boat harbor with a marine travel lift and dock.

The composition of the city council reflects the occupational profile of the community. In 1981, all but one of these positions were held by fishermen or members of fishing families, and all but one of these individuals were associated with the larger scale purse seine operations. The mayor, an independent businessman, has been a drift gillnet fisherman for the past twenty years. That individual remains in office as mayor of Sand Point, but the City Council elected in 1985 was composed of the cook at the local cafe, the superintendent of the Aleutian Cold Storage facility, two fishermen, a clinic worker, and the president of the Shumagin Corporation, who is also a purse seine fisherman.

The Planning Commission consists of five members appointed by the City Council. Although the Planning Commission does not determine zoning and planning policy, it does have a major responsibility in these matters by providing recommendations on policy changes to the City Council, which has the final authority. In the past, the Commission worked closely with the Director of Planning (a position shared with the City of King Cove who is located in Anchorage). However, this position is no longer in existence. The principal accomplishments of the Planning Commission during the past six years have included the preparation and passage of a comprehensive zoning ordinance and the preparation of the 1981 Comprehensive Plan for the City of Sand Point.

The School Board is another major elected body in Sand Point. Local control of the schools was a central factor in the successful vote to incorporate Sand Point as a first-class city, and, shortly thereafter (in January 1979), the new school board was elected. The five-member board provides policy direction and community oversight of the K-12 school program in Sand Point; however, the day-to-day administration is left in the hands of a school district superintendent. In its early years, the majority of School Board representatives were women who were previously active either as members of the Community School Committee or as representatives to the Regional School (under the former Regional Education Attendance Area structure).

Yet another locally elected body is the Health Board, which sets policy and oversees the operation of the City Health Clinic. The board is made up of seven members, one of whom serves as president. In 1981, all but one of the board members were women. At present, there are three men on the board.

In recent years, the City has assumed increased power over community utilities and land planning and has generally acquired more influence over the future direction of development of the local economy. Sand Point is a consciously developing community as reflected in its central comprehensive planning goal to diversify and expand the community's economic base. The key to this expansion has been its harbor and marine-related facilities development program. The object of this development has been to attract the services and supplies trade of the Bering Sea and North Pacific transient fleets, and possibly another major on-shore processing facility.

Regional Government

At present, the only institution with formal status as a political entity on a regional level is the Aleutians East Coastal Resource Service Area (CRSA). Established under the authority of the Federal Coastal Zone Management Act of 1972 and the Alaska Coastal Management Act of 1977, the Aleutians East CRSA is governed by an elected board and staffed with a full-time program director, a part-time field coordinator, and an administrative assistant. The board is charged with the development and management of commercial and subsistence resources in the region's coastal zone. It is the official agency through which all development proposals or requests must be funneled for "due deference" in the approval process.

One of the major efforts of the Aleutians East CRSA has been to plan for future growth associated with the development of the commercial fishing and oil-related industries in the region. A major thrust in this direction has been recent efforts to explore the possibility of forming a borough which would include the communities of Sand Point, King Cove, Cold Bay, False Pass, Nelson Lagoon, and Akutan. Akutan was not part of the original Aleutians East CRSA but petitioned the Alaska Department of Community and Regional Affairs to be included. Their request was approved in November 1986.

Funded by the Alaska Department of Regional and Community Affairs, the East Aleutians CRSA, in conjunction with Derbyshire and Associates, undertook a feasibility study of a borough form of government. The study concluded that the Aleutians East CRSA easily conforms to all statutory standards for incorporation and to four of the five state regulatory requirements. The Aleutians East CRSA does not contain an entire Regional Education Attendance Area. Alaska law requires that home-rule, first-class, and second-class borough governments exercise three area-wide responsibilities (both inside and outside city limits within the boundaries of the borough): (1) tax assessment and collection; (2) education; and (3) planning, platting, and land use regulation. Each borough constitutes a school district and must establish, maintain, and operate a system of public schools on an area-wide basis. A borough planning commission would be responsible for managing regional and community growth.

The formation of a borough form of government would have several profound implications for the community of Sand Point. A borough could be an important source of local employment for residents. According to the Derbyshire and Associates (1986)

report, it is estimated that a new borough would provide a minimum of fifteen full-time jobs and generate a payroll of $675,000 annually. The current plan is to distribute borough positions among the communities in the proposed areas, particularly Sand Point, King Cove, and Cold Bay. This, in turn, would stimulate economic growth in these communities. A new borough could also exercise greater self-determination in environmental and land use development issues. Finally, a borough could potentially become a major landowner in the region because it would be able to select tens of thousands of acres of state lands for ownership. Under current law, a new borough can select ten percent of the vacant, unappropriated, unreserved state land within its boundaries. However, if a state area plan has classified the land, only certain classifications are available for selection, including agriculture, grazing, settlement, reserved use, and unclassified land. The Bristol Bay Area Plan, completed in September 1984 by the Alaska Department of Natural Resources, classified all state land in the Aleutians East CRSA; as a result of this classification, only four small areas classified for settlement would be available for selection. However, a bill in the current state legislature would make most state land classifications available for selection by a new borough. If this bill passes, an Aleutians East Borough would be able to select lands for ownership (M. Dunaway, pers. comm. 1987).

On the other hand, there are also certain disadvantages for Sand Point if a borough government were to be formed, The state fisheries business taxes provided the cities of Sand Point, King Cove, and Cold Bay a total revenue of nearly $400,000 in FY84. If a new borough was organized, the state formula for distribution of such revenues would require that half be distributed to the new borough and the other half to the three cities. This would result in a net loss of nearly $200,000 in revenues to the cities of Sand Point, King Cove, and Cold Bay. However, the state fisheries business tax on regional processors outside the cities would also provide the new borough with approximately $350,000 in revenues now collected and held entirely by the state. Thus, while the cities would lose approximately $200,000 in state fisheries business tax revenues to the new borough, the entire region would receive $750,000, or a net gain of approximately $550,000 over the revenues realized in FY84. In addition, any borough sales and use taxes would be in supplement to such taxes levied by the City of Sand Point. Thus, if the new borough were to levy, for example, a two percent use tax on fish processors in the region, fish processors in Sand Point would pay a four percent use tax (two percent for the borough and two percent for the city), while processors outside city limits would pay a two percent use tax for the borough (Derbyshire and Associates 1986: xxiii). Finally, it should be noted that the cities of Sand Point and King Cove are working together to adjust the state law to allow for gradual shift of the taxes from the state to the borough over a five-year period as an alternative to simply dividing up the state raw fish tax between the city and the borough (M. Dunaway, pers. comm. 1987).

State and Federal Government

The State is represented by three agencies in Sand Point: (1) the Department of Transportation and Public Facilities, which maintains the airport; (2) the Alaska Department of Fish and Game, which is charged with fish and game management in the area; and (3) a state trooper, who also serves other communities in the Alaska Peninsula. Until recently, the district court magistrate was stationed in Cold Bay with an office in Sand Point. However, the current state budget (FY 1987) includes the position for a full-time magistrate in Sand Point along with the elimination of the position in Cold Bay. The Federal Government's presence in the

community is largely confined to the post office. Many of the administrative, educational, and health services provided by state and federal agencies in other communities throughout the region have been assumed by the City of Sand Point.

Informal Political Organizations

Local Organizations

With 409 members, the Shumagin Corporation is the Native Village Corporation for the majority of Native residents of Sand Point. Shumagin Corporation shareholders elect a nine-member Board of Directors which defines the broad policy objectives of the corporation. Three members of the board are elected each year on a rotating basis. The board elects a president and other executive officers who oversee day-to-day "affairs. The board of directors is about evenly composed of men and women and, while virtually all members are associated closely with fishing, representative of no one gear type appear to dominate. Some members of the board hold other elected offices in Sand Point.

Additionally, a number of Sand Point residents are members of village corporations of communities located elsewhere in the Aleutian Chain and Alaska. Almost the entire membership of the Sanak Corporation (twenty-five members, Pauloff Harbor) and the Unga Corporation (forty-five members, Unga Village) now reside in Sand Point, reflecting the general migration from the smaller surrounding villages into the growing community of Sand Point.

Inherent in the structure of ANCSA is the potential for conflicts between community Native Corporations and any incorporated political entities that represent both Native and non-Native residents. This is particularly true in the case of land ownership and control. Section 14(c) (3) of the Act provides for reconveyance of up to 1,280 acres of village corporation lands to communities existing within the Native corporation boundaries for the purpose of community development. This was amended by provisions of the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA) of 1980, which provided for a lesser amount of acreage if agreed upon by both the city and Native village corporation. The City of Sand Point and the Shumagin Corporation came to such an agreement and reconveyance of these lands has progressed relatively smoothly in Sand Point. The City received the 670 acres it requested from the Shumagin Corporation, including a new landfill site, the new school grounds, land for a new City Building, the City watershed, land for a proposed city park, several roadways, and a joint venture rock quarry site. The Shumagin Corporation has also conveyed eight acres to the Aleutian Housing Authority for construction of HUD housing.

Because of Sand Point's large Native population, many of the members of the City Council and Planning Commission are also members of the Shumagin Corporation Board of Directors. The working relationship between the City of Sand Point and the Shumagin Corporation has been very cordial in the past and it is expected to continue in this vein. One important example of cooperation is the shared City/Corporation development of gravel and stone borrow sites, a critical resource for the community's growth (Alaska Department of Community and Regional Af f airs 1983:4). The two entities also share common office space.

Up until 1981, the Shumagin Corporation development policy was characterized by a generally subdued approach. However, new leadership has made a commitment to turning this image around with several ambitious corporate projects. The Corporation has been involved in a housing development northeast of the present community to provide 225 individual family units, each situated on one-acre parcels. The Corporation also owns land overlooking the present small boat harbor. This land is suitable for development and could eventually be used for commercial purposes, with the lower elevations devoted to marine-related commercial and industrial services. Also in the works are a two-story corporate office building and a hotel/shopping mall complex. In addition, the Corporation has expressed great interest in the possibility of entering into a seafood processing venture on some of its shore-front property, most likely in the area between the town and the airport (Alaska Dept. of Community and Regional Affairs 1983:39).

The assets of both the Sanak and Unga corporations are limited to land holdings in the vicinity of their respective former village sites. In addition, small memberships limited the extent of their original entitlements. Both corporations have leased land on their respective islands: Unga Corporation has a land lease with the mining interests on Unga Island; however, the Sanak Island lease for cattle grazing has expired without renewal. Representatives of these corporations have indicated that their memberships are primarily concerned with the maintenance of a land heritage for future generations rather than with seeking out rapid development of available resources. There had been some disagreement among the directors of the Unga Corporation over how to proceed with development of specific assets and, as a result, no plans have been agreed upon.

Regional Organizations

Sand Point is located within the regional boundaries of the Aleut Corporation. The corporate presence, ***per se,*** has not yet had a significant influence on the development of the community. Perhaps because of the dynamic growth of local units of government and of village corporations, the Aleut Corporation and the Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association (A/PIA) have played a very low-profile role in Sand Point. The activities of the Aleut Corporation are not well known in Sand Point and do not yet appear to have had much of an impact on the lives of the Sand Point shareholders (Combs 1982:121). However, because the Corporation controls sub-surface mineral rights for those lands selected by the local village corporations (in this case, virtually all the land in the Sand Point area), a working relationship between the City, Aleut Corporation, and Shumagin Corporation must be maintained if the city is to retain access to local gravel and rock borrow sites for use in road and harbor development.

Similarly, the involvement of the A/PIA in Sand Point has been quite limited. Because its goal is primarily to "facilitate self-growth" of community services, the A/PIA is more involved in unincorporated communities and in the communities of St. Paul and St. George on the Pribilof Islands than in Sand Point. The Association's current involvement in Sand Point includes employment and supervision of a Community Health Aide (CHA) and one CHA alternate at the Sand Point Clinic, support services and rental space for the regional Emergency Medical Services (EMS) coordinator, employment and training programs, and energy assistance. The non-profit association also plans to provide funding for a Community Health Representative in 1987.

The Aleutian Housing Authority, a non-profit corporation involved in the community, has constructed and manages the HUD-financed housing in Sand Point. Given the necessity for additional housing, as well as the associated prestige of living in comparatively well-constructed homes, the Aleutian Housing Authority has had a considerable impact on the rate and direction of sociocultural change in the community.

One important regional-level organization in which Sand Point residents play a major role is the Peninsula Marketing Association (PM-A), the collective bargaining arm of the fishermen of the Alaska Peninsula (from Sand Point to Nelson Lagoon). The Association, which represents ninety-five percent of the fishermen in its region, is governed by a seven-member board of directors, on which Sand Point residents held four seats in 1981.

The PMA undertakes two major responsibilities on behalf of its members. First, it initiates and conducts price negotiations with the processors each spring, 'generally arriving at a settlement just in time for the opening of the South Unimak fishery. Second, it represents the political interests of its members in the regulatory process, particularly in the annual December meetings of the Fisheries Board in Anchorage.

Although the PMA settles with the processors on behalf of ninety-five percent of the fishermen, in 1980 only forty percent of the total harvest was delivered to the processors with whom the PMA negotiated, a sharp decline from previous years. The cause of the decline was the sudden increase in the number of floating processors and cash buyers in the region (Combs 1982:122).

The PMA has also been characterized by dissension within its membership. The PMA has traditionally been controlled by purse seiners, usually "highliners," and fishermen operating drift gillnet gear have felt that their interests were not adequately represented. Discontentment has also arisen because the PMA has been unable to counter recent efforts by state officials and fishermen from other parts of Western Alaska to diminish the role of the Alaska Peninsula in the overall commercial fishery, claiming that it is an intercept fishery which harvests fish, particularly salmon, which migrate from the Pacific to areas in Bristol Bay and Bering Sea.

Another regional organization which exerts a measure of political control (primarily as a lobbying group) is the Oil/Fisheries Association. This Association is comprised of fishermen from communities throughout Western Alaska and representatives of oil companies interested in developing offshore tracts. The purpose of the organization is to provide information about the needs and concerns of local fishermen and to promote the development of oil-related industries in the region.

Political Leadership

One of the most significant changes in the political system of Sand Point over the past six years has been the increasing involvement of a wider segment of the community in political activities. As is the case in many communities throughout the region, a fairly small number of individuals traditionally fill a large number of positions on elected boards and the City Council. In the past, local leadership was

also characterized by a sexual division. Males dominated local councils and the Peninsula Marketing Association while women dominated the boards of health and education. However, this appears to be changing. There is now one woman on the present City Council and the City Clerk and Administrative Officer are both women.

Of the present community leaders, the City Manager is viewed as one of the most responsible for the rate and direction of community development. An ardent advocate of growth, this individual has worked to advertise the community's resources and tried to solicit businesses which would bring additional employment opportunities and municipal revenues. Under his direction, the City has had considerable success in operating within budgetary constraints, managing capital improvement projects, and rigorously enforcing cost controls. The City Manager also gave weight to the idea that the City should perform its own contracting and project management, resulting in a savings of more than half the cost of construction projects by using city employees. The current water and sewer project, for example, is dramatically under budget and has resulted in a savings of $500,000 to the City.

Attitudes Toward Development

The City of Sand Point is regarded throughout the region as the most progressive community in the Aleutian Chain. It has long recognized that the state and federal governments will continue to retract support for community development and that it must focus development objectives with the idea of attaining long-term self-sufficiency. Accordingly, the community has initiated efforts to induce processors to move to Sand Point and has begun to plan for the possibility of oil-related development in the region. The community has also assumed a very pragmatic approach to seeking resources for development. Much of the development in the past six years can be seen as a result of "targets of opportunity." In other words, the approach has been to discover the existence of a resource such as available grants for specific projects or pieces of equipment and to look for ways to maximize the benefits of acquiring that resource for the community. Of course, this pragmatic approach occurs within the context of considerable planning and constructive effort, but the opportunistic strategy plays a substantial role in community adaptation to sociocultural change and has provided an impetus for further change.

Development Objectives

The development goals of the community at the beginning of the study period were outlined in the 1981 Comprehensive Plan for the City of Sand Point prepared by the Planning Commission. The outline of this plan appears in Table 5. Most of the items on this outline have been achieved, or the City has at least taken the initial steps toward completion of these projects.

The survey conducted by the Aleutians East Coastal Resource Service Area (1983) also identified several goals for community development from the perspective of Sand Point residents. Housing, utilities, and transportation were high priorities for Sand Point respondents to the survey. Boardwalks, street lights, alternative sources of energy, more roads, and a community recreational facility were mentioned in particular.

Table 5. 1981 Sand Point Development Goals

Goal: To expand and diversify economic development

Objective:

1. Apply for Federal and State grants or loans to develop Public Dock, Marine Warehouse, and fuel storage tanks, etc., to support the local fish processing plants to diversify their business into other markets of the fishing industry.

2. Receive State Grants or loans to construct entertainment and secondary business to provide community service as well as new areas of employment.

3. Encourage diversification of fishing-oriented businesses such as seafood by product reduction plant.

Goal: Develop land use plans, zoning and subdivision ordinances and public services to encourage the construction of all types of housing.

Goal: Develop or improve physical features in the City and its Public Facilities to insure health, safety, and welfare of the community.

Priorities: The following items were listed by priority as identified from an October 1980 survey of the community.

1. Additional School Facilities
2. Housing (designate suitable building areas. Identify potential hazards, compatibility and land use. Zoning and subdivision ordinances).
3. Existing road and walkway system (Improvements, existing conditions, expansion and traffic flow, easements, access, parking, speed limits, etc.).
4. Street lighting (Improve existing and construct new ones).
5. Boardwalk system (Improve existing and extend new construction).
6. Fire Protection System (Hydrant capabilities, fire department).
7. Utility Systems (Map and upgrade, removal of old wires and poles, future sewer and water).
8. Solid Waste System (Landfill-junk autos, etc.).
9. Run-off and Drainage problems (How to minimize and stabilize)
10. Communication and Transportation Facilities (Adequacy growth potential).
11. Potential for additional commercial development and industry.
12. Recreation Potential (Park, tot lot, scenic vistas, etc.).
13. Preservation of Cultural and Historic values of Sand Point (Old church, petrified forest, etc.).

Many of these community development projects have recently been completed or are in the works, reflecting the community's aspirations for growth and talents for acquiring the funding to support that growth. These include improvements to the existing city water reservoir, a new sewer treatment facility, regrading and resurfacing the city road system, a new school facility, a new medical clinic, a large housing subdivision, and upgrading of the city airport to accommodate jet traffic. Perhaps even more indicative of the City's programmed approach to development is a recent commitment to seek funding to assist the community in improving its recreational and commercial facilities, thereby increasing its attractiveness as a regional service/support community (Dept. of Community and Regional Af f airs 1983:3). The City is also "considering for the first time in its history the possibility of financing airport improvements though municipal bonds. Until this point, it has been able to rely upon external grants for capital improvement projects. However, given its commitment to growth and the decline of available state and federal funds for this purpose, the new approach may be the community's only alternative.

In recent years the town had rising expectations of a developing bottomfish industry. Expectations were that the town and harbor would provide year-round opportunity for employment, and the resulting fish tax would help strengthen the community infrastructure. More recently, the prospects for development of bottomfishing have shifted to a scenario in which off-shore production will maintain precedence over on-shore production at least in the short-term. Realizing this, the people of Sand Point have shifted their goals and objectives to reflect their changing expectations. The community now perceives its role in the developing fisheries as that of a support and service base for the Aleutian region rather than as a primary production center. This was reflected by another recent community attitude survey in which residents encouraged the City to pursue federal and state funding targeted specifically at the development of entertainment businesses, community recreational services, and fisheries support facilities such as a bulk fuel storage facility and marine storage (Alaska Department of Community and Regional Affairs 1983:41).

SOCIOCULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

Kinship and Informal Associations

In many respects the changes that have occurred in the social system of Sand Point during the past six years mirror and, in turn, are a product of political and economic changes. Patterns of social organization within the community have become increasingly formal and complex. Sand Point has not only witnessed an increase but also a diversification of its population, which can now be classed in several categories. These categories are based on length and type of residence, ethnicity, land-owning status, and income, and reflect the emergence of a new set of values which govern social interaction. As social relations among local residents have increased in their variety, moving from simple to multiplex patterns of interaction, they have also become more formal and institutionalized. This is most evident in the emergence of numerous voluntary associations, each comprised of a specific segment of the community and each with a specific set of recreational, social service, religious, or political objectives.

These changes may also be said to characterize the social systems of other communities on the Alaska Peninsula. However, there is a both a quantitative and qualitative difference between the sociocultural changes experienced in these communities and those experienced in Sand Point. This difference in the rate and direction of change appears to be due to three specific factors. First is the community's ability to exploit the region's commercial fisheries. Other communities also participate in this fishery, but the size of the Sand Point fishing fleet and its purse seine limited entry permits (which generate the largest incomes) have given Sand Point residents a higher per capita income than residents of other communities. This economic vitality has had a marked effect on social interaction. One specific example is ethnicity. While other communities share a Scandinavian heritage, a Native ethnic identity emerged more strongly due in part to the enactment of the 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. A similar process has occurred in Sand Point. However, the emergence of a strong Native ethnic identity has been tempered by finer socioeconomic distinctions between Natives and non-Natives and the considerable economic and political clout exercised by the local Native Corporation. Thus, in place of social networks based on ethnicity, Sand Point social organization is largely determined by economic factors such as income, shareholder status, and land ownership. Similarly, social distinctions are made on the basis of extent of involvement in local economic development.

The second factor is the increasing population, largely the product of migration. During the past six years the number of non-Natives in the community has increased at a much faster rate than the Native segment of the population. Immigration of outsiders wishing to participate in the commercial fishing industry has resulted in greater diversity in the population. With this increasing diversity of interests, values, economic activities, and political objectives, there has been a widening of the networks of social interaction and a broadening in the nature of social ties that bind individuals together. Concomitantly, social distinctions between residents and transients and permanent residents and "outsiders" have become important, reflecting the community's response to the pace of population growth.

Finally, the quantity and quality of changes in the social system of Sand Point may be said to differ from similar changes in other communities because of the degree of local political control over the pace and direction of that change. Given its economic vitality and its status as a first class City, Sand Point has had greater success in directing its own development than other communities, especially since it has been less dependent upon federal and state funds for financing that development. A strong local government and an effective working relationship between the City and the local Native Corporation have combined to encourage community development and institutionalized change. This, in turn, has reinforced the community's desire for self-sufficiency and control of local resources and development. The value placed on self-sufficiency and self-determination is reflected by the numerous new elected and advisory boards and committees which have been established to oversee development, at the same time providing arenas for social interaction. At the same time, social distinctions have emerged according to whether individuals contribute to local control or threaten it.

Sand Point cannot be considered a kin-based community in the same way that many of the smaller communities in the region can. The nuclear family is the most common residential unit, although prior to the minor housing boom that began in 1980 a shortage of housing contributed to the occurrence of extended family households. While lineages are recognized by a common surname, they do not form corporate groups; residence, for example, does not appear to be based on lineage membership and

property is held by individual members. The one area in which kinship does play a role is the commercial fishery. Fishing crews are often composed of male family members. This, however, appears to be less the case among purse seine fishermen than among set or drift gillnet fishermen. While the latter group relies almost exclusively on kin-related individuals to work on their vessels, the former group uses more outsiders to operate their vessels. Most lineages in Sand Point are represented by only a small number of households and only four lineages are represented by more than four households. This suggests that no lineage is likely to dominate community affairs by reason of size alone. Similarly, no one lineage currently stands out in the community as being the most politically active or economically prosperous.

Kinship also plays a role in organizing subsistence activities. Family members operating set and drift gillnet gear usually fish for salmon for subsistence purposes incidental to the commercial salmon harvest. Similarly, berry-picking is a family activity. Some exchange of subsistence items occurs between Sand Point residents and residents of other communities such as Unalaska and King Cove. However, it appears that kinship plays a greater role in subsistence production than it does in subsistence distribution. The distribution of subsistence items for the purpose of maintaining traditional social networks appears to be of less importance in Sand Point than elsewhere.

In summary, while kinship remains an important feature of the social organization of Sand Point, its role in determining patterns of social interaction is less pervasive than in other communities in the region.

Voluntary Associations

In 1980, there were only two voluntary associations of any note within the community. One was the local chapter of the Lion's Club, an affiliate of the national and international fraternal and service organizations of the same name. Founded in late 1979 at the initiative of several local businessmen, the club was intended to become a "bridge to get everyone to meet." In particular, the founders believed that Sand Point's residents tended to socialize only within their own occupational group and rarely established links between groups. Teachers, businessmen, and government employees were seen as circulating in a relatively enclosed social sphere and fishermen were seen as interacting only with each other. The founders had in mind a club that would provide a mechanism of integrating these groups through good-natured socializing and community service. There was also an interest in promoting better inter-ethnic relations.

The charter membership of the Lions Club was approximately twenty. By 1982 the membership peaked at fifty, although the proportion of Aleut members had declined. However, interest in the organization began to wane and there are currently only two or three members.

Throughout its existence, the club met on an irregular basis because it lacked a suitable meeting place. Meetings were characterized as social get-togethers and occasionally included the members' spouses. The meetings were also occasions for planning the club's service activities. Since its foundation, the Lions Club was responsible for the construction of a footbridge from the main part of town to the small boat harbor, and assisted in the renovation of the school play yard. In 1981 the Lions Club sponsored the first community-wide Fourth of July celebration. About 1,000 people attended the festivities held throughout the day (Combs 1982:1 13).

Today, the Sand Point Branch Lions Club remains an organization in name only. Its efforts at integrating disparate elements of the community met with limited success. Eventually the Native membership dwindled due to lack of interest. In addition, through a process of increasing specialization of functions and inter-organizational competition, the importance of the organization in the community declined. Other organizations have since emerged to assume many of the tasks originally handled by the Lions Club.

The Women's Club, also known as the Sewing Circle, began in the late 1970s as a fund-raising and service organization. At first the group met informally for conversation while they sewed, but they soon decided to auction their handcrafted goods as a way of raising funds for community projects. The club had twelve members in 1981. Most were Aleut women from the older Sand Point families who met weekly to work on quilts, afghans, and other small fabric craft items. These items are auctioned annually in the range of $5,000 to $6,000. Proceeds from such auctions have been used to pay for a fence surrounding the town cemetery, various school excursions, and equipment for the health clinic (Combs 1982:113-1 14). During the past six years, the Women's Club has grown and expanded its activities. Membership also has expanded to include non-Native women who have moved to the community with the intention of becoming permanent residents, The Women's Club recently was involved in fund-raising activities in support of a new Community Resource Center.

Since 1980 several new voluntary associations have emerged in the community. One such organization is the local chapter of Alcoholics Anonymous. Given the prevalence of alcohol abuse in the Alaska Peninsula in general and Sand Point in particular, such an organization has the potential for playing a significant role in community life. Known as the "Popof Group," this group meets twice a week in the old City Building. Since its establishment, the organization has grown in size, and participation in weekly meetings has been quite regular. In the past the group used to meet nightly and sponsored a halfway house for recovering alcoholics. The house was destroyed by fire, but another is currently under construction.

The Sand Point Volunteer Firefighters are a small group of twenty-five to thirty-five year-old males. The group meets regularly and has taken an active role in community volunteer activities and fund-raising efforts. The local representative of the Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association established a "Natural Helpers" program designed to provide services to local residents in need; this program is no longer in effect, however. Other voluntary associations which have emerged in the community over the past ten years include the Emergency Medical Technicians, a local chapter of Mothers Against Drunk Driving, and public service committees such as the Broadcasting Board, Health Board, and School Board. Many of these public service committees such as the School Board and Health Board have played instrumental roles in community development and the establishment of local political control. Local control of the schools, for instance, was a motivating factor behind the 1979 community election to incorporate as a first class city. Similarly, the Health Board was instrumental in the development of a new health clinic.

Religious Organization

Sand Point has three main religious denominations: Russian Orthodox, Baptist, and Roman Catholic. Of these the Russian Orthodox is the oldest. The Orthodox Church building is located on a hill overlooking the small boat harbor, but is dilapidated beyond use and *services* are currently held in the City Building.

However, efforts are underway to rebuild the church. The current lay leadership of the church is of the opinion that once reestablished, the Russian Orthodox Church should regain some of the members of its congregation who left to join the local Baptist congregations. There is no resident Orthodox priest in Sand Point, nor has there been for many years. The Sunday services are led by the lay reader, an elder Aleut woman. The average attendance each week is fairly small, fewer than twenty-four people, even though the large majority of the community is nominally Russian Orthodox. This is particularly apparent at marriages and funerals when a priest from one of the other villages in the region visits to officiate.

The Baptist Church is a more recent and now very active addition to the religious life of Sand Point. The original Baptist church had its roots in the nondenominational medical mission which was established in Sand Point in the 1960s and was staffed by a missionary doctor and assisted by a nurse. The mission has since dropped its program of medical services and has now come under the auspices of the Baptist Conference.

There are currently two Baptist congregations in Sand Point. The Sand Point Baptist Chapel remains the largest, with an estimated 100 members and forty to sixty members who attend Sunday services on a regular basis. The two major lineages associated with the Baptist Chapel are former residents of Sanak Island. This congregation is perceived as fundamentalist and anti-alcohol. A second congregation, known as the First Baptist Church, separated from the first about seven years ago. Both churches have a resident pastor; worship and Bible study services are held several times during the week.

The third denomination represented in Sand Point is the Roman Catholic Church. A handful of members meet irregularly for Bible study with a nun who visits from Anchorage, and Sunday services are conducted by a priest who visits from Dillingham every two to three months.

Other religious traditions represented in Sand Point include the Church of the Latter Day Saints which has a few local members, and the Baha'i faith which has eight to ten members. Neither of these represent an organized institution in the community, however.

The special role of religion in Sand Point emerges in the interaction between the Russian Orthodox and Baptist traditions. The Baptist Church in Sand Point, as elsewhere, is an evangelical and proselytizing tradition, and considerable effort is devoted to converting non-members despite their participation in another religious tradition. Combs (1982:128) reported several informants in 1981 who felt that the integrity of the Russian Orthodox faith was being challenged by these efforts to convert. In their view, the Baptist Church was too forceful and intolerant.

Social Differentiation

The cultural picture in Sand Point is dominated by its status as a relatively affluent fishing town that is increasingly influenced by the immigration of non-Native inhabitants. Consequently, many characteristics of traditional Aleutian village life have become submerged beneath the surface of what appears to be a fairly typical small and isolated American community. There are few native Aleut speakers in the community, although some Aleut and Russian language is maintained for

ritual purposes. There are no bath houses, few people dry or smoke fish, and the Russian Orthodox Church does not have a strong material presence in the community. However, Sand Point Aleuts consider themselves distinctive, particularly in contrast to the recent white immigrant, but they rarely use the term "Aleut" to describe that distinction. More typically they refer to themselves as "fishermen," or "locals," as a way of distinguishing themselves from "businessmen and teachers" or "outsiders." This pattern suggests that the turn of the century fishery, rather than the aboriginal Aleut period, forms the basis of identification. Indeed, the fishermen typically harken back to their Scandinavian forebears when talking of their origins.

Inter-ethnic relations tend to operate in a climate of suspicion in contemporary Sand Point. Although there is little expression of outright hostility, a quiet feeling of mistrust is often cited. Even non-Native migrants who have moved to the community with the intention of becoming permanent residents are regarded as "outsiders." One local resident expressed the opinion during fieldwork that "white outsiders are outsiders forever." These feelings are closely associated with the fear of loss of control over the rate and direction of change in Sand Point, a feeling aggravated by the rapid transformation of this city in the late 1970s. If the rise, of pride in "Aleutness" associated with the passage of ANCSA is any indication, then perhaps the emerging importance of the Shumagin Corporation as an economic force in Sand Point will partially diminish these feelings by providing Natives with a political and economic status roughly equal to that enjoyed by non-Natives. On the other hand, the corporation's political presence may reinforce these feelings by providing the Native segment of the community with a basis for competing with the non-Native population for control of community resources.

In any case, important community distinctions are based less on ethnicity than they are on whether an individual is a resident or non-resident. If the individual is a resident in the sense that he or she has been living in the community year-round, the distinction is made between permanent and short-term residents. Among permanent residents there is a distinction between shareholders in the local Native corporation and non-shareholders. There is another distinction between persons who own property in the community and those who do not. These categories do not entirely overlap the shareholder/non-shareholder categories. Twenty-five to 35 percent of the community actually does own land as a result of the auction conducted by the Shumagin Corporation. Distinctions also exist between community members who belong to a church and those who do not. In the former group, there is a further distinction between those who are Russian Orthodox and those who are Baptist. Finally, there is a social distinction made between Native residents originally from Sand Point and those who have migrated from the communities of Unga, Sanak, and Squaw Harbor. This distinction is particularly noteworthy between former residents of Unga and Sanak, and is reinforced by differences in neighborhood residence and church membership with many former Sanak residents being members of the Sand Point Baptist Chapel and Unga residents being Russian Orthodox (Impact Assessment 1982 b:35).

As noted in the introduction to this section, social distinctions within the community reflect the emergence of new values associated with the rapid encroachment of the larger Euro-American sociocultural system on community life during the past six years. Among the most important is the value placed upon economic productivity, measured by income and socioeconomic status. In other communities in the region this value is contrasted with the traditional importance

placed on egalitarianism, reinforced by the kin-related patterns of distribution of subsistence resources. Sand Point fishermen, in contrast, do not appear to share this commitment to egalitarianism. A small number of fishermen are held up without hesitation as examples of "highliners," while others are referred to as "lazy fishermen." The six or seven individuals identified by local residents as being millionaires are all owners of purse seine fishing vessels. The dramatic differences in the productivity of deep-water purse seine vessel owners compared to owners of the smaller gillnet vessels, combined with the successful 1979, 1981, and 1985 salmon fishing seasons which resulted in the expansion of the range of fishermen's incomes throughout the region, are largely responsible for differences in socioeconomic status, and no leveling mechanisms of any sort are in evidence. The increasing diversification of the community has further reduced what commitment to a notion of egalitarianism among fishermen or between other categories of people in the community may have existed prior to the last ten years.

Associated with differences in income are differences in the display of material wealth that has emerged over the last six years as a basis for social differentiation. In communities in the lower forty-eight states one of the most visible indicators of material wealth is property. However, because of the limitation on the availability of land for housing, local residents have generally been content to live in housing that would be viewed elsewhere as substandard. In addition, because of the insecurity associated with the uncertainty of land tenure, even "highliners" have been reluctant to spend significant amounts on home improvements. However, this appears to have been changing within the past few years as the status of land owned by the Shumagin Corporation has become determined through conveyances and sales. As a result, several permits have been taken out by local residents in the past two years for building renovations and housing construction.

With high incomes, fishermen could afford two residences, long vacations, and frivolous spending. As incomes have declined with poor fishing seasons, many residents are no longer able to maintain dual residences, but rather must elect to maintain one family location. This, in turn, has motivated the development of a secondary local service and support sector. In addition, there is now an incentive to encourage saving, frugal investments, and planned investments. The current pattern of residence, however, still retains a strong element of dual residence with even permanent residents living half of the year in the lower forty-eight and coming to the community only during the fishing seasons.

The importance of material wealth in the social differentiation of Sand Point residents has also emerged in patterns of consumer purchases. Travel outside the community has become a status symbol during the past six to ten years. Highliners have been able to spend extravagantly on such consumer items as three-wheelers, automobiles, video cassette recorders, and sophisticated recreational and entertainment hardware. When these items break down, the tendency has been simply to abandon them. This pattern of voracious accumulation has not been adopted by individuals owning set gillnet permits, however. With a much smaller average income, these individuals must be content with less or enjoy the benefits of borrowing from more prosperous kin members.

Involvement in the local political system and access to political power also has emerged during the past six years as a basis for social differentiation. The desire for political participation in local and regional government agencies,

boards, and committees, is motivated by concern for both local control of community development and protection of individual economic resources. In the past, those who actively engage in political activities were confined to a relatively small group of permanent residents. Occasionally, these individuals were resented by other members of the community for the political control they were able to exercise. However, involvement in political activities appears to have increased over the monitoring period. The increased level of participation by local residents in the political process is particularly evident in a number of advisory board and committees, in addition to the City Council and Board of Directors of the Shumagin Corporation, which exercise a considerable measure of political influence. These include the School Board, Policy Committee, Planning and Zoning Board, Centennial Committee, Fire Squad, EMTs, and Radio Board.

As noted above, length of residence has emerged as one of the major bases for social differentiation in the community, owing largely to the recent influx of migrants from outside the region and the increased concern for local control of community development. This distinction is evident in several different social arenas. Most of the businesses in Sand Point, for instance, are non-Native. Hence, the business sector of the local economy is viewed by some local residents as being controlled by "outsiders," even though many of these individuals may have resided in the community for several years.

There also is a distinction between transients and residents. In the past, transients have been seen as a blight on the community. They are viewed by residents as disruptive, a source of drugs, and lacking decorum.

In the past, teachers were viewed as "outsiders" along with businessmen. However, with the establishment of an independent school district and decline in rates of teacher turnover, teachers are becoming significant members of the community.

As noted above, the community as a whole places a high value on education. Unlike most of the communities on the Alaska Peninsula, Sand Point has a relatively high level of education among its residents. Until recently, however, the number of residents with post-secondary education or technical/vocational training has been quite limited. With the establishment of an independent school district and the assertion of local control over the educational system of the community, this has changed.

While social differentiation based on generational status has always existed in rural Alaska, this differentiation can be said to have assumed new importance with the sociocultural changes experienced by Alaska Natives in recent years. Differences between generations have taken on new meaning as younger generations acquire the values, attitudes, and behaviors associated with the Euro-American sociocultural system and older generations retain the values, attitudes, and behaviors of the traditional Native sociocultural system. What social differentiation exists between generations in Sand Point is typical for rural Alaskan communities. Adults commonly complain that their children have lost respect for them and cannot be controlled. This situation is exacerbated by the opportunity of younger Sand Point residents to earn considerable sums of money during good salmon fishing years. High school students have been known to earn as much as $50,000 in past years of good salmon fishing. Adults also point to supposedly increased sexual activity among teenagers as evidence of an increasing lack of decorum.

ECONOMY

Introduction

Although each of the major subsystems of the sociocultural system of Sand Point can be said to have undergone extensive changes during the past six years, perhaps none have been more profound and wide-reaching in their implications for future change than those that have occurred in the community's economic organization, The impetus behind this change, of course, has been the expansion and diversification of the commercial fishing industry. Beginning with the successful commercial salmon harvests of the late 1970s and early 1980s, combined with the large number of purse seine permits held by local fishermen, the local economy has has a period of unprecedented growth in all sectors thanks to the number of jobs and high income generated by with the fishing industry.

Three major themes characterize the changes that have occurred in the economic organization of Sand Point in the last six years. The first is increasing diversification of the economy. In the past, Sand Point has been a one-industry town whose livelihood revolved around the fishing industry and the local processors. While fishing remains the dominant industry of the community, the economic organization has undergone an expansion and diversification of services to meet the needs of local residents. Sand Point was once content to acquire goods and services outside the community, either by traveling elsewhere to obtain them or by ordering wholesale from outlets located in Seattle or Anchorage. The need to do this, however, is rapidly diminishing as new businesses are formed by local residents or are brought into the community by migrants.

The second theme is the increasing regionalization of the local economy. This regionalization has occurred in two different forms. One is the development of the community into a regional service center. As new businesses move into the community or are set up-by local residents, the community is able to provide goods and services to residents from other communities in the region." Improved transportation in the form of expanded roads and improved ferry service has made the community more accessible to other communities in the region. The City of Sand Point has also received the necessary permits to begin realignment of the airport runway so that it will accommodate jet aircraft, thus improving the accessibility of goods and services from outside the region. The second form of regionalization has been the recent efforts at joining with other communities in the region to protect existing economic resources such as land and fisheries, and to plan for the eventuality of future developments such as those associated with oil-related industries. The activities of the Aleutians East CRSA and the possibility of a borough form of government are examples of this regionalization of economic planning.

Third, the economic organization of Sand Point largely reflects the active involvement and mutual interaction in community development of the City government and the Shumagin Corporation. The role of both institutions in the community's economic growth has been profound, encouraging expansion and diversification of the economy, and soliciting the attention of outside industries. The role of the local Native Corporation has derived largely from its status as the major land holder in the community. The willingness to sell off parcels of its holdings and to make prudent investments, working in cooperation with local government rather than in opposition to it, has made the Shumagin a more effective vehicle of development than local Native corporations in the region's other communities.

Because of the joint efforts of the city government and local Native Corporation, community optimism in continued growth and prosperity appears to have increased over the monitoring period. One local resident noted, for instance:

> When crab tumbled there was a lot of tension expressed within the community and between its members. Now the town is a lot more relaxed now that there are new and longer-term options.

Two of the best measures of change in the economic organization of Sand Point are the budgets of the City of Sand Point and of the Shumagin Corporation. The general finances of the former organization for the past six years are presented in Table 6.

An examination of the City budgets for the period FY80-FY85 provides an indication of the rate of growth of City government, its sources of revenues, and its commitment to community development. An examination of the revenues listed in Table 6 indicates that the City budget has almost tripled in the six-year period. External sources of income, primarily federal and state revenue sharing, have shown a gradual increase, peaking in 1983, and then a gradual decline. Most of the increase in total revenues can be accounted for by water and sewer taxes, sales tax, boat harbor fees, and interest payments. Capital improvement projects have accounted for approximately thirty percent of the total revenues for this period.

The City does not tax its residents for property ownership. There is, however a general sales tax of two percent. The City also charges a moorage fee for use of the small boat harbor on the basis of length and beam, and a wharf age fee for materials handled across the harbor dock. The latter is mostly associated with the storage of transient crab pots and fishing gear. Nearly one-third of the City budget is obtained from these sources.

Another large portion of the City's revenues is received in the form of federal and state revenue-sharing funds and general grants from Federal and State agencies. In FY 1982, state and federal funds combined accounted for approximately one-half of the City's operating budget, a figure much lower than that commonly found in rural Alaskan villages (Combs 1982:1 15). This source of funding has varied considerably from year to year, however, and there are indications that revenue sharing programs may be reduced and possibly deleted from future federal and state assistance programs (Alaska Dept. of Community and Regional Affairs 1983:75). In Fiscal Year 1985, state and federal revenue-sharing programs (excluding the State processors tax revenues and grants) accounted for 8.6 percent of the City's general fund revenues.

With respect to expenditures, it is apparent that the capital outlay and maintenance comprise the largest items on the budget. In the past few years, development projects such as the boat harbor have also assumed a greater portion of the city budget. In addition, during the past two years, expenditures have exceeded revenues, indicating the City's willingness to go into debt in order to finance development projects and provide an infrastructure in the short term that will benefit the community in the long term.

Table 6. Sand Point General Finances, 1981-1985

Revenues	FY80	FY81	FY82	FY83	FY84	FY85
Sales Tax	$123,253	138,204	281,675	262,559	177,901	194,042
Rentals	16,970	7,668	9,319	78,458	46,239	120,537
State Processors Tax	.	*30,476	81,793	128,807	75,718	87,740
Bond Issue Fee	.	40,000	.		.	
Federal Revenue Share	15,099	15,931	19,811	17,754	19,476	17,249
State Rev Sharing	90,205	242,327	272,090	240,365	204,895	189,064
Grants	@110,381	56,506	368,738	238,531	123,833	597,504
Boat Harbor Fees	.		*99,679	105,535	119,444	107,687
Insurance Settlement	.	.		.	29,545	.
Interest		23,130	45,685	16,017	48,976	39,289
Water and Sewer		.	42,291	41,480	40,492	43,108
Gain from Contract Settlement		.	.		18,163	
Reimbursement for Capital Project	.	.	80,000			150,187
Other	10,269	3,391	2,571	1,913	13,409	.
Total General Fund	N/A	527,157	1,161,682	1,131,419	918,091	1,546,407
Capital Improvement Projects	N/A	223,000	661,791	769,319	293,875	449,159
Total Revenues	$366,177	764,580	1,823,473	1,900,738	1,211,966	1,995,566
Expenditures						
Administration	87,579	86,647	87,404	86,819	26,056	111,284
Boat Harbor	.	.	81,563	94,850	130,873	205,446
Council	10,427	11,139	15,226	19,790	93,162	38,063
Facilities	.					126,190
Volunteer Fire Dept.	3,707	3,923	6,635	509	20,131	9,429
Health Care/Clinic	6,417	8,612	7,500	14,022	71,703	39,334
Maintenance	72,680	146,475	165,457	235,334	307,092	275,743
Parks and Recreation	5,560	.			-	
Planning and Zoning	15,826	40,446	38,241	47,729	18,972	20,582
Public Safety	51,528	18,340	318	4,307	.	
Television Station	27,143	1,647	406		-	.
Interest		3,126	438			.
Capital Outlay	153,407	67,951	1,395,768	918,951	606,020	1,246,778
Other	23,333	90,863	100,011	186,623	126,617	57,290
Total Expenditures	$457,607	479,169	1,898,768	1,608,934	1,471,262	2,145,939

@ This includes grants received for capital improvement projects.

* These figures were not included in totals because they do not appear on the Statements of Revenues, Expenditures, and Changes in Fund Balance - All Governmental Types for the year prepared.

Source: Laventhol & Horwath, accountant reports, 1981-1985.

A review of the financial condition of the Shumagin Corporation during the past six years, summarized in Table 7, indicates a similar level of prosperity. With the exception of a slight decline in 1985, revenues have continued to show a steady increase. By 1985, the corporation's assets, valued largely in terms of property, had climbed to $4.2 million while its liabilities were less than 4 percent of that amount. After a sharp increase in 1983, total expenditures have remained relatively constant.

Table 7. Financial Condition of the Shumagin Corporation, 1980-1985

Revenues	FY80	FY81	FY82	FY83	FY84	FY85
Total Revenue	$169,000	322,700	391,400	N/A	392,200	375,400
Total Expenditures	53,500	52,200	93,100	N/A	87,200	106,100
Current Assets	2,348,000	2,598,700	2,868,500	N/A	3,729,200	4,174,600
Total Liabilities	37,800	61,500	171,400	N/A	75,300	152,500

Source: Laventhol & Horwath, accountant reports, 1980-1985a.

In conclusion, the budgets of both the City of Sand Point and the Shumagin Corporation reflect a commitment by both institutions to growth and community development, and the strength of local assets to generate further development. Both the commitment and the capability are especially evident in the increasing proportion of funds available from local sources of revenue when contrasted with the decreasing proportion of funds from federal and state sources, As in the political arena, the economic system of Sand Point during the past six years has been characterized by increasing local control of local resources.

Employment

The distribution of employment in Sand Point is presented in Table 8. Unfortunately, figures for 1986 were unavailable for most sectors of the local economy. Nevertheless, the distribution of available jobs by economic sector is believed to have remained relatively constant since 1980, with the exception of an increase in construction and commercial service jobs. Commercial fishing and processing remain the major sources of income for Sand Point, accounting for 85 percent of the community's employment.

Commercial Fishing

Several factors affect the organization of employment in the commercial fishing industry. Perhaps the major influence on that organization are the constraints placed on employment by the Limited Entry legislation of 1973. Designed to protect the salmon fishery of Western Alaska from over-exploitation by outside

interests, the legislation has had the effect of permanently limiting the number of individuals allowed to fish for salmon in the region. This in turn restricts the total number of vessels and, to a lesser extent, the total number of individuals on each vessel. Since 1980 there have been 118 limited entry permits issued to seventy-three Sand Point residents. These include twenty-nine drift gillnet, thirty-nine set gillnet, and fifty purse seine permits. Table 9 shows how the permits are distributed in the community. Most permit holders have more than a single permit, with an average of 1.62 permits per holder. Many vessels operating out of Sand Point are equipped to harvest salmon in the summer and crab during the fall and winter.

Table 8. Composition of Sand Point Employment

Activity	Year	
	1980	1986
Commercial Fishing	279	
Seafood Processing	189	
Commercial Services	17	
Construction	4	30
Transportation .	7	
Education	18	20
Technical/Professional Services	2	
Government	16	17
Non-profit Organizations	6	
TOTAL	538	

Source: City Survey, City of Sand Point, June 1980
IAI Survey, March 1986 (incomplete)

Despite the restrictions imposed by the Limited Entry legislation, the commercial fishery has experienced substantial growth during the past six years. The resident Sand Point fleet numbers approximately 127 vessels, up from ninety-one in 1981, and nearly all of which are engaged in the salmon fishery. Half of these vessels are purse seiners and the other half are drift gillnet vessels. About one-third of these boats also fish for tanner and dungeness crab in the winter, and a handful are involved in the halibut and herring fisheries, Two other groups of boats make use of Sand Point harbor. A small number of boats belonging to non-residents dock at Sand Point year round. These include eight Chignik seiners and seven drift boats of Washington state registry. A much larger group of boats, referred to as transients, pass through Sand Point harbor at various times of the year.

A second factor influencing changes in employment in the commercial fishing industry has been the intensification of fishing activity. The Sand Point salmon fishery has experienced such intensification over the past ten years. Although the

Table 9. Sand Point Patterns of Limited Entry Permit Holdings, 1980

Types and Combinations of Permits Held	Number of Residents Holding Permits	Total Permits
Purse seine, drift gillnet, and set gillnet	9	27
Purse seine and drift gillnet	15	30
Purse seine and set gillnet	11	22
Drift gillnet and set gillnet	1	2
Purse seine only	15	15
Drift gillnet only	4	4
Set gillnet only	18	18
		118

Source: Combs 1982:75.

number of limited entry permits in the community has remained constant, the technical efficiency of the units has risen sharply as has the number of units of gear being operated. The fishery is also characterized by expansion in the geographical range commonly exploited. Sand Point fishermen now travel to the South Unimak region and the north side of the Alaska Peninsula to participate in the fishing seasons there.

A third factor influencing employment changes in the commercial fishing industry during the past six years has been the quality of the fishing season. As indicated by the figures in Table 10, both the commercial finfish and shellfish harvests display considerable variation between successful seasons and poor seasons. The closure of the king crab fishery in particular affected an estimated sixty-nine Sand Point fishermen who were licensed to fish for king crab in 1981.

A recent development which may have a great impact on future salmon harvests is the designation of the South Peninsula fishery as an intercept fishery. Fishermen from Bristol Bay and the Yukon-Kuskokwim region have lobbied intensively during the past few years to have the percentage of the total salmon harvest which is caught in the South Peninsula region reduced dramatically on the grounds that many of these fish are destined for their areas and have been historically an important part of their catch. Several resident fishermen expressed the opinion during fieldwork that if the number of fish caught in the area is reduced by legislation, the number of fishermen and the income earned in this area will be reduced accordingly. This would have a drastic impact on both the harvesting and processing sectors of the Sand Point fishery. Fewer fish would be delivered to Sand Point for processing, and fishermen would either have to sell their permits and their gear, move to another part of the region, or travel greater distances to harvest their quota of salmon. In any of these cases, the number of Sand Point residents employed in the commercial fishery and the number of jobs in the processing sector could be drastically reduced.

Table lO. Alaska Peninsula Finfish and Shellfish Catch 1979-1985
(in thousands of pounds)

	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Finfish							
Salmon	63,919	6?,668	62,625	66,510	53,110	84,553	N/A
Herring	20	906	1,444	2,492	1,274	1,282	N/A
Halibut	53	120	68	1,380	1,832	1,551	N/A
Other	0	11	517	673	633	1,045	N/A
Total Finfish	63,992	68,705	64,654	71,055	56,649	88,431	N/A
Shellfish							
King Crab	4,454	5,081	3,169	1,684	CLOSED	CLOSED	CLOSED
Tanner Crab	8,684	3,961	3,294	4,589	2,864	1,757	2,901
Dungeness Crab	102	0	41	469	542	346	488
Shrimp	3,134	CLOSED	CLOSED	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Total Shellfish	16,375	9,083	6,504	6,741	3,406	2,103	3,389

Source: Derbyshire and Associates 1986 and Alaska Department of Fish and Game, personal communication.

A fourth factor influencing employment in the commercial fishing industry is the seasonal nature of employment. In the past, local fishermen have participated in both the salmon fishing season, which begins in June and lasts until the end of August, and the crab season, which begins in early January and runs through March. With the closure of the king crab season, however, many fishermen are content to fish for salmon during the summer months only. A few fish for halibut and herring during the salmon off-season. With plans by Trident to process black and gray cod, fishing may become a year-round venture. However, given the unwillingness of most local fishermen to participate in the groundfishery unless it becomes economically profitable, this appears to be unlikely. Nevertheless, some local fishermen have begun to fish for cod which has become marginally profitable by the present price structure. According to local Alaska Department of Fish and Game personnel, the threat of limiting the local salmon fishery has no doubt added to the fishermen's interest in the groundfishery.

Finally, the composition of employment in the commercial fishing industry has slowly changed from the hiring of kin-related local residents to work on fishing vessels to the hiring of outsiders. Traditionally, drift gillnet boats have been almost exclusively operated by family or closely related kin. In contrast, an estimated half of the crews on locally owned purse seine vessels have been outsiders. Adult children of family heads will be put in charge of drift gillnet vessels or will skipper a purse seiner for someone else. Kinship is less important in determining crew composition on purse seine vessels than on drift gillnet vessels. But even the

crews of drift gillnet vessels are experiencing a change in composition as it becomes economically prohibitive to hire a kinsmen for a twenty-five to thirty-five percent share of the catch when an outsider can be hired who is willing to work for a ten to fifteen percent share. This will be discussed further below.

Processing Sector

The principal processing facility in Sand Point is operated by Pelican Seafoods. In March 1986 the facility was sold to Trident Seafoods. The facility operates year-round, processing salmon, king crab, tanner crab, dungeness crab, halibut, and herring. The plant operated a shrimp processing line until closure of the shrimp fishery in 1980 due to poor stock conditions. The product produced is frozen, which means it is better quality and brings a higher price per pound than fish canned by processors located elsewhere in the region. Sixteen residents are employed year-round in management, bookkeeping, engineering support, and maintenance. In the summer peak of the salmon season as many as 104 seasonal workers are employed on two twelve-hour shifts of fifty-two workers each. Of these, fifteen are local residents with the remainder coming from outside the state.

In the past, the processor closed down at the end of the salmon season except for a small maintenance staff, and then reopened about January tenth for the crab fishing season. In 1985, fifty workers were employed for the crab fishing season. This number increased to eighty in 1986, but this was regarded as unusual. With the sale of the facility to Trident, however, it will in all likelihood operate year-round because the company plans to process black and gray cod in addition to salmon, herring, halibut, and crab.

Peter Pan Seafoods, a Japanese-owned concern, operates a fisherman support facility on the spit near the airport during the summer salmon season. Although the facility does not serve as a buying station, it processes payment to local fishermen for catch delivered to other Peter Pan Seafood facilities in the area. The support includes warehouse and storage facilities, a small machine shop and repair facility, and help with the purchase of parts. A watchman is employed year-round, with one other resident employed during the summer. All other employees are from outside the state.

The processing workforce is predominantly non-local. Only a handful of local residents work in this capacity and then only in winter. This is because after the dramatic rise in incomes associated with the good seasons of 1979 and 1981 and the effects of Limited Entry, family members no longer consider it appropriate to work at the cold storage facility. In March 1981 only 12.5 percent (eight individuals) of the reduced winter processing crew was made up of local residents. Two of these individuals were male and the rest were female. In July 1981, when salmon processing required a crew of 111, only a single processing employee was a local resident.

The processing workforce is also predominantly young and male. About two-thirds of the employees are men with a median age of twenty-six. Among women the median age is twenty-three (Combs 1982:99). The processing workforce also tends to have a rapid turnover. In March 1981, sixty-one percent of the workforce had worked for six months or less, and this probably overstates the average length of employment since many of the shorter-term summer employees are not included in figures taken in March (Combs 1982:1 00). Nevertheless, this is expected to change with the recent

takeover of the Aleutian Cold Storage facility by Trident Seafoods. As noted above in the section on social organization, the new owner of the facility intends to hire more families on long-term contracts. Processing workers in the future are more likely to be older, to be minorities, especially Filipinos and" Vietnamese, and to bring their families with them. Although it will remain a group of largely transient employees, the processor workforce is expected to stabilize.

The sale of the Aleutian Cold Storage facility to Trident Seafoods has also engendered some feelings of insecurity among local residents. The community's relationship with the cannery has traditionally been symbiotic in nature. According to one informant,

> The processor was always there. If you needed something, they would always be there to loan you tools, do metal work for you, provide materials, lend supplies, provide technical expertise, and sell fuel on credit to be paid up in the' summer. That's the way things have always been done. It was the same for the processor. They could rely on members of the community to provide shelter and loan tools or supplies.

The change in ownership is being perceived by many residents as threatening the moral ties between the processing industry and the community. The local uncertainty over the policies of the new owners could result in a shift in the relationship.

Groundfish Industry Development

In the early 1980s, particularly after the collapse of the king crab fishery and the extension to the 200-mile fishing limit, the prospects of an American bottomfishing industry provided a basis for several projections of economic and population growth throughout the Aleutians. The 1981 Comprehensive Plan for the City of Sand Point was largely based on the prospect of a rapidly expanding groundfishery with processors located in or near the community. These plans were fueled by the arrival of a Norwegian firm in 1980 which had plans to locate a salted cod facility in or near the town, and to employ a number of local fishermen in the new fishery. The firm's goal was to establish an on-shore processing, storage and transshipment facility to provide a reliable quantity of salted cod for an established world market, ultimately 10,000 tons a year. This local venture was not successful and experimentation with a salt cod industry has shifted west to Akutan and Dutch Harbor (Unalaska).

In addition, although some Sand Point fishermen have begun to fish for cod, as noted above, most are reluctant to participate in a developing groundfishery for a number of reasons. They believe that such participation will require a radical departure from earlier fishing techniques, values, and behaviors. Groundfish must be headed and bled immediately, and iced and delivered for a price of between ten and fifteen cents a pound. This is in contrast to fishing for king crab, which prior to the closure of the fishery, were delivered alive without any complex preparations for $2.00 a pound. Thus, past experience in the commercial fishing industry has created expectations which suggest that the returns from participation in the groundfishery do not warrant the expense of investing in new gear.

On the basis of availability of resources (fish), harvesting capacity (boats), and market conditions (money), the most probable scenario for on-shore processing in the next five years is the maintenance of existing operations with little, if any, increased demand for processing capacity. The Aleutian Cold Storage facility is expected to be able to handle the annual harvest received in Sand Point over the next few years without significant capital investment except, perhaps, modest improvements to increase operating efficiency (Alaska Dept. of Community and Regional Affairs 1983:32).

Other Employment

Other employment in Sand Point is provided by government (local, state, and federal), the school, and local businesses. The city school is the largest single non-fishing related employer, with a total staff of twenty. Seventeen persons are employed in government positions. Other employers include the general store, bank, cafe, tavern, motel, electrical company, telephone company, clinic, Native Corporation, gift shops, vending machine company, air charter companies, and an airline. These businesses employ approximately fifty-three residents. A new grocery store, Village Green Market, opened in 1986. The company also operates a service station. In addition, several residents gain income from part-time occupations such as carpentry, plumbing, auto and diesel mechanics, handcrafting, and general labor.

Aleutian Commercial Company (ACC), located in the center of town, has been the only major commercial development since 1977. The company operates a general store, liquor sales, clothing sales, and, since January 1984, a cafe. The general store carries a wide range of merchandise and is affiliated with Ace Hardware. Two wings have been added to the original structure. The first, completed in 1981, houses the liquor store, clothing store, a full-service bank, and three apartments. The bank, a branch of the Alaska State Bank, closed in June 1986; another bank has applied to open a branch in its place but has yet to do so. The newest three-story addition to the ACC complex was completed in 1983 and contains the company office, furniture showroom, one floor of freezer space, and the cafe. ACC also opened the Ship's Anchor Restaurant in mid-1986.

Other commercial operations in the main part of town include the motel located near the mobile home park; the tavern, cafe, and movie theater (which closed with the introduction of satellite television to the community) located off the main road in the Little Sanak neighborhood; and several gift shops and small businesses operated out of homes. Both the motel and tavern were recently purchased by the Shumagin Corporation and extensively remodeled.

During the past six years, therefore, business activity in Sand Point has grown appreciably. In April 1986 the City Council received applications for four new businesses, including a Laundromat, pizza parlor, and marine repair shop. Construction opportunities generated by plans to further expand the harbor and expand the airport runway to allow hi-directional landings and to service jet aircraft are also expected to provide additional employment for local residents. The City's policy of contracting its own sewer and water construction has resulted in employment for thirty local residents.

A resource that could either boost or damage Sand Point's economy is the gold to be found on nearby Unga Island. Gold was first discovered in the Sand Point area at the turn of the century and was extracted primarily by placer methods. The only recent effort to extract gold ore from the area was conducted by the Apollo Consolidated Mining Company, a Canadian-owned firm with American subsidiaries, which spent several million dollars since the summer of 1980 to set up an exploration camp, sink a number of test drill sites, and pump out long abandoned mine shafts. Plans were unveiled for construction of a small camp town which could grow to a community of more than 600. Such a development would have had considerable impact on the economy of Sand Point. However, gold mining operations in the area are tied to the world price of gold, and with the decline of that price in the past five years the profit margin has not warranted further development. Apollo Consolidated Mining removed an estimated $1.2 million worth of gold in 1983 at a cost of $700,000. However, by April 1986, the firm appeared to be going out of business and selling off its holdings in the area.

Unemployment

Unemployment statistics are not available specifically for Sand Point but rather are contained within the state's statistics for the entire Aleutian region. Moreover, these figures only include employment which is covered by unemployment insurance, thus excluding fishermen and other self-employed individuals. Due to the seasonal nature of the fishing industry, fishermen and those employed in other fishing-related jobs often do not work between seasons. A bad season or closure of the fishery, as with king crab in 1983, causes economic hardship. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, most non-fishing related jobs in Sand Point were filled and had low turnover rates, making it difficult for young adults entering the job market to find employment. In the past few years, however, this has begun to change in the wake of the expansion of the local retail sector, construction projects, and government positions. As Sand Point emerges as a regional government and service center, this trend is expected to continue well into the future. The gradual move to year-round fishing precipitated by Trident Seafood's decision to process some groundfish may also expand employment opportunities in the commercial fishery.

Subsistence Activities

Although Sand Point has a viable cash economy, subsistence harvest of fish and wildlife is still an important facet of the economy in general. According to the Aleutians East CRSA survey of 1983, the majority of Sand Point residents fish, hunt, and pick berries for personal and home use: eighty-seven percent fish, sixty-five percent hunt, and ninety-one percent pick berries. Subsistence activities were considered important by seventy-one percent of the respondents; somewhat important by twenty-eight percent; and not very important by one percent. However, unlike other communities in the region, Sand Point residents conduct subsistence activities more for recreational entertainment (i.e., as a leisure activity) than out of economic necessity or for maintaining kin networks of subsistence distribution. The primary species harvested are caribou and salmon. Residents hunt caribou on the Alaska Peninsula in the fall and winter. Families consume one to four caribou a year depending on their reliance on subsistence food. Salmon are taken in addition to the commercial catch and are generally frozen although some are preserved in other ways such as smoking or drying. One informant stated that:

> Subsistence fish are normally taken from the last day of. (commercial) fishing or, during fishing, we will take out the seal bitten fish--the seals go for the fish livers--and dry them on board.

Annual estimates of subsistence salmon consumption range from fifty to 200 fish per family. Ducks and geese are also harvested. Hunting occurs in Left Hand Bay on the Alaska Peninsula, Unga Island, and as far away as Izembek Lagoon and Nelson Lagoon. Other foods gathered by Sand Point residents include crab, seagull eggs, shellfish, berries, and beach celery. Marine mammals are not harvested by Sand Point residents (Nebesky, Langdon and Hull 1983).

Income

Like community employment, income levels in Sand Point are tied to the commercial fishing industry. Specifically, income is directly related to type of permit held, number of fish caught, and price paid per pound. Because of the large percentage of purse seine permits in the community, Sand Point has enjoyed considerable prosperity during the commercial salmon harvests of the past six years. The average household income in 1980 according to U.S. Census figures was $47,951. A local survey conducted the same year indicated an average household income of approximately $56,000 (Alaska Dept. of Community and Regional Affairs 1983:15). However, as Table 11 indicates, the income earned by commercial fishermen varies from one season to the next. In 1983, for example, a relatively lean salmon season and closure of the king crab season due to poor stock conditions greatly reduced the income of many Sand Point fishermen.

The pattern of income distribution among vessel crews has changed during the past six years. Among purse seine fishermen, earnings from the commercial fishery are evenly distributed between the boat and its owner and the crew. Among drift gillnet vessel crews, crew members can jointly earn up to one-third to one-half shares of the catch. However, the percentages are beginning to decline as competition and the need to pay off boat loans and purchase the latest gear require that captains reduce the percentage of total income devoted to crew shares. As a result, many vessel captains are now hiring non-local crew members who are willing to work for ten to fifteen percent shares rather than hiring a relative for a twenty-five to thirty-five percent share.

Processing workers are paid from $5.15 per hour to start, to $6.20 per hour maximum. In addition, after ninety days employment, the company pays the cost of airfare to Sand Point. Since most of the employees come from Seattle and the airfare is substantial, this is a major incentive to "see the job through" the initial three months. After 180 days employment, the company pays for the return trip, and for employees who remain for an entire year, Aleutian Cold Storage pays for a round trip home and back to Sand Point. The bunkhouse residents are charged $7.00 per day for room and board. Most employees probably gross less than $5,000 for the summer, even when overtime is taken into account. The wage structure is expected to change, however, with the recent takeover of the Aleutian Cold Storage facility by Trident Seafoods. Trident plans to pay $4.50 an hour to outside transient employees and $5.50 to local residents plus two free meals.

Table 11. Estimates of **Ex-Vessel Value** of Alaska Peninsula Finfish and Shellfish Catch 1979-1985 (in thousands of dollars)

	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Finfish							
Salmon	35,555	37,800	41,578	36,691	30,962	37,226	N/A
Herring	0	326	747	419	414	261	N/A
Halibut	111	119	69	1,504	1,844	1,163	N/A
Other	0	N/A	104	97	N/A	N/A	N/A
Total Finfish	35,666	38,245	42,498	38,711	33,220	38,650	N/A
Shellfish							
King Crab	4,096	4,856	4,448	5.388	CLOSED	CLOSED	CLOSED
Tanner Crab	4,429	3,757	1,913	4,589	3,863	1,809	3,908
Dungeness Crab	70	0	27	351	526	N/A	548
Shrimp	658	CLOSED	CLOSED	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Total Shellfish	9,253	8,613	6,388	10,328	4,389	1,809	4,456
Total	44,919	46,858	48,886	49,039	37,609	40,459	N/A

Source: Derbyshire and Associates 1986 and Alaska Department of Fish and Game, personal communication.

Private businesses generated almost $2.9 million in gross taxable receipts in 1980. Almost $2.1 million of that amount was attributable to the Aleutian Commercial store; another $200,000 was derived from business at the tavern. The remainder was spread between a number of small businesses, including several air taxi services, the motel, and home enterprises (Alaska Dept. of Community and Regional Affairs 1983:34).

Although high incomes have brought many benefits to Sand Point residents, they have also brought certain disadvantages. In the past, applications for state funds for capital improvement projects have been turned down on the basis of the high per capita income of local residents, the assumption being that the community should pay for these projects itself.

Traditionally, the pattern of earnings and expenditures in the community corresponded to the annual cycle of the commercial fishing harvest. In the past there was a four-month lag between the salmon and crab seasons, and a two-month lag between the crab and halibut seasons. During these periods, local residents had a lot of money to spend, much of which is now viewed as having been wasted and spent frivolously. After the collapse of the king crab fishery in 1982-83, local residents are now investing their income in vessel improvements and new fishing gear in the

hope of making more money and supporting themselves in the fishing off-seasons. Residents also appear to be taking increasing efforts to make more constructive use of their financial resources and improve their financial planning through housing construction and property improvements and through investments in money market accounts, individual retirement accounts, and other tax-deferred savings accounts. According to one informant,

> With high incomes fishermen could afford two homes, long vacations, and frivolous spending. With lower incomes and a less certain future, the incentive is more toward saving, frugal investments, and planned investments. The tendency now is to live in one location year-round.

HEALTH

Introduction

The health and social welfare of Sand Point residents provides a barometer of the types of changes occurring in the community in two very different senses. First, components of the local sociocultural system concerned with the provision of health and social services are expanding and becoming increasingly formalized in the Euro-American sense of the term. During the past six years a new clinic has been constructed and new committees have been formed to provide specific types of social services to the community. Second, there have been increases in rates of criminal activities, morbidity, and mortality. In other communities the increases in these indices would be interpreted in terms of the psychosocial stress associated with sociocultural change. However, in the case of Sand Point, such interpretations must be made with extreme caution and, in fact, do not appear to indicate a negative impact of community development. Rather, they are more a product of an increase in population and increased availability of health care, public safety, and social service institutions and services.

Social Welfare

Public Safety Indices

Although rates of serious crime (felonies) in Sand Point have traditionally been quite low, up until the last few years, law enforcement was considered to be a potentially serious problem in Sand Point because the nearest state trooper was based in Anchorage and townspeople simply had to wait for the arrival of an arresting officer in the event of a serious crime. This became a particular concern to local residents during the late 1970s and early 1980s with the growth of the commercial fishing industry and the immigration of transient fishermen and processor employees. These people are perceived by permanent residents as the primary source of criminal behavior in the community.

Until recently Sand Point had a state trooper based in town who also served several other communities in the region. The City now employs two certified police officers; prior to their employment, law enforcement duties were handled by a Public

Safety Officer. In that person's absence, the State Fish and Game Warden or the Harbormaster acted on his behalf. The City maintains a two-cell jail in the vicinity of the City offices.

A measure of the types of criminal activity in Sand Point is provided by police activity reports for the period August 1985 to February 1986. These include the activities listed in Table 12. It is apparent that most criminal acts are misdemeanors and many are alcohol-related. The largest number of incidents involving the police are bar and security checks, followed by tickets and warnings for traffic violations.

Sand Point police are more involved with issues of local social control such as teenage drinking and domestic quarrels than with crimes such as homicides, robberies, and assaults. According to a local resident who ran the Battered Women's Shelter, child abuse does not appear to be a big problem in the community due to the high value placed on children. Wife abuse, however, does appear to be more of a problem. An informal study of 1,009 cases of trauma seen at the health clinic's emergency room by the physician's assistant revealed that eighteen percent involved spouse abuse. The local state social services agent estimates that approximately fifty cases of domestic violence occur each year. However, only twelve residents have been arrested for spouse abuse in the last two years. The low arrest rate is attributed to the unwillingness of spouses to report such violence and, until recently, the lack of locally available specialized care and alternatives for the victims of domestic violence.

Table 12.
Sand Point Police Activity Report August 1985- February 1986

Accidents	6
Assaults	23
Burglary	1
Domestic Violence	10
Driving While Intoxicated	27
Drug Incidents	9
Suicide Calls	3
Traffic Violations/Warnings	129
Thefts	12
Disorderly Conduct	16
Weapons Violations/Confiscations	15
Alcohol Consumption by Minors	10
Criminal Mischief/Trespass	13
Security/Bar Checks	950
Total Activity	1224

The high incidence of cases of domestic violence may reflect some of the stresses associated with sociocultural change in the community, but no longitudinal data are available to confirm this hypothesis. Evidence from other communities, however, indicates that this is a fairly common problem throughout rural Alaska, particularly in communities experiencing periods of rapid growth or decline in the commercial economy and a rapid influx of non-Native immigrants.

Social Services

Community support services designed to assist local residents in need have undergone numerous changes in the past six years. In general, these changes have been characterized by the proliferation of social services and their increasing institutionalization into varying degrees of formal organization. Examples include a a recently formed Child Protective Council sanctioned by the City Council; and a proposed Community Resource Center with an alcohol abuse counselor and a person responsible for handling cases of domestic violence. It is anticipated that two-thirds of the funding for this Center will come from the community and one third from state grants. At present, $38,000 of the $45,000 needed from the community to fund the resource center has been collected from private donations. The Center will include a 24-hour safe house for victims of domestic violence. Public seminars are also held by a local resident on suicide prevention.

Table 13. Public Assistance Programs and Sand Point Beneficiaries, 1986.

Program	Number of Beneficiaries
Aid to Families with Dependent Children	10
Food Stamps	20
Medicaid (coupons for health clinic)	10
General Relief	10
Aid to Disabled	3
Social Security	5
Emergency Energy Assistance	50

Source: Unpublished data, Sand Point Office, Alaska Department of Health and Social Services, Division of Public Assistance.

A breakdown of Sand Point residents currently receiving some form of public assistance is provided above in Table 13. In all, about twenty residents consistently receive one or more forms of assistance from year to year with another thirty to forty residents benefiting from emergency energy assistance. Most of these are young women with children. Currently, AFDC recipients are paid an average of $700 per month. Food Stamps recipients are paid an average of $200 per month. Persons receiving emergency energy assistance are paid between $400 and $700 initially, depending on size of the family and household. Supplemental grants of $300 per month also are available. To qualify for such assistance one must not have earned any income in the ninety days prior to application. With the projected decline in state revenue, however, there will be major and prompt negative consequences for residents who receive such financial aid.

Physical Health

Until 1982, health care in Sand Point consisted of semi-annual visits by Public Health Service physicians. Primary health care was obtained through the local Baptist mission, staffed by a physician and nurse, or by visits to medical facilities in Anchorage. A new clinic was constructed in 1982 with state financial assistance and consists of a twenty-four-hour emergency room, examination rooms, full laboratory facilities, hospital beds for patient stabilization prior to medical evacuation, pharmacy, X-ray room, conference room, and other standard medical space. Records for clinical, billing, and accounting purposes are kept using a fully automated system. The clinic receives subsidies from both the City and the Alaska Native Medical Center in Anchorage. Operation of the Sand Point Health Clinic is overseen by a locally elected seven-member Health Board.

The 1985 budget for the clinic was $190,000, with $98,000 of that total derived from fee-for-service income and the rest provided by government subsidies. The budget for 1986 was $2 S0,000. In the first seven months of the current fiscal year (1986), fee-for-service income has been $114,000. The clinic's ultimate goal is to achieve independence from external funding.

Primary health care is provided by a licensed Physician's Assistant employed by the Health Board. A medical receptionist is also employed. A Community Health Aide and designated alternate, employed by the Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association, also work out of the clinic. Regular hours are maintained with twenty-four-hour emergency service available on-call. Services are rendered on a fee basis and include immunizations, well-baby clinics, cardiac risk screening, and temporary hospitalization. A full range of counseling programs are also available including alcohol and drug abuse. Itinerant teams of Public Health Service medical and dental personnel visit the community. In the past, visits were limited to twice a year at an average of three days per visit. However, there are now a total of 14 medical visits to the community each year averaging five days per visit. In addition, a physician now resides in the community for a one-month period during the salmon fishing season.

Emergency Medical Services (EMS) have been provided in Sand Point since the winter of 1981. There are eight active emergency medical technicians (EMTs), one of whom is a certified instructor. The program is operated on a voluntary basis with public donations and State grants obtained by A/PIA, which also provides technical assistance and training. All emergency medical technicians are now integrated with the Federal Aviation Administration flight service which operates out of Cold Bay.

A crisis response team for the entire Alaska Peninsula operates out of the Sand Point Clinic. The team includes three local residents who man a radio at the clinic on a 24-hour basis. The team receives calls for medical assistance from other communities and coordinates transportation, medical personnel, and police assistance if necessary.

Health care services in the community are expected to expand within the next ten years. There are currently plans to attract a commercial regional pharmacy. In addition, the City Manager and physician's assistant are negotiating to obtain a

"certification of need" for a five to seven bed hospital either in Sand Point or Cold Bay within a projected three to five years, assuming current levels of community growth. To this end, the two physician's assistants in Sand Point and Cold Bay have set up their own private health corporation to sponsor a subregional hospital.

The average patient load has increased over the last two years from 150 patient visits per month in 1984 to about 350 per month today. Much of this increase is accounted for by the refusal of the Alaska Native Medical Center to pay transportation for Natives. Until 1983 the Alaska Area Native Health Service would routinely send anyone out of the community for health care. With recent efforts to control federal spending this practice has been abandoned.

A second factor accounting for the increase in patient load has been the community's emergence as a subregional center for health care services. Sand Point has in fact become the subregional medical service center for the Alaska Peninsula and Shumagin Islands. This role has been assumed as a result of direct advertising, especially to the fish processing and commercial fishing industry. The physician's assistant estimates that over the past year there has been a twenty-five to thirty percent increase in the utilization of clinic services by this population. Part of this increase may also be attributed to direct collaboration with the fishing industry, including monitoring emergency services for the U.S. and foreign fishing fleets. In addition, there has also been increasing coordination of health care services with Cold Bay and King Cove through Sand Point which include medical evacuations to Anchorage via Cold Bay. Improvements in technology have also improved health care delivery. For example, a twenty-four-hour service now reads EKGs for cardiology services using a telecommunications link with Anchorage.

Accidents and violence 'account for most of the deaths in the community. According to the Director of the local health clinic, the average age at death is 39.9 years, which is considerably younger than the average age of 62.4 for Alaska Natives reported by Blackwood (1980), and the average age of 73.7 for the U.S. general population (U.S. Census Bureau, 1985). Ninety percent of deaths due to other than natural causes are accounted for by the Native population of the community. All of the bodies on which autopsies are performed show evidence of head injury sometime in their lives.

There is no doubt that alcohol and drug abuse is a major health and social problem in the Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Region and violence associated with substance abuse is the key example, As documented in the A/PIA FY85 grant proposal (Table 14), alcohol and drug abuse is widespread and is the prime cause of accidents and deaths in the area. Data on the extent of alcohol and drug abuse in Sand Point may be found in Table 14.

However, Sand Point is believed to be like many smaller communities in rural Alaska in that drinking problems tend to be concentrated in certain individuals, families, or small groups. According to at least one other researcher, it is not a community with widespread abusive drinking (Kelso, 1985).

Table 14. Sand Point Substance Abuse Indices

* Community Health Aide Alcohol-Related Patient Encounters: 40 out of 221 cases per month (12 month average) - 19%

* Village Public Safety Officers (VPSO) Calls: 30 calls -25 alcohol-related (12 month average) - 83%

* State Trooper Calls: 30 calls per month -25 alcohol-related - 83%

* Emergency Medical Service Calls: (6-month period in 1982-83) 19 calls total -6 alcohol-related - 32%

* A 1984 survey of teenagers conducted by the Sand Point Clinic revealed that 22 (63%) had tried alcohol, 17 (49%) had tried marijuana, and 6 (17%) had tried cocaine.

* 100% of the automobile accidents reported in Sand Point in 1984 were alcohol-related.

* Between January 1979 and November 1985, alcohol was directly related in 72% of all deaths in the community. Drug abuse was directly related in an additional 17% of all deaths.

Source: Sand Point Clinic records (1979-1986), Clinic survey (1984). Police statistics, 1979-1985.

EDUCATION

Education may be regarded as a focus for community development and institutional change in several respects. First, the desire to establish an independent school district reflected the community's concern for local control over its institutions and provided the impetus for its incorporation as a first class city. Second, the value of education, combined with expanded opportunities for post-secondary education, have helped to integrate an essentially "Euro-American" institution into the community. Unlike other communities in the region, Sand Point has a Scandinavian tradition of many permanent residents and the respect for education associated with this tradition have helped facilitate the role of the educational institutions in Sand Point. These institutions also have the potential for providing a trained and motivated population of young adults anxious to remain in the community. Third, the construction of the new school reflects the expansion of services provided for the community's growing population and the potential for providing these services to residents from other communities, thus enhancing the role of Sand Point as an RSC.

Sand Point City School serves kindergarten through the twelfth grade and is controlled by a locally elected five-member school board. The original school was built in 1951 and underwent several additions before a new school with a swimming

pool was built in 1983. In 1985-86 the district employed twelve teachers, one non-certified psychologist, and seven other employees, e.g., bus driver, custodians, librarian, and administrative personnel.

Sand Point also has a rural education center affiliated with the University of Alaska Division of Community Colleges. The program has been in existence in Sand Point for the past ten years but only in the past two has it enjoyed a high profile in the community. Until 1985 the Center was only modestly subscribed and usually operated in private residences throughout the community. However, in 1985, the Center moved into a facility of its own. Now, an average of 100 students attend each semester, with an average of ten to twelve classes per semester. Courses are scheduled and organized by a community coordinator in conjunction with a local five-member advisory committee. Instruction is provided by district school teachers, qualified local residents, and occasionally a visiting instructor. Use of the Learn Alaska Television Network was instrumental in some course instruction until it went off the air in the summer of 1986; university classes are now offered through the Long Distance Teleconferencing Network. Courses have included biology, business, accounting, office procedures, typing, social sciences, Alaska history for historians, earth science, Alaska Native Claims Settlement, physical education, art, music appreciation, photography, and library science. The program also offers an Associate of Arts degree, which has a current enrollment of thirteen students. It has had limited success in long-term study programs such as political science, psychology, and economics, however, because of the difficulty in sustaining consistent attendance in such courses.

Federally funded Indian Education and Johnson O'Malley Committees (both locally elected) are charged with oversight and enhancement of educational opportunities for Native students. One important project funded by the Johnson O'Malley Committee is the construction of a small-scale fish hatchery on Humboldt Creek. This aquiculture program is integrated into the vocational education program of the school district. A pre-school program is also run with Johnson O'Malley funds. Summer recreation, campfire, and arts programs formerly provided by the Indian Education Committee have not been off ered since 1983.

In addition, the Baptist Church founded a Christian elementary school program in 1979. The school was supported by tuition payments from the families of approximately ten students who enrolled each year. The families involved were quite enthusiastic about the school program and particularly appreciated the school's reinforcement of values taught at home. Parents regularly volunteered their time to help in the school. Due to the high cost of operations, however, the Christian elementary school closed when the new Sand Point School was constructed in 1983.

Table 15 lists the first quarter enrollment figures for the Sand Point School for the past six years. This enrollment appears to have peaked in 1982 and then declined precipitously in the 1983-84 school year. This significant decline is attributed to the loss of thirty-eight students, most of whom were of high school age, during the 1982-83 school year. This loss is attributable to a large graduating class, as well as the movement of families out of the community during a particularly poor fishing year, among other factors. A 143 percent increase in the enrollment of kindergarten students in the 1985-1986 school year, however, appears to signal a reversal in the downward trend observed in the previous two years.

Table 15. Enrollment in Sand Point City School District 1981-1986

	Kindergarten	Elementary	High School	Total
1981-82	20	53	60	133
1982-83	14	67	65	146
1983-84	8	58	47	113
1984-85	7	53	45	105
1985-86	17	58	44	119

One of the most striking features of life in Sand Point is the high value placed on formal schooling. Attendance throughout the year is high as is community participation and interest in school activities. Only in isolated cases do students drop out before completing high school, and the number of graduating students continuing in post-secondary education was fifty percent and sixty-six percent in 1981 and 1982 respectively. This level of educational attainment differs sharply from rates in rural Alaska and in the Alaska Peninsula region. One possible explanation is the high value placed on education by the Scandinavian men who married and raised families in Sand Point during the early decades of this century.

Also contributing to the educational success of the school system is that, unlike other rural communities throughout Alaska, Sand Point has few problems with an inadequate command of English among students. Contemporary life in Sand Point is overwhelmingly carried out in English. Nor is there a strong sense among local residents that the schools should be doing more to promote the revitalization of the Aleut language. There has been no bilingual program in the Sand Point school for several years..

In marked contrast to the schools of the other communities in the region, the Sand Point School has sent a relatively high percentage of its graduates out of the community for college or vocational school training during the past six years. In 1980, five of the ten graduates attended either a university or a technical college. In 1981, eight of the twelve graduates were planning further education. In a recent survey of the ninety graduates of the Sand Point City School, forty-two of the graduates responded, providing the following information: nineteen individuals or forty-five percent had some college education, seven individuals or seventeen percent had some vocational training, and the remainder became directly employed after graduating. Those with some college education average $18,800 per year, those with vocational training average $20,700 per year, and those who went directly into employment average $22,500 per year. The difference between those with some postsecondary education and those who went to work immediately after graduation from high school reflects income levels associated with the fishing industry in Sand Point. This places many local students in a dilemma over whether to leave the community to pursue advanced degrees or to remain and participate in the commercial fishery which, while potentially more lucrative, is also highly variable, depending on the size of the run and the price per pound. With the expansion of the Rural Education Center of the University of Alaska, however, high school students may not be forced into making such a choice in the future.

The Sand Point school is a major focus for social interaction. There are a multitude of school-related social activities such as concerts, class fund-raisers, recreational swimming, weight training, school and recreational basketball, and volleyball. The school's role in the community has diminished somewhat since the construction of the new school in 1983. Located outside the center of the community, it is seen as being socially as well as physically separate, lacking the perceived accessibility it enjoyed when the school was located in the City Building. To a smaller degree this alienation has extended to the teachers who are already perceived as outsiders. However, this may change as more residents move into the Meadows subdivision which surrounds the new school facility. This process indicates that educational institutions in Sand Point are the literal as well as figurative center of community life and development.

In the future the educational institutions of Sand Point can be expected to continue to play a significant role in that development. By providing educational services which surpass those offered by schools in the Aleutians Regional Education Attendance Area (REAA), the Sand Point School will serve as a magnet for residents from other communities in the event that state funding for the REAA declines and the quality of education offered by institutions in these communities follows suit. These educational services, particularly those offered by the Rural Education Center, may also encourage local high school students to remain in the community in order to prepare for advanced degrees. Finally, these institutions will continue to serve as a focus of social interaction and community involvement.

During the past eight years, educational concerns have been characterized as very pragmatic ones, with the establishment and attainment of one goal after another, beginning with incorporation of the community and establishment of an independent school district. Currently, the focus is on academic excellence and post-secondary success.

Two facts are often cited as evidence of the success of the Sand Point school and the respect for education among Sand Point residents. First, as noted above, many of the graduates of the Sand Point school continue in post-secondary education. The second indication of the vitality of this school district is the very low rate of turnover among the staff since it achieved the status of an independent school district. All thirteen of the teaching staff of 1980-81 returned for the 1981-82 school year. Among the 1985-86 group of twelve teachers, eight had taught in the community in the previous year and four were new to the community. Five of the eight returning teachers have been in the community for five or more years. Many of these teachers have purchased homes in the community, another indication of their long-term commitment to Sand Point.

Another gauge of improving school morale is the decline in average number of days absent per student. In the 1982-83 school year this figure was 5.0 days absent per student. However, during the first quarter of the 1985-86 school year, this figure had dropped by almost half to 2.3 days absent per student.

CONCLUSION

Several changes have occurred in the institutional structure of Sand Point during the monitoring period. These changes can be attributed to a complex set of interrelated factors. The boom in the commercial fishing industry is one of these

factors. The boom, which began in the late 1970s and continued into the mid-1980s, brought about an increase in income and employment for local residents. This increase has not been enjoyed to the same degree by all local residents, however, resulting in the formation of social differences based on socioeconomic status. It has also attracted fishermen from outside the region, many of whom have moved to the community. In addition, the boom has contributed to other forms of economic development, such as the expansion of the service sector and the development of the harbor facilities and other components of the local transportation infrastructure. Each of these changes must be viewed in conjunction with the community's history of participation in the commercial fishery, dictating the relationship between the sociocultural system and its environment (outlined in the section on "land").

The influx of outsiders eager to pursue opportunities in the commercial fisheries and other components of the commercial sector of the Sand Point economy has also had a profound impact on the community's sociocultural system and its institutions. The population has become more diversified, leading to social distinctions based on length and type of residence (permanent residents vs. transients; homes vs. processor bunkhouses, etc.), income, education, and so on. Voluntary associations have become more numerous and formal, supplementing and, in some instances, supplanting the traditional kin-based networks as a basis for social interaction. The presence of new residents has also precipitated the expansion of local institutions such as schools, stores, and health care facilities to meet the needs of a diversified population.

The influx of new residents over the course of the monitoring period has also raised concerns about control of local resources and development. This concern is evident in the political institutions in their development objectives, especially their desire to control the community's destiny and protect it from domination by outside interests. On the one hand, this concern for local control has led to a high degree of cooperation between the city government and the local Native corporation. On the other hand, it has led to suspicion and mistrust of "outsiders," including those who move with the intention of residing in the community on a permanent basis.

The changes in the community's sociocultural and political institutions are also based on the community's value system. Among the values regulating these changes are (1) the importance attached to kinship and ethnic identity, which appears to be less important than is the case in other communities in the region; (2) the importance attached to wage-labor and income; and (3) the importance attached to control of local resources, including control of land as a means of insuring that local residents will remain in the community and "outsiders" will remain out.

Another important set of institutional changes discussed above is related to the community's emergence as a regional service center. These changes include the regionalization of political control through the formation of a borough form of government; the regionalization and diversification of the commercial sector of the economy to provide goods and services to surrounding communities; and the expansion of health and educational institutions in the likelihood of meeting the needs of residents from surrounding communities. This trend toward the community's development as a regional service center is also based on the value system governing these institutions. This system includes an emphasis on traditional linkages between Sand Point and the other communities of the Alaska Peninsula; the recognition that local control requires regional cooperation; and the recognition that economic development requires diversification and expansion.

Many of these values were part of the community's sociocultural system at the beginning of the monitoring period. The economic development that has occurred since 1980, however, has reinforced certain values at the expense of others. For instance, the criteria for social interaction has changed over the course of the monitoring period to give greater emphasis to socioeconomic status and length of residence. The community appears to have become more open to the prospects of economic development and participation in the larger Euro-American sociocultural system. There is an increased emphasis on political participation and unified political action. Ethnic identity, on the other hand, appears to have declined as a basis for local control over the last six years. Finally, the process of formalization of local institutions during the monitoring period reflects a changing set of values with respect to the need for organization and involvement in the outside world.

CHAPTER3: UNALASKA

INTRODUCTION

The community of Unalaska is located in the Aleutian Islands of southwestern Alaska. Specifically, it is situated on the northern Bering Sea side of the Fox Islands group. It is relatively remote from other communities, and this isolation has many implications, both for the history of the community and its present structure. Though isolated, Unalaska has nonetheless served as a regional center because of its size and physical make-up. It is the largest civilian community in the Aleutian/Pribilof Islands region and, as such, it has served as administrative center for the area. Additionally, it is the only developed deep-water port for the entire length of the Aleutian Chain, and it has the advantage over other western Alaskan ports of being ice-free. This being the case, it has served as a refuge and resupply and refueling point for shipping going to western and northern Alaska. Unalaska is accessible only by sea or aircraft. The nearest airports connecting with points on the mainland are Cold Bay and Anchorage, approximately 170 and 790 miles distant, respectively. Unimak Pass, the major shipping lane to northern and western Alaska, as well as the migratory route of several culturally or commercially significant species of fish and marine mammals, is located approximately seventy miles to the northeast of Unalaska.

The city is located on two separate islands, Unalaska Island and Amaknak Island. Amaknak is a small island contained within Unalaska Bay of Unalaska Island, and is connected to Unalaska Island by a recently constructed bridge. The portion of the community located on Amaknak Island is colloquially known to many as "Dutch Harbor" and is spoken of as a separate community, although it lies completely within the city limits of Unalaska. It acquired the name from an early commercial settlement located on Amaknak Island adjacent to Dutch Harbor, which is a body of water defined by the main portion of Amaknak Island and a sand spit which juts into Unalaska Bay. The community airport, located on Amaknak Island adjacent to Dutch Harbor, still retains the name "Dutch Harbor Airport''--a name that it was given during the era of its construction (World War II). There is also a post office, with its own zip code, on Amaknak Island officially designated as the Dutch Harbor post office. The fact that the community is physically split between two islands, and that these segments were only recently joined by a bridge, has had many consequences for the community which are discussed elsewhere (Impact Assessment 1983a; Downs 1985). These include residential/industrial utilization patterns, and ethnic group interactions, among others. As most of the permanent residents of the community prefer the name Unalaska to be used broadly to include both the Amaknak Island and Unalaska Island portions of the settlement, and for the sake of accuracy and clarity, we include both islands when referring to the community of Unalaska.

Evidence of pre-contact settlements are numerous on both islands. There was a large settlement on or very near the present townsite on Unalaska Island at the time of contact. The post-contact history of the village has been documented in numerous sources (for a summary treatment see Impact Assessment 1983a; Downs 1985) and will not be recapitulated here. Because of its location and its harbor and port facilities, the Aleut village at Unalaska has experienced extensive contact with outsiders. This has been a constant influence over the years, although it has varied

widely in its intensity. During this century alone there have been several cycles of rapid growth and decline, during which outsiders have come to the community, generated significant change, and then departed. These have included the population movements associated with the Nome gold rush; fox farming; herring; cod; and salmon fisheries; World War II; and most recently, the king crab fishery.

The monitoring period of this study began with the community experiencing the downward swing of the pendulum of the king crab fishery from its boom phase to its bust phase. At the time of the study, the community could be characterized as being dominated by a high-value, single-resource economy and marked by an extraordinarily transient population. The Aleut population of Unalaska, an enduring "village" which in many sociocultural respects is at the center of the community, had become a small minority among recent migrants to the community.

POPULATION

Total Population

It has always been difficult to ascertain total population figures for Unalaska. Over the years, Unalaska has been a temporary home to many transients whose length of stay in the community has varied. These individuals have been counted in different ways, or not counted at all, in a number of censuses. In our MMS baseline ethnography (Impact Assessment, 1983a) we identified four categories of residents based on length of residence, which corresponded to social groupings on a number of different dimensions. These were permanent residents, semi-permanent residents, long-term transients, and short-term transients. The different groups featured different types of social organization. Short-term transients, those individuals typically in the community for one year or less, are usually directly related to specific resource extraction activities. In the recent history of Unalaska these individuals have primarily been involved in the seafood industry. Oil exploration and development, which in various studies were predicted to bring more transients to the community, did not bring significant numbers of people into Unalaska, and the oil industry's direct utilization of the community through specially constructed local facilities only lasted for two years, although there was some prior utilization of Unalaska's port facilities by oil exploration vessels.

Caution must therefore be used in interpreting the following total population table. Different methods were used in different years for counting transient (non-resident) personnel. For example, in 1980 only 237 persons living in group quarters were included in the total population count, despite a combined total of 1,582 units in group quarters which were fully utilized during the peak processing seasons (Alaska Consultants 1981:6). Similarly, in the special census conducted by a contractor for the City of Unalaska in 1981, the field enumerator counted a total of 2,625 individuals in the community, including both residents and non-residents. Under a formula used by the Alaska Department of Labor, however, only a certain percentage of non-residents were included in the final population figures, giving the community an official population of 1,944.

In addition to the problem of inconsistently counting individuals in the different residence categories, there are major methodological problems with other census figures for the community over time. For example, according to a long-time

community resident well-versed on the topic, the 1970 census "was done by the census taker from memory, sitting at home, and it was not accurate to any degree." With these considerations in mind, the following are population figures for Unalaska for 1970 through 1984.

Table 16. Unalaska Population, 1970-1984

Year	Number of Residents	Data Source
1970	342	U.S. Bureau of the Census
1972	548	Unalaska City Council Census
1973	510	Unalaska City Council Census
1977	1,971	Tryck, Nyman and Hayes, 1977
1980	1,322	U.S. Bureau of the Census
1981	1,944	Alaska Department of Labor
1983	1,677	Alaska Department of Labor
1984	1,630	Alaska Department of Labor

Local officials feel that the "permanent population" of Unalaska, that is those residents other than short-term transients, has not changed materially since the dramatic population increase that accompanied the crab boom in the late 1970s. This figure is locally estimated to be around 1,500 persons.

Population and Ethnicity

Unalaska is a socially and ethnically complex community, and its composition is unique in the region. Although Unalaska has experienced numbers of "resident outsiders" over time, in terms of population percentages it has traditionally been an Aleut community. Recently, however, a multiplicity of ethnic groups have come to be represented in relatively large numbers. A significant number of Aleuts reside in Unalaska, although there has been extensive contact with outside groups for many years because of the location of the community on a magnificent natural harbor. Unalaska has a long history of being home to resident outsiders whose numbers fluctuate with resource exploitation, the latest major period of exploitation being during the king crab boom of the late 1970s and early 1980s.

The development of the fishery brought more than Euro-North Americans to the community. The king crab boom caused the "other" ethnic group (that is, in census terminology, those individuals not classified as Native American, Caucasian, or Black) to become the second largest group in the community. The "other" group in Unalaska is represented primarily by Southeast Asians, Filipinos, and Hispanics. This is important because in a community that was traditionally Aleut, Aleuts became a minority not only in relation to the dominant group of wider American society but in relation to a minority group from the wider society as well. This "swamping" of the community by a plurality (and majority) of outsiders has, along with other less direct factors, altered perceptions of an Aleut ethnic identity. Other Aleut

communities in the region, cognizant of the loss of Aleut political and economic control of the community and with a perception of a poor quality of life for many Aleuts in the community, use Unalaska as an example of the potential negative impacts of economic growth. With the growth of the non-Aleut portion of the population, Aleut representation in political and other public social arenas has declined significantly. For example, in the early 1970's Aleut individuals were in the majority on the city council; by the early 1980's there was only one Aleut on the council.

There are varying degrees of interaction between the different residential groups, which in turn overlap with ethnic groups. The vast majority of the permanent residents of the community are Aleut, while the vast majority of the individuals in the "other" ethnic category are in the short-term transient group. Almost no social interaction occurs between permanent residents and short-term transients, except at the bars and in the stores. The reasons include the working hours of the transients and the type and location of the housing of the transient group. For the transients associated with oil development, there were not even the few typical permanent/short-term transient interactions because the oil workers did not patronize the local bars or other businesses to a significant extent. This was due in part to their working conditions, but also in part to the oil companies' unwritten but clearly understood personnel policy of minimizing interaction between their workforces and the community,

Although the Aleut portion of the population of Unalaska may accurately be described as more socially cohesive than other ethnic groups, the Aleut portion of the population was by no means endogamous over the monitoring period. The marriages performed in Unalaska and registered at the District Court have the ethnicity of the bride and groom recorded, and these statistics are presented in the following table.

As can be seen in the following table, from 1980 to 1985 thirty-seven individuals who listed their ethnicity as Aleut were married. Of these, twenty-three married non-Aleuts; fourteen married Aleuts.

Table 17. Ethnicity of Marriage Partners in Unalaska, 1980-1985

Year	Both Non-Aleut	Both Aleut	Aleut/Non-Aleut
1980	16	0	3
1981	17	1	1
1982	22	2	6
1983	19	0	4
1984	10	1	2
1985	18	3	7
Total Marriages	I 02	7	23

Source: Unalaska courthouse records

Population and Economics

Income is not randomly distributed among the ethnic and social groups that compose Unalaska. There is a wide range of incomes among the Aleuts and Euro-North Americans, with more homogeneity found among the "other" ethnic group. Among Aleuts, this is due to the tendency of Aleut families and individuals to have a long-term commitment to the community relatively independent of fluctuations in the community economy or personal fortunes. Euro-North Americans usually come to Unalaska for economic opportunities and tend to leave when they are either particularly unsuccessful or successful. That is to say, they typically leave the community either when their job is terminated or when they reach their personal economic goals. Still others leave after a specified time whether or not they have met their financial goals. (Non-Aleut residents often leave Unalaska for non-economic reasons as well. One frequently cited example is the families who leave when their children reach high school age because they want their children to get an education in a larger school system.) Euro-North Americans fill a wide range of jobs in the community, from top managerial positions in government and private industry to unskilled labor. Individuals in the "other" ethnic category most often come to the community on a contractual basis as line workers for one of the seafood companies, which accounts for the relative economic homogeneity in this group.

Changes in relative incomes of permanent residents compared to other groups in the community are connected to changes in perceptions of group identity. Perception of well-being has changed as relative economic positions changed. In the recent past and through the early 1970s, there were few resident "outsiders" in Unalaska. Although most of these individuals were relatively well-to-do, they were few in number, and they were known as individuals. During the late 1970s and through the monitoring period, it not only became common for long-time residents of the community to see "strangers" in town, but there are now entire resident social groups whose members are little known to other groups, if they are known at all. The mere existence of these groups has been alienating to some of the Aleut residents. The relative affluence of some of these groups has" contributed to a diminished sense of well-being among some Aleuts, as perceptions have become predicated on social group membership rather than individual personality.

The attributes of short-term transients are changing as the community economy, or more precisely the economics of the seafood industry, has been changing. At the beginning of the monitoring period, it was standard practice in the industry to hire processing workers, as well as some other personnel, on a six-month contract basis and to provide round-trip airfare upon satisfactory completion of the contract. There is a strong shift away from this as most companies now either offer one-year contracts or are no longer offering contract employment for specific periods. The seafood industry is becoming less cyclic than it was at the beginning of the monitoring period: the processors that are still in business are processing products all year round. The rate of worker re-hires from one year to the next has increased dramatically as well, with 1986 rates running between sixty and one hundred percent, depending on the company, up from an estimated twenty-five percent in 1980.

The absolute number of short-term transients is down as well. Early in the monitoring period the three largest seafood companies, Pan Alaska, Universal, and Sea Alaska, were hiring approximately 500, 500, and 350 employees, respectively. In March 1986 the Pan Alaska facility had changed hands and the new company, Alyeska Seafoods, was employing 105 workers. Universal, now known as UniSea, is no longer processing at its shore plant, but a new subsidiary, Great Lands Seafoods, employs

approximately one hundred individuals. Sea Alaska no longer processes seafood in Unalaska. Two seafood companies have closed and not reopened during the period. These two companies, Sea Pro and Pacific Pearl, employed approximately 265 people between them at the time of the 1982 fieldwork.

With the population growth that accompanied the crab boom, Unalaska's population as a whole became less subsistence and more commercially oriented. Not only were new opportunities available for permanent residents and new values introduced, but virtually none of the new residents of the community were raised in a subsistence economy. Today, as during the monitoring period, it would be inaccurate to say that Unalaska as a whole has a subsistence economy, although some segments of the population rely to a greater degree than others on subsistence resources. In particular, the Aleut portion of the population utilizes a higher volume and a broader range of resources than other population segments. Other segments of the population utilize wild resources as well, and many individuals who have moved to Unalaska consider these pursuits an essential part of the "Alaska experience," and one of the reasons why they moved to the state and the community.

Demographics and Household Size

Typical household size in Unalaska varies by population segment. The community's social complexity is reflected in the variety of housing arrangements. Unalaska residents live in single family dwellings, multi-unit buildings, bunkhouses, shipboard accommodations, residential neighborhoods, and industrial enclaves. Virtually all of the permanent residents live in single-family dwellings. Virtually all of the short-term transients live in housing at the work site enclaves. This pattern has not changed appreciably over the monitoring period.

Beyond these broad patterns, specific changes have taken place between 1980 and 1985. In 1980 the vast majority of the permanent population of Unalaska lived in the downtown area. In 1981 the Aleutian Housing Authority placed twenty HUD houses in Unalaska. Five of these were scattered in the downtown area and fifteen were placed in a new neighborhood apart from the downtown area. To qualify for these houses, individuals had to meet low income qualifying standards, and as the program was run through a subsidiary of the Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association, only Aleuts were eligible for the houses. As a result, this was the first neighborhood in Unalaska to be ethnically and economically homogeneous.

Other neighborhoods grew over the monitoring period as well, including the Nirvana Hill, Strawberry Hill, and Ski Bowl areas. Most of the dwellings in these locations are converted World War II era buildings. An entirely new neighborhood was constructed in the Unalaska Valley of relatively expensive homes. Known officially as the Eagle View and Riverside subdivisions, this neighborhood is more or less homogeneous economically due to the price of the homes.

With the community's overall decline in population, housing is much more available now than during the height of the crab boom. At the time of the fieldwork of our last MMS Unalaska study, 1982, there were virtually no housing openings, and the housing shortage was cited as one of the major problems facing the community. Today, housing is available, although it remains expensive. Existing homes have recently sold in the range from $80,000 to $180,000. (There are a number of homes in the community whose value is likely well above this range, but they have not changed hands recently.] New homes of approximately 1,200 square feet are selling for $100-135,000, while residential lots are selling for $15,000 to $20,000.

Population and Age/Sex Distribution

Although no recent census data are available, the Aleut population of Unalaska appears to approximate to a normal population curve. The population of Euro-North Americans appears to be approaching a normal curve as well, one of the big changes over the last five years that is widely noted in the community. However, the Euro-North American population still deviates from a normal curve in the upper age range as these individuals tend to leave the community to spend their older years elsewhere. During the boom days, the non-Aleut population was heavily dominated by single males. As the economy has stabilized and the overall population declined and become less transient, relatively more females and families have moved to the community. The short-term transient population remains composed predominantly of single males.

Community Size and Introduced Political Change

As Unalaska grew during the 1970s, the population shifted from being predominantly Aleut to predominantly non-Aleut. While there were rapid changes in the ethnic composition of the individuals in the local governmental bodies, there were no gross structural changes during the monitoring period. The organizational foundation of the present government of Unalaska was laid at the beginning of World War H with the incorporation of Unalaska as a first-class city. The boom also heralded a more complex city government boom, with the addition of personnel and the formalization of duties within the various departments, but over the monitoring period growth was relatively stable, as was the direction of the government. During the period of rapid growth several political issues were hotly contested, but now that the community has stabilized there is reportedly general disinterest in local politics.

Population and Land

Land status has not changed significantly since the conveyance of land under ANCSA. Population pressure increased the value of residential land because little land was available and, as mentioned above, there was a dramatic shortage of housing at the height of the boom. The value of commercial land increased as well because of the limited amount of available land suited to seafood processing operations. The only major change of land status since 1980 has been the annexation of Unalaska Bay by the city, and even this is not expected to alter land-use patterns. This area was annexed in order to assert control over the land, not to cope with population pressures; it was spurred on by the perception that Unalaskans did not have control over what was "theirs." As noted in the section 011 land, floating processor ships were using the bay just outside of the city boundaries, oil support companies were storing equipment just outside of the city boundaries, and oil companies were anchoring oil rigs in the bay outside of the city boundaries, and these practices engendered conflicts.

Thanks to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act lands, the Aleuts of Unalaska exert a degree of control over the land in and around the community which is disproportionate to their population size. (The size of the Native population at the time of ANCSA determined the amount of land that the local corporation received,

so the amount of land controlled is an indirect reflection of population.) A few private individuals own the vast majority of land that has been built upon recently (see Impact Assessment, 1983a).

The population of Unalaska determines the amount of political clout that the community has on the regional and state levels. This has had direct implications for the formation of a Coastal Resource Service Area (CRSA) in the Aleutians. So far, debates on the advantages of forming a CRSA for the western Aleutians focus on the size of Unalaska because the smaller communities are concerned that Unalaska will dominate the organization to their detriment.

LAND

Spatial Organization Within the Community

The social complexity of Unalaska is mirrored in its spatial arrangement. The community has several living areas and a number of distinct districts. These areas and the differences between them are documented in our earlier baseline ethnography of the community, and will not be repeated here. Little has changed over the monitoring period, with a few notable exceptions such as the HUD housing construction, the populating of the Ski Bowl and Strawberry Hill areas, the expansion of Nirvana Hill, and the construction of a new neighborhood in Unalaska Valley.

New building has principally been centrifugal to the geosocial arrangement of Unalaska. New neighborhoods are being built away from the center of town and are spread out, resulting in a much less concentrated population than in the past. Commercial construction, most of which took place before the monitoring period, is of an enclave style. The major seafood companies have self-contained facilities where their workers eat, sleep, work, and find their recreation.

Certain areas are clearly industrial and others are residential. Residential areas may be divided into distinct neighborhoods for the longer-term residents, while transient residents typically live in enclave-style areas. Residential areas may also be categorized by the ethnicity of the residents, which cuts across these other divisions.

Several factors have been important in Unalaska's land use patterns in recent years. First is the patterning imposed by the historical residential and commercial use of the land prior to World War II. Second is the use of the land during the war years when the basic infrastructure of the city was laid out, along with several of the present housing and industrial areas outside of the downtown area. (It is important to note, however, that many of the areas used during the war were not used thereafter.) Third were the events of the late 1960s including the sale of several land tracts as General Services Administration (GSA) parcels to commercial investors (just prior to the passage of ANCSA) and the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act.

Downtown Unalaska was the site of an Aleut village prior to the war, and the Aleut portion of the population is still concentrated here. Amaknak Island, which until the mid- 1970s was exclusively a commercial area, has this legacy from the pre-war days. Amaknak Island was the site of a commercially oriented settlement known

as Dutch Harbor, which included, among other things, the fuel dock which is now the Chevron facility. During the war, the road and water systems which still serve Unalaska were laid out.

Placement of houses in the downtown area is a result of the war and various long-term processes. The war influenced the placement of houses as a result of restrictions placed on the movement of civilians after they were moved back to the village, and the placement of buildings in the area immediately after the war to house residents from other villages who were moved into Unalaska.

Virtually no private homes were built from the immediate post-World War II era until the early 1970s. The late 1970s and early 1980s saw a minor boom in housing construction, but housing starts declined dramatically toward the end of the monitoring period. During 1984 no new homes were built in Unalaska. During 1985 there were two new housing starts. At the time of the field research (March) there had been no new housing starts to date in 1986, although there were reportedly three building permits issued later in the year.

Arrangement of the HUD houses was due to economic considerations at the time of their construction. Primary among these was the cost of installing utilities for the new houses. The Ski Bowl area became populated because it was the site of World War 11 era buildings, which were suitable for renovation and close to the city shop. City workers hired during the period of expansion in the late '70s and early '80s who could not find other housing were the first to move in. The growth of the new neighborhood of Eagle View/Riverside was due to the demand for higher quality, larger, more expensive new housing. The location of this development is primarily explained by the lack of land available elsewhere.

Control of the land by the Ounalashka Corporation has been important to land use patterning. This control, with the restrictions on the sale of the corporation lands mandated by ANCSA itself, acts as a check on private development in most parts of the community. The Ounalashka Corporation owns the vast majority of land in the city and virtually all of the land adjacent to it. Only two private individuals own significant amounts of land suitable for residences. They are selling a limited number of lots which as of early 1986 were in the $15-20,000 range.

On the Amaknak Island side of the community there are no individually owned private plots of land. Most of the island is owned by the Ounalashka Corporation, with the exception of some parcels owned by UniSea, Sea Alaska, and East Point located adjacent to their commercial operations. The State of Alaska owns the airstrip, while the City of Unalaska owns a handful of parcels on Amaknak, including some land around the airport, the small boat harbor, the city dock site, a reserve strip around the reservoir lake, and the new sewage treatment plant. The City also leases land from the State at the airport, as well as the small boat harbor itself. All of the private land on the island was obtained through GSA land sales held before the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act.

Continued access to land for subsistence pursuits has not been a problem during the monitoring period. Little of the land that has been built upon recently has been used for subsistence, although some of the World War II construction projects reportedly disrupted fish runs, particularly in the Margaret's Bay area, that have never returned to pre-war levels.

Land Outside of Densely Populated Areas

Access to land outside of densely populated areas has remained largely unchanged during the monitoring period. Some growth has occurred outside the densely populated areas because of the development of the Captain's Bay oil facility and growth of the industrial complex at the Sea Alaska facility on Dutch Harbor. Crowley Maritime is also planning to diversify operations at its Captain's Bay facility. Underwater Construction has obtained land (from Pacific Pearl) which is also in Captain's Bay, and has plans to develop an industrial park on the site. Captain's Bay is the site of a number of subsistence activities, from fishing to berry picking, and although no direct conflicts have been reported between industrial and subsistence users of the area, some of the long-term residents now have the impression that it is no longer place where they can "get away" to.

The main change in land status since 1980 has been the annexation of the Unalaska Bay area in March 1986. What effects this will have on land use patterns remains to be seen, although city officials indicate that there will be no significant changes because the goal of annexation was not to have direct use of the land but to exert regulatory control over and gain revenue from the area.[1] There are a number of subsistence camps in the area and, according to several Corporation officials, one of the reasons that the Ounalashka Corporation initially voiced concern over the then proposed annexation was its concern over potential regulatory changes in subsistence use at these camps which are owned, or traditionally used, by Corporation shareholders. With successful annexation, these concerns have diminished, but not been totally allayed.

The incentive for annexation came from several sources, but three in particular. First was the practice of some of the seafood processing companies of anchoring their floating processors in the shelter of Unalaska Bay, but just outside of the city limits. By doing this, the processors were not subject to local restrictions on the discharge of waste, nor were they subject to local taxation.

Second was the location of the oil support facility in Captain's Bay adjacent to the city boundary. Part of the activity associated with this facility took place on land just outside of the city limits, and therefore no local taxes were collected on it. (Part of this facility, as discussed in the MMS Unalaska Ethnography (Impact Assessment 1983a), is located on Native Allotment land. That this location was chosen was unsettling to many in Unalaska, including many individuals the City administration who saw it as a move to attempt to avoid local taxes while having access to the city infrastructure, and many individuals in the Ounalashka Corporation who wished to lease out Corporation land to such a facility. Significant numbers of individuals in the general public as well were disturbed by the way the oil interests were perceived to have "wined and dined" the holders of the Native Allotment to persuade them to lease out their "traditional use" lands.)

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1. Within the old city limits there is a 12.57 mil real property tax. Within the newly annexed areas the city is aiming to provide public safety and planning services only, so there will be a lower *tax rate, which was not established as of March 1986. The sales tax will be the same in both the old and the new areas.*

Third was the practice of anchoring oil rigs in Unalaska Bay for shelter, again outside of the city limits, which gave the city no regulatory control over their placement. In 1985 this conflict came to a boil when one of the oil companies anchored an oil rig directly on top of an active halibut fishery ground during the short fishing season. It was an area where the local small boats (which are not seaworthy enough to go out into unprotected waters) fish in Unalaska Bay. While individuals from the community were trying to resolve this conflict, large capacity fishing vessels from outside of the area filled the fishery catch quota before the rig moved on. According to the local residents, the oil company was very unreceptive when informed of the problem: its position, reportedly, was that the city had no control over that area, and therefore it could do as it pleased. This perception helped to prompt the push for annexation.

POLITICAL CONTROL

Political Control and Social Complexity

As a first-class city Unalaska can impose taxes and make ordinances, and with this degree of autonomy comes the responsibility for providing an array of services such as a local school system. Because there have been no "major structural changes in local government, little change has occurred during the 1980-85 monitoring period, with the exception that Unalaska has become involved in regional politics. In 1985 the Southwest Alaska Municipal Conference (SAMC) was formed. The purpose of this new regional entity, which is an association of Aleutian, Kodiak, and Bristol Bay communities, is to organize the region to address matters of common interest. Three SAMC committees have been formed to date on the fisheries, transportation, and education. It is SAMC'S position that fisheries used to be the lifeblood of Alaska, and will be again when the oil runs out. The conference considers it by far the most important resource of the southwest region of the state.

The formation of SAMC could strongly influence Unalaska's position in the region's political pecking order. The mayor of Unalaska is the president of SAMC, and Unalaska is one of the larger communities in the region and can thus be expected to have power within the organization.

The goal of SAMC'S education committee is to tie in education policies with regional developments, and to emphasize the marine sciences and aquiculture. It is one of SAMC'S goals to train local children to act as observers on all of the domestic processors and catcher/processors "because it is their resource."

The SAMC was organized principally because individuals from various communities in the region realized that all of the policies that drastically affect the regional fishery are made on the national and international levels. For example, over the past several years Japanese fishing quotas in American- controlled waters off of Alaska have been dependent on the American government's satisfaction with Japan's cooperation in other areas of international trade. Locals believe that they have no say in these types of arrangements even though they depend more than anyone on the fisheries. The SAMC argues that it requires the intervention of someone as powerful as the governor of Alaska to have any influence at these high levels, and as individual communities none would have enough power to get the attention and support of the governor.

Politics and the Process of Formalization

During the monitoring period Unalaska's first service club was formally organized when the Lions Club was established in 1982 with fifty-one charter members. In early 1986 the club had only approximately eighteen active members. Although this appears to be a precipitous decline, membership has stabilized over the past couple of years and the club is now an integral part of the community, active at many functions and responsible for various service projects. Its primary project in early 1986 was to obtain materials for and to construct bus shelters for school children.

Although no new political, quasi-political, or government institutions were formalized during the monitoring period, the City of Unalaska adopted a new set of city codes. These codes, while not fundamentally different in content from the various old codes which cover the range of local government workings, represent a formalization process through the integration of diverse codes into an comprehensive, internally consistent, and current volume.

Politics and Political Issues

During and immediately following the boom years there was a good deal of debate in public forums over issues of social control. The most heated of these issues focused on the role of the Department of Public Safety in the community. An example of this debate occurred in February 1984 at a special city council meeting, when a "petition for sanity and security" with 192 signatures was presented to get the city to reconsider budget cuts for the Department of Public Safety. Other much debated topics included the regulation of bars and dogs, both of which brought out people who had different visions of the type of town they wanted Unalaska to be. Many people who moved to Unalaska early in the boom period saw Unalaska as a "frontier" town, and enjoyed those qualities which added to this image, while others, principally those who moved to the community later, felt that in view of its growing population it was time for Unalaska to become more sedate and to have stronger measures of formal social control.

Individuals in city government say that apathy toward local government has grown with the downturn in the economy, although there is still a measure of participation when emotionally charged issues arise, which in recent years have focused on collection of garbage, control of dogs, and regulation of three-wheelers. In the chronic debates that surround the latter two issues, the divergent views of what residents feel Unalaska should be are often articulated. Significant numbers of individuals are in favor of regulatory control -- they feel Unalaska has grown past the point of being a small village and the needs of public safety outweigh the benefits of letting dogs run and having unregulated transportation on community roads; significant numbers of individuals hold a opposing opinions -- they feel that one of the positive aspects of Unalaska is that it is a small community and should be relatively free of regulations on personal freedoms in a way that is not possible in larger communities. The holders of the first set of beliefs see regulations as a way of making Unalaska into the community they desire it to be; the holders of the latter set of beliefs see regulations as detracting from the positive aspects of the community.

One thing that has changed little over the monitoring period is the strong emphasis of the city government on improvement of community infrastructure. The changes in the infrastructure of Unalaska during the monitoring period reflect the high priority these projects have been given by the people of Unalaska.

Since the 1983 baseline ethnography of the community several notable changes have occurred. These include construction of the new airport terminal, the new power house, completion of city dock facilities, a new "small small" boat harbor, and a new sewage treatment facility. Early in the monitoring period a small boat harbor was constructed adjacent to the Dutch Harbor spit.

A striking, modern airport terminal building has been completed. In addition to the airline counters this building houses a gift shop (Fantasy Island Gifts), a restaurant (the Ballyhoo Restaurant and Lounge), and an Amaknak Truck Rental office. The building is attractive, especially in contrast to the World War II era building that it replaced, and it no doubt influences visitors' first impressions of the community.

The new power plant on the Amaknak Island side of town has 4.175 megawatts of power installed, and has a growth capacity of 10 megawatts. The improved plant features an underground distribution system with a transmission voltage of 34.5 KV. There is a step-up substation at the power plant to 41.60 KV and another at the substation located adjacent to the fire hall on the Unalaska side. In its first eighteen months of operation (since late 1984) electrical rates have dropped thirty-three to fifty percent primarily as a result of centralized generation, aided by reduced fuel costs. The price as of March 1986 was thirty cents per kilowatt across the board, but there are plans afoot to make a sliding schedule of rates in the near future. (The old powerhouse on the Unalaska side of the community burned down in 1985 before its scheduled phase-out.)

The city has also completed a 5,000-square-foot warehouse/storage facility on the city dock in Dutch Harbor. Although the dock is well used, people tend to pick up freight as soon as it comes in, with the result that the warehouse has not been utilized as much as hoped. It has electrical service, but no water or sewage tie-ins.

The new community sewage system was still under construction in March 1986. It is being funded by the EPA, the State of Alaska Department of Environmental Conservation, and the City of Unalaska. It will serve between eighty and ninety percent of Unalaska. It will not serve the Nirvana and Haystack hills areas, nor beyond the Captain's Bay turn off, but will cover the downtown area and extend up through Unalaska Valley. On the Amaknak Island side it extends from the UniSea complex to the airport. It will serve all of the residences on Standard Oil Hill, but not Strawberry Hill. The treatment plant, located on the UniSea cutoff road, is for primary treatment only, i.e., sludge removal. The system will be "substantially complete" by June 1986.

Today (1986) the highest infrastructure priorities of the city are to repair the water system, which is of World War 11 vintage, and to pave the roads. The water system is of high priority because the city now loses approximately eighty to ninety percent of its treated water through leaks, and some areas, such as Nirvana hill, run out of water when the seafood plants are running. A new master water plan has been drawn up which is compatible with the present resources of the city, and work on the system is ongoing. The roads are a high priority because in their

present condition they quickly tear up vehicles and equipment. During Phase I of the road improvements the city is planning to pave the road from the airport terminal to the downtown Unalaska area and part way up the Unalaska Valley (as of September 1986 the paving had been completed from the airport to the UniSea road). It is estimated that this would save the department of public works approximately fifty percent of their maintenance budget. This project is on hold awaiting funding from the state. Lesser capital improvement priorities were established for, in order of importance, purchasing a new fire engine, funding a city survey (some of the lot lines in the downtown area are off by as much as twenty feet), making major repairs to the school, and constructing a new public safety building.

Airport runway improvements, seriously discussed since Unalaska became an important commercial fishing port, are scheduled to begin in summer 1986. In the first phase a seventy-foot taper will be cut back into the cliff side, and the runway will be widened slightly and reinforced with crushed gravel. Plans to lengthen the runway and to rotate it away "from the cliff are scheduled for approximately 1991, depending on funding. The major airport runway extension, discussed and planned for years, appears to have priced itself out of consideration given the condition of the state budget and the fact that because of physical obstructions Unalaska airport will always be a visual flight rules (VFR) rated airport, making the state even less likely to contribute large sums to the project.

There is a new "small small" boat harbor adjacent to the UniSea complex which was completed by March 1986, with the exception of electricity and lighting (there is a larger small boat harbor located on the spit of Amaknak Island in Dutch Harbor). As soon as these installations are complete, the city will accept the project from the state. This facility replaces one at the state-built small boat harbor in Dutch Harbor which was destroyed by weather even before the completion of the project.

In 1985 resolutions were introduced before the city council to support an Aleutian Housing Authority loan application for more HUD housing in Unalaska. This was eventually voted down because the council believed that the housing put here on an earlier occasion was substandard, and it wanted assurance that the housing would be of better quality and that the project would have better support. The council was not satisfied on these issues, even though according to resolution 85-12 "there exists in the City of Unalaska a need for such low rent housing which is not being met by private enterprise." The issue was considered inactive as of March 1986.

During 1984 the Unalaska city council made several attempts to bolster the local fishing industry. In April of that year an ordinance (84-05) was created which found that the "fishing industry of Unalaska is extremely depressed," and recognized that "the community is very much dependent on the fishing industry for its tax base," and "that it is in the best interest of the community to treat the fishing industry differently than other industries." As a result, commercial fishermen were granted a fifty percent tax credit of the sales tax levied on the sale of raw fish within the City of Unalaska. In June the council opposed granting permission to a New West fisheries application to catch herring in internal waters and to process them using foreign vessels. The council argued that the Pan Alaska, East Point, and Universal plants were expecting and able to process the year's catch. In September the council supported an additional halibut season opening for the purpose of improving halibut catches for financial reasons (to boost the economy) and biological reasons (to reduce predation on other commercial species).

Political Control and the Demographics of In-Migration

Control of local politics has not changed significantly over the monitoring period. The first recent large influx of new residents into the community arrived before 1980, and it was at this time that changes in political control between ethnic and social groups took place.

Political Hierarchy and Sociocultural Change

Few changes have occurred in the political hierarchy of the community that have precipitated or introduced sociocultural change. During the monitoring period there has been a complete turnover in the top management positions in the city government. The city manager's position has changed hands, as have all of the department head positions. The new city manager ushered in a change in management style which is noticeable throughout the city government and which has coincided with the decline in city's growth. The new manager has previous governmental experience in the region: she was formerly the City Manager of Akutan and prior to that a long-time employee of the Alaska Department of Community and Regional Affairs. The continued decline in the economy, or more correctly, the continued level of activity far below that of the boom years, has not been a continuous period of pessimism in Unalaska. The year 1983 is given locally as the beginning of the trend toward optimism in the community about the prospects for the future, which is the year during which the new city manager took over. There have been many other personnel changes in the hierarchy, including the city council and mayoral positions, but the hierarchy itself has not changed. A noticeable change on the city council, however, is that the individuals on the 1986 council have all resided in the community for a number of years, which reflects the increasing stability of Unalaska's population.

An exception to this rule is the position of city planner. During the growth years in the early 1980s the city planner was based in Anchorage and the primary responsibility of the position was to obtain and maintain funding for capital improvement projects. With the shift away from aggressive development that accompanied the decline in the crab fishery this position was moved back to Unalaska in 1983 amid much debate. The planner's office is now more responsible for the management of day-to-day planning in the community. Another position that has changed is that of financial planner. The former city administration had a separate department head for finance. This position has been eliminated, with the city manager now handling the long-range planning, and the staff handling the day-to-day affairs. The city hired a non-resident financial consultant in 1985 as well.

Also of note since the change of administration is that the city government is becoming less likely to be involved in a broad range of interests in the community, and is narrowing public perception of the role of city government. An example of this process is the changing role of the city vis-a-vis the community television station (K08IW). Originally begun by the city, it operated first through the school and but later as a relatively autonomous entity as the city recently began to weaken its relationship with the station. Unalaska Community Television, Inc. was formed in 1984 with the purpose of freeing the city of legal responsibilities. K08IW television received $120,000 in city funding in 1984, which was cut to $50,000 in 1985, with the eventual goal of "weaning" the station from the city.

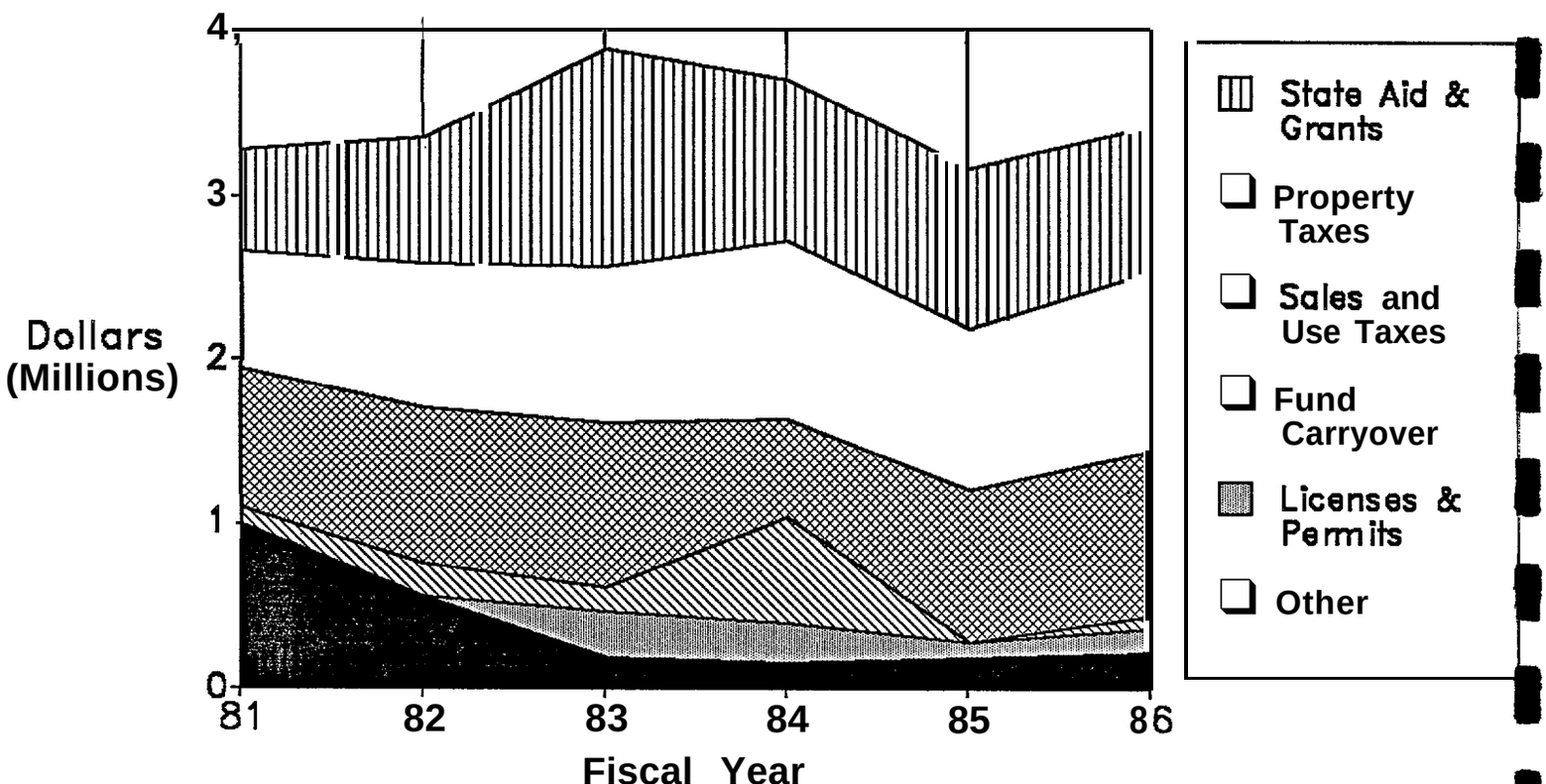
Table 18. **Unalaska** General Finances, **FY1981-FY1986**

General Fund Revenues	**FY81**	**FY82**	FY83	FY84	FY85	FY86
Property Taxes	723,865	880,000	953,000	1,091,425	982,662	1,107,963
Sales & Use Taxes	851,000	950,000	1,000,000	595,000	938,165	1,000,000
Licenses & Permits	600	2,500	273,350	237,690	99,518	147,445
State Aid & Grants*	610,850	761,000	1,324,786	973,109	971,504	879,917
Other	1,000,000	562,970	205,000	173,900	207,800	231,400
Total Gen Fund Rev	3,186,515	3,156,470	3,756,136	3,071,124	3,201,649	3,366,725
Fund Carryover	100,000	200,000	150,000	653,192	0	79,465
Total General Fund	3,286,515	3,356,470	3,906,136	3,724,316	3,201,649	3,446,190
Expenditures						
City Council	5,000	14,000	13,500	12,500	12,000	12,000
Contingency Fund	**	94,659	87,816	200,000	195,733	254,460
Non-Departmental	366,909	757,100	**	624,082	568,180	510,991
Admin/Finance	358,877	823,500	1,160,451	664,802	554,150	613,725
Public Safety	650,148	742,098	1,021,569	841,738	703,518	791,941
Public Works	772,850	643,510	1,131,127	979,226	827,288	806,794
Parks, Cult., Rec.	228,800	213,668	372,494	336,274	253,484	332,395
Planning	140,250	67,935	119,179	65,694	87,296	123,884
Total General Fund Expenditures	3,286,515	3,356,470	3,906,136	3,724,316	3,201,649	3,446,190
Special Funds						
Fed Revenue Sharing	32,000	36,000	242,427	170,000	152,000	0
School Debt Fund	0	200,000	267,790	265,540	275,303	278,932
Water Operating Fund	250,000	399,031	431,298	409,060	348,061	327,297
Electric Oper. Fund	205,000	734,339	887,759	1,409,879	1,096,577	1,269,638
Ports & Harbors Fund	0	0	315,728	237,188	333,000	387,729
Air Terminal Fund	0	0	0	60,000	446,771	676,416
Sewer Operating Fund	0	0	0	0	0	213,213
Capital Improvements	N/A	1,300,000	5,888,907	8,565,068	11,490,107	7,055,656
Total Special Funds	N/A	2,669,370	8,033,909	11,116,735	14,141,819	10,208,881

* Includes Raw fish tax.
** Included in Administrative/Finance Department budget.

Source: City of Unalaska Budgets for FY81 - FY86. FY81, FY82, and FY 86 figures are budget estimates; FY83, FY84, and FY85 figures are monies as actually received and spent.

Figure 2
Unalaska General Fund Revenue: 1981 –1 986



(Impact Assessment, Inc., 1987)

Funding for capital improvement projects rose dramatically during this period. Between FY82 and FY83, revenues from this source increased by 784 percent. The decline in FY86 is due to the completion of many of these projects, including the new airport terminal, renovation of the old Naval Power House as an electrical generating station, and installation of electrical substations.

The increases and declines in expenditures noted in Table 18 reflect the overall availability of funds. The Department of Public Works accounted for the largest share of expenditures during this period, followed by the Department of Public Safety and the Department of Administration/Finance. The distribution of expenditures has remained relatively constant throughout the past six years, particularly when non-departmental expenses are grouped together with the expenses of the Administration/Finance Department, as has been the case in the past. The Departments of Public Safety and Public Works have lost a small amount of their share of the expenditures since FY83. The Planning Department has recorded the. largest fluctuations in expenses during this period.

In short, these figures indicate the City's ability to manage financially during a period of economic decline. While the chief sources of past revenues -- state and federal revenue sharing funds and raw fish tax proceeds -- have recorded a significant decline during this period, the City has been able to finance its own day-to-day expenses on the basis of local resources. The goals of developing the local infrastructure of utilities, transportation facilities, and other community services which were established in the late 1970s and early 1980s are now beginning to bear fruit as they are able to pay for themselves and provide the City with some additional revenues. Income from property and sales taxes has increased even though the rate of property tax levy on each dollar of taxable property has declined from 14.00 mills in FY81 to 12.57 mills in FY86. The assessed valuation for 1986 was $53,733,220 on real property and $29,010,175 on business personal property for a total of $82,743,395. This represented a five percent increase over the 1985 assessment of property and business personal property. With the exception of the Ounalashka Corporation and Alaska Commercial, the top ten taxpayers of real, business, personal, and sales taxes combined in FY84 were all seafood processing and oil-related industries, indicating that even with the downturn in the commercial processing sector during this period, the City continued to rely upon these industries as a primary source of income.

Economics and Employment

Fisheries

Over the monitoring period there has been a drastic reduction in the number of crab vessels fishing in the Bering Sea, and the nature of the fishery changed in several areas. At the beginning of the period Unalaska was (at least temporarily) the home port to a domestic fleet which delivered product to locally based shore processors. By the end of the period a sizable percentage of the product harvested was being transferred to catcher/processors or processing ships at sea, and rather than being oriented almost exclusively around king crab, the processors had diversified to a wide array of species. Foreign interests are participating directly in the fishery through joint ventures where foreign processing ships buy fish from American fishing vessels.

One attitudinal shift which occurred during this period that is important to note is the swing from pessimism prevalent at the bottom of the crab recession to the optimism prevalent prior to the opening of the 1986 king crab season. With the diversification of the economy and positive projections for this year's king crab fishery, an upbeat attitude which anticipates slow but steady growth of the local economy is, prevalent among local government officials and businessmen.

Shore processing has changed during this period as well as the resource base has changed. When the crab boom was at its height, the companies were dealing with a high volume, high profit product. As the fishery declined, the value of crab increased, but this was more than offset by the decline in supply, such that several of the processing companies in Unalaska went out of business. (It is interesting to note that in the case of the fishermen, those few skillful individuals who managed to land sizable catches were able to make more money than ever.) With the diversification of the local commercial fishery to other species, which were less profitable, the processors found themselves in a position of trying to compete in a low profit, high volume market, something that under their then present configuration, they were not well equipped to do. The major species that is being tried this year (1986) is pollock. Pollock has been processed in low volumes before in the community on an experimental basis; this year UniSea, under a subsidiary company, Great Land Seafoods, opened a surimi plant in March, and Alyeska Seafoods plans to open another surimi plant later in the year.

Paradoxically, the size of the local (permanent resident) workforce employed in the seafood processing is inversely related to the health of the local industry in general. When the workforce was largest, there were virtually no local hires. For example, during the 1982 fieldwork there were no Aleuts working in the processing plants. Workers were hired out of the Pacific Northwest, typically Seattle, and were flown to Unalaska to work on a six-month contract basis. With the downturn in the fishery, companies are no longer able to afford the expenses of a six-month contract system. Some have done away with the contracts and hire workers for an indefinite period of time with rewards for longevity; others have turned to local hire. Currently (1986), there are two companies that hire a significant portion of their crews locally.

It is important to note that the groundfish industry is not expected, by local residents or fisheries personnel, to create a boom economy as the current MMS base case forecast predicts. Locals foresee a continuation of the trend that has been established over the past several years: gradual growth of a maturing, more year-round economy. The MMS forecast had been based on growth in the industrial sector (groundfish processing) of the economy, whereas locals, as discussed below, see more mixed growth prospects, with marine-oriented service industries accounting for a large part of the growth. As detailed below, groundfish operations have not added, nor are they expected to add, to the population of the community as predicted either.

Several things have changed with specific processing firms since the last study. At the time of the 1982 fieldwork, the three largest processors in the community, in terms of employment and volume of product, were Pan Alaska, Sea Alaska, and Universal Seafoods. Of these, Pan Alaska went out of business, and that plant reopened this year (1986) under new ownership as a new company, Alyeska Seafoods. Sea Alaska is still in Unalaska, though they are not processing any product in the community but are now engaged in support services. Universal has shut down their two main shore processing facilities, the UniSea and Vita barges, and is now running

product in a new building. (Pacific Pearl has sold to Universal. Sea Pro has shut down; there is no fishery related business at that site. Whitney has sold; the Whitney barge is being operated by Aleutian Processors.)

Following is a brief characterization of processors present in Unalaska in March 1986 and a description of the changes that have taken place during the monitoring period.

Aleutian Processors 'bought the Whitney Fidalgo ship "Whitney," and they had been in business only two weeks at the time of fieldwork in March 1986. They were processing opilio tanner crab at that time, and planned to run bairdi tanner and brown crab as well. There are plans to run fish as well, depending on the markets at the time, including perhaps salmon, black cod, and perch. The workforce of approximately forty-five is mostly Filipino and is on a six-month contract basis. They are housed on board the ship. Many of the workers followed the current superintendent from Pan Alaska and Sea Alaska. The capacity of the plant is approximately 80,000 pounds per day, and although the plant is now a shoreplant only, the plans for the summer of 1986 are to tow the ship to Seattle in June to put in some main engines, shafts, and props so that when it returns in September it can go out and get the king crab from fishermen on the fishing grounds. It is the perception of the company that without being out there, they are unlikely to get the product. Aleutian Processors is a small American-owned entrepreneurial operation.

Alyeska Seafoods started in Unalaska in December of 1985 with the purchase of the Pan Alaska shore facilities. Alyeska began running product (crab) in late January 1986. The facility is capable of running crab, cod (including black cod) and halibut, and employs a total of 105 workers, which includes sixty-five workers on the crab line, twenty-five on the cod line, plus support personnel. Workers are on four-month contract basis and approximately sixty percent are returnees, having worked for Pan Alaska or other local companies. Approximately forty percent of the workers are Filipino, thirty percent are Vietnamese or Korean, and the balance are Anglo, along with a handful of Chicanos. All of the workers are housed at the plant, and the trailers that used to house Pan Alaska employees in the downtown area are now rented out.

The capacity of the plant now is approximately 130,000 lbs/day for crab and 180,000 lbs/day for cod. The cannery line has been removed from the plant due to the lack of demand for canned salmon, although there are plans to get into flash frozen salmon in the future. There are plans afoot to expand into surimi in the fall with the addition of 200' to the dock and construction of three surimi buildings on the new area. Surimi will be a twenty-four hour per day operation and being quite automated will take about sixty-five people to run or approximately twenty-three or twenty-four workers per shift, plus support personnel. Surimi is considered a likely success for this area because pollock are accessible from Unalaska area year round. Sometimes they are around Unimak Pass; other times they are out west, but always within a workable distance. In Kodiak, by contrast, they are only available in good numbers from December through May.

East Point Seafoods has been a constant presence in the community during the monitoring period, though the workf orce now (1986) varies from fifty-five to eighteen, down from over 150 at the height of the boom. At the high point of the yearly cycle during the processing of opilio crab there are fifty-five workers; when king crab and herring are processed the workforce varies between eighteen and twenty-five. This is the opposite of the cycle of the 1979-80 season (and before) when everything revolved around the king crab. East Point workers are not hired on a

contract basis, and about half are hired in Unalaska, and represent an array of ethnicities, including Aleut. Workers hired outside of the community are picked up on a sporadic basis in Seattle. Workers are housed in shore buildings on property adjacent to the plant. Plans for future expansion are "in the talking state now" and include the possibility of adding a black cod line, which would add another eighteen individuals to the workforce.

Universal Seafoods has been through several changes since the baseline ethnography in 1983. There is no processing going on at the barge/shore plants UniSea and Vita, both of which have been shut down since December of 1985, and there are no plans to start them up this year. The floating processor Viceroy is up for sale (outside of the community). The present (March 1986) workforce consists of approximately seventy workers on the floating processor Galaxy, which is tied up in port and one hundred workers on floating processor Omnisea which is processing in Unalaska Bay both of which are running opilio crab. (The Omnisea is the old Royal Venture, which was purchased from Pan Alaska.) In 1985 Universal ran opilio, tanner, and king crab, along with black cod, halibut, salmon, herring, and scallops. This year with the shoreplants shut down neither black cod nor halibut will be run. During the salmon season, the floaters will be going out to Bristol Bay. The combined capacity of the two floating processors is approximately 150,000 lbs/day, though the current problem is lack of product to process.

The Universal workforce doesn't have time contracts anymore (six months was the standard previously), but rather the workers are given increases in benefits after they work 1,040 and 2,080 hours. The workers are housed on the floaters themselves, and the only people staying in the bunkhouses are the people who work in the UniSea Inn and the small beach crew. There has been an increase in the percentage of Filipinos working for Universal as a number came over with the Royal Venture when it was purchased and they have stayed and new have hired on.

Universal constructed a new building by the Vita in 1984 for processing salt cod, which was done two years, but there are no plans to do it again this year. According to the superintendent, "the first year we did it, 1984, we ran into a problem in the European market with the strength of the dollar, and lost on that one. In 1985 we weren't able to get enough of the fleet to deliver here: they were all delivering to the Russians in joint ventures. It is pretty ironic that an American processor went down because the American fleet was delivering to the Soviets."

Another change in Universal operations has been the sale of Stormy's restaurant. According to top management, it wasn't doing that well under Universal management, and people in the community were resentful as well that Universal had a monopoly on all of the eating places.

Great Land Seafoods is a subsidiary of Universal Seafoods. Universal bought the land and buildings that Pacific Pearl owned on Expedition Island (which is adjacent to the Universal property), and built a new building to house a surimi and fish meal plant. The first product was run on March 17, 1986, and the plant was expected to be in full production by the April 1, 1986. The plant employs ninety to one hundred people in two shifts. Surimi would normally be a ten month per year operation, but it is planned that in this first year to be a year-round operation, though the quality of the product falls for a couple of months from mid-May through mid-July. The workers are on an annual basis contract, and although they were hired out of the Seattle area originally, they are all re-hires. If all goes well, it is planned that the operation will perhaps double in size in a year.

There is some question now as to how profitable the operation will be because it is the first full production surimi plant in Alaska. A small APS pilot project in Kodiak is the only other plant in the state. Great Land has a capacity of 150 metric tons per day of raw fish product, which translates to three fishing boats initially, and will probably handle four to five eventually. Surimi is a high volume, tight profit margin operation. Originally, according to Universal management, it was thought that money would probably be lost operating the plant. However, Universal is owned by a Japanese company (Nippon Suisan) and in exchange for fisheries allocations they were willing to try and "Americanize" the fishery, and accept this as a cost of doing business. Currently, the plant is attracting deliveries by paying about six cents per pound to the fishermen, and the joint ventures are paying a little less than five cents.

San Souchi Seafoods came to Unalaska in 1984. It is located in a building on Amaknak Island, near the APL facility. It is a small operation, with no direct waterfront access. The output per day varies. Crew is locally hired on an as-needed basis, and varies from five to twenty-five people. Different species of crab are processed. Some are shipped as parts, others live, but all go to Japan.

Sea Alaska is no longer processing any seafood on shore in Unalaska. The floater Sea Alaska anchored in Wide Bay, however, and in March 1986 they were processing scallops and brown crab, along with their primary product, opilio crab.

The shore facility has diversified into many different things, which according to the superintendent, was a matter of survival. At the shore facility there are now four fuel docks, warehousing space, and a new 80' x 100' warehouse is under construction. Gear for catchers and processors is stored on the site and a chandlery has been added. Also recently added is a case-lot grocery store and fishermen's supply outlet. These are oriented toward the marine fleet, but there has been a significant amount of business from the community as well. There is also a restaurant and a bar ("Fisherman's Landing") in the design stage, and a cold storage facility "in the talking stage." Sea Alaska also now rents out use of the crane and trucks and other equipment.

Sea Alaska, as the owner of one of the few privately held land parcels on Amaknak Island, has diversified their economic base by leasing out land to various other companies. At the time of fieldwork, in March of 1986, land lessees included Magone Marine, Harris Electric, Northern Marine Electronics, Underwater Construction, a drilling muds and fluids contractor, and Schlumberger, which supplies oil field electronics. Office space is also leased to Marine Resources Company which handles Russian-American fishing joint ventures. Sea Alaska also rents out living quarters, which are almost always full. The forty rooms in the bunkhouse rent at $15/night, nine apartments rent for $500/month, four trailers rent for $700/month, and six duplexes rent at $600/month.

Oil-Related Activities

Unalaska experienced contact with oil development companies during the early 1980's during the exploration and COST (Continental Offshore Stratigraphic Test) well phases of the Bering Sea OCS activity. There was activity in Unalaska during 1976 as the result of test drilling in the St. George Basin, though continuous, relatively long-term, activity in the community did not begin until 1981. ARCO, as the managing partner in a seventeen company consortium, established a base

in Unalaska in March 1982. Dock facilities were constructed in Captain's Bay during 1982 (by an outside contractor using outside labor), and operated by Offshore Systems, Inc. (0S1), for the supply and support of the. COST well activity. Built on private (Native Allotment) land, activity at this facility lasted through 1986, when 0S1 pulled out of Unalaska. Activity is not expected to resume anytime in the near future, given the fact that OCS lease sales are on hold awaiting the outcome of several legal test cases, and the low market price of oil which makes offshore oil development less economically attractive than it was in the past.

Changes in Unalaska due to oil activity are termed "minimal" by most local residents. The net population change was two, as there were two management people living continuously in town for two years, but even they were gone by the time of the 1986 fieldwork. At the peak of the exploration there were approximately ten people stationed in the community on a rotating basis: there were two expediters each for five different oil companies. Even given their small numbers, their impact on the community was minimal as they were housed in an enclave living arrangement.

Reportedly, there was no interaction with the community whatsoever, as these individuals did not come to even the most impersonal/public community events such as the King Crab festivals, or the like, and there was never any community involvement by the companies. Virtually nothing was bought in the community as the companies shipped in their supplies, including food and fuel. One exception to this was fuel supplied to the rig tending boats by a local company that operated a fuel tank at the Captain's Bay site. Personnel rotated through Unalaska on a week-in/week-out basis. The only local jobs that came of the activity were in 1984 when there were approximately fifteen longshore local hires, and in 1985 when there were between seven and ten longshore local hires.

Workers for the oil companies did not interact with the community, primarily due to restrictions imposed by their working conditions. The work environments were self-contained living and working enclaves. They were in effect restricted to camp by the requirement that they be near the phone, and as they were responsible for the running of the operation for the period that they were in the community, they were not allowed to drink. As good food was provided at the work site, the restaurants in Unalaska were not a significant draw, especially given the time restrictions of being away from the phone. Reportedly the most frequent interaction was getting a cup of coffee on the way out from the airport.

According to the mayor, "people have seen how little oil development does for the community, and now they couldn't care less about oil development. There were no new businesses in town as the result of oil development, and there were no changes in city policy in anticipation of oil revenues." It should be noted that Unalaska did receive sales tax from everything that moved across the dock for two years and, for the Captain's Bay facility, that was fairly high. The fact that the Captain's Bay facility was built on Native Allotment land was a sore spot for many in the community when the facility was constructed, including the Ounalashka Corporation which hoped to derive revenue from oil ventures, and is again a sore spot, this time with the city government. The oil company operators of the support base are protesting having to pay City property taxes in 1986, asserting that they are located on federal (BIA) lands and thus not subject to local taxation, although the property was annexed to the city in March 1986.

Another taxation issue that became a bone of contention between the city and oil and oil-support companies concerned roads. When the Captain's Bay properties were developed, the roads in the community proper are reported to have been heavily

used, although the properties being developed were outside the City limits at the time and not subject to taxation. Control of the private road that services the Captain's Bay properties also is the subject of argument. Although the oil interests and others served by the road would prefer to control its use as a private facility, they are not seen as hesitant at all in demanding City services when needed, such as fire and police protection.

As noted in the section on land utilization outside of densely populated areas, one of the effects of oil-related activity in and around Unalaska was to help create, or at least add critical momentum to, an impetus to expand the boundaries of the city. This came principally from two activities, both of which left a bad taste in the mouth of many local residents concerning the oil companies. First was the location of the oil support facility in Captain's Bay on the edge of the city limits, which enabled them to store some of their materials on land outside of city control. The second activity was the practice of anchoring oil rigs in Unalaska Bay for shelter, which led to a conflict with a local fishery in 1985. Reportedly, (and this is the perception of local residents) the oil company was very short when told about the problem their position was that the city had no control over that area, and they could do as they pleased. This attitude, real or merely perceived, hurt the image of the oil companies in Unalaska. According to the mayor "this city was not like a lot of other places: we were open to oil development, and really went into the whole thing with an open mind. Now a lot of people are resentful of the way things have been handled, which is unfortunate because the oil companies could have done a much better job of it." Another practice that gave a negative tinge to the perception of oil companies by some local businessmen was the reported practice of getting local businessmen to buy back-up equipment for oil operators and then not calling for its use (Allen 1986, pers. comm.).

Some social conflict apparently took place at the UniSea Inn when offshore oil crews were weathered in. The crews did not normally leave the airport, and were only there long enough to transfer between fixed wing and helicopter aircraft. Although MMS scenarios hypothesized generally that St. Paul would provide forward air support for oil operations in the southern Bering Sea, Unalaska was used on occasion during the monitoring period due to bad weather in the Pribilof Islands (Allen 1986, pers. comm.).

One of the positive images the oil companies have in town is that they are viewed as being more environmentally aware than the fisheries, at least in terms of localized environmental problems. While there is a significant amount of concern regarding the overall compatibility of offshore oil development and various commercial fisheries, oil support vessels are seen as much less likely to pump oily bilge water in the bay than are fishing vessels, for example, if for no other reason than the public relations problems that it would cause. As elaborated in the 1982 study, at least the oil companies at the Unalaska shore base are extremely aware of their public image in the community, and they do their best to keep a low profile and maintain an image of being responsible companies. This has changed somewhat since the closing of the facility in the community, however, in that many (three to five dozen) crates of drilling muds and other chemicals were left on the site. Many of the crates were left without lids, and bags of powdered material were ripped open, spilling their contents. The materials are further degrading by weathering and there is local concern that these industrial products, whose potential risk is unknown in the community, will get into Unalaska Bay, water from which is cycled through the seafood processing plants (Allen 1986, pers. comm.; Gibson 1986, pers. comm.).

It was hoped by some in the city that the oil companies would be good sources for financial support of local causes, but from all reports the oil companies were very straightforward about being around only a short while and not doing much in the community. According to one city official "they just aren't going to be around that long, and on every occasion told us not to expect very much from them. The only thing that we have received is a yearly donation of $250 from one of the oil companies, and we give that to the Jesse Lee Home to buy turkeys for the holidays for needy families."

According to many sources there wasn't much business in town generated by the oil companies, except through taxes from the 0S1 facility, The Ounalashka Corporation rented some trucks and equipment out, and there was some trade through the retail stores, but for the most part they brought in everything that they needed from outside of the community. A noted exception was a Canadian oil rig that came through town. According to one local merchant "when the American rigs were here, you would never know it. Their crews were restricted in their activities, and everything was brought in for them. The Canadians, on the other hand, got shore leave, shopped here, bought their supplies locally, and so on...when they were leaving I thanked them for their business, and they said that that was the way that they do things wherever they go."

Other Businesses

The Ounalashka Corporation has shifted its emphasis since the 1982 fieldwork. The Corporation has focussed on its real estate holdings and begun to reduce its involvement with other business ventures. According to one of the board members they have come "to realize we are a real estate company, and that is our business." Additionally, passive investments are being favored because, like other locally-based companies, the Ounalashka Corporation faces a shortage of managerial expertise. For example, during the 1986 fieldwork, the Corporation leased out the Amaknak Chevron station. While retaining ownership, it is in the form of a passive ownership while others run the station. There are a total of 269 shareholders in the Ounalashka Corporation. According to an informal count made by the corporation two years ago, there are 149 shareholders resident in the community. The Ounalashka Corporation did not pay dividends to shareholders in either 1985 or 1984.

The Aleut Corporation, the regional profit ANCSA corporation, has one remaining business interest in Unalaska, a sand and gravel operation. In 1986 the Aleut Corporation sold Panama Marine, a ship repair and support business located on Amaknak Island, which was formerly a wholly-owned subsidiary, to a private company. The American President Lines facility, formerly a joint venture of the Aleut and Ounalashka Corporations, is now wholly owned by the Ounalashka Corporation. In 1985 the Aleut Corporation paid a dividend of $1.10 per share, which was about equal to their annual average over the monitoring period.

Though the economy in the community in general has declined over the monitoring period, the largest retailer in the community reports growth in sales over the period, with a dip in 1985 followed by a recovery in 1986. Sales at different outlets are influenced by a variety of factors, not the least of which is the location within the community. For example, Carl's Commercial, the second largest retailer in the community, is located on the Unalaska side of the community, adjacent to the former Pan Alaska facility, which has the only dock facility adjacent to the downtown Unalaska area. When the Pan Alaska operation shut down, business at Carl's

declined significantly due to the loss of the market of processing workers at the plant, and the loss of market with the boat traffic at the dock, from the crews and from supplying the boats themselves.

The Alaska Commercial (AC) company relies strongly on maritime sales with the store manager estimating that currently (1986) approximately sixty percent of the business is from boats and the remaining forty percent is from local sales. During the time that the Offshore Systems, Inc. oil support facility was active in **Unalaska,** the AC did realize a significant amount of business from the facility and its boats. Other oil related revenues are derived directly from individual companies, one of which was worth approximately $150,000 to the store in 1985.

Table 19. Alaska Commercial Company, Dutch Harbor, Alaska
Total Store Sales: Percentage Increase or Decrease by Year

1981	Baseline
1982	**+10.3%**
1983	+21 .9%
1984	**+12.8%**
1985	-09.1%
1986	**+35.0%**

One of the things that the AC has going for it in its competition with the other retail merchants is its location with respect to other services in the community. Located in the commercial complex on the Amaknak Island side of the community, the AC has a close proximity to the bank, offices in the mall, the restaurant and bar, the liquor store, docks and the seafood companies. The location has helped the AC survive comparatively lean times. The growth rate of the store over the monitoring period is seen in Table 19.

Carl's Commercial Company basically competes for the same market as the Alaska Commercial store, and does somewhere less than half of the volume of the AC. For a brief period of time after the opening of the AC during the monitoring period there was an imbalance in the cash flow situation between the two stores as Carl's had a number of personal credit accounts, while the AC offered no such accounts. Carl's has since discontinued this practice and "modernized" its bookkeeping and accounting practices. Carl's was especially hard hit by the closure of Pan Alaska, but business has again picked up with the opening of **Alyeska** and now the processors themselves shop there, as do people off of the boats and for the boats. An estimated thirty percent of business comes from fishing boats and seventy percent from residents of the community, which reflects a drastic reversal in only a few years and is indicative of a decline in business, because the amount of shopping by the residents hasn't changed significantly. Carl's management reports that there was a significant amount of business from 0S1 and the boats that worked out of there. Another reported change in the business at Carl's is a drop in sales of luxury items, such as televisions, stereo systems, VCRs, or microwaves. Due to its location in downtown **Unalaska,** and the fact that the store owner is originally from the community, Carl's features a higher percentage of **Aleut** and other permanent resident customers than does the AC.

Transportation

During the monitoring period one of the most remarked upon changes, in terms of convenience to community residents, is the establishment of jet air service to Unalaska. Reeve Aleutian Airlines still serves the community with a prop YS-11, but the two airlines which added service to the community during the period, MarkAir and AirPac, used jets on scheduled flights (Boeing 737 and BA 146 jets respectively). Reeve has been serving the Aleutians since 1932, while AirPac added service in the early 1980s before discontinuing it in 1986. MarkAir has been serving the community since the summer of 1985. The two remaining carriers charge $341.00 one way to Anchorage and have a "supersaver" rate of $512.00 round trip.

Support Services

One of the major economic changes in the community over the period of 1980-1985 was the diversification of the economy with the growth of support sector businesses, that is, businesses that are not part of the fishery itself which was virtually the sole basis of the economy at the beginning of the monitoring period. Local officials see the community's as a regional supply, support, and shipping base continuing to increase. Several of these businesses are closely related to the fishery, such as marine electronics, while a number of others, such as cab companies, serve the population which increased as a response to the economic opportunities generated by the fishery.

Crowley Maritime added fuel services to its Captain's Bay facility in March of 1986, as a separate division under the name of Pacific Alaska Fuel Services. One of the Crowley companies, Aputco, still has the contract to move supplies by barge service to the military bases in western and northern Alaska. There is also a thirty-four room bunkhouse on site that Crowley opened in 1986. At $70 per day, lodging includes three meals prepared in the on-site cookhouse facility. (Cooking services are performed "on a contract basis by Boatel, which is one of the major contractors on the North Slope.) It is hoped that this facility will 'eventually serve a long-term tenant, like the oil companies, but for now it would be available to groups that come to work in the community, such as the BLM survey crew scheduled to work in Unalaska in the summer of 1986.

Crowley has oil spill containment gear available, and is consciously involved in the local economy, and when it is feasible, tries to buy locally. In the past year the superintendent estimates that they spent approximately $350,000 in the community, and in addition to direct economic support, Crowley sponsors a number of activities in the community as well, such as a donation in 1985 of scaffolding for the painting of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Underwater Construction is a company that has been around town for several years, but is enlarging its presence. A subsidiary company, Northern Offshore, bought the Pan Alaska pot dock in Captain's Bay, and plan to make it into an industrial park. The plan is to have waterfront access, machine shops, and so on, with hook-ups to water, sewer, and power. The company offices are in Anchorage now.

Petro Marine started in Unalaska in December of 1984. The primary business is the fueling of ocean vessels, but they have a delivery truck as well. With a storage capacity of 2.8 million gallons, Petro Marine handles both diesel and jet fuel. Additionally, they have a tank at the Captain's Bay 0S1 facility that has a

capacity a little under one million gallons, which during 1985 was only used by ARCO as the other oil companies barged their own in. Oil activity accounted for approximately five percent of Petro Marine's business in 1985.

Petro Marine is a subsidiary of Harbor Enterprises, which is a Seward-based company. In direct competition with the long-established Chevron facility, they had become the number one payer of sales tax in the Unalaska by FY85. Spin-off revenues have been generated by the facility as well. Several individuals and city officials noted the large numbers of foreign vessels and fishermen that have come into town, a relatively new phenomenon attributed to the low price of fuel offered by Petro Marine. These vessels and crews also buy other things while in port. (City officials report that Unalaska now has the lowest fuel prices in the Aleutian Chain.)

The Chevron facility was purchased by Delta Western, and it was due to be transferred in April of 1986. No major changes are planned for the operation, and it will remain a fuel dock. The facility has a storage capacity of approximately thirteen million gallons. Reportedly, Chevron did a significant amount of business from the oil activity early on, but when 0S1 put in a fuel facility business dropped off. Delta Western also bought the facilities that Chevron had in western Alaska, so those are still supplied through the Unalaska facility. That being the case, even if the business drops off a good deal locally, the local outlet will be in good shape. The vast majority of the business comes from the fishing fleet, and there are few foreign vessel who come into port currently.

Panama Marine, formerly a subsidiary of the Aleut Corporation, came to town during the monitoring period. A ship repair facility with a haul-out capacity, it is the only facility of its kind in this region of Alaska.

Shipping

American President Lines has seen a significant increase of business to Japan as the yen has gotten much stronger against the dollar, which has meant that it is cheaper for Japanese companies to ship on APL than it is to use their own ships. In February and March of 1986 about 120 containers per month went out, with the vast majority going to Japan with a very few to Korea. Another thing that has helped APL recently is that the foreign fishing fleet is virtually out of the black cod fishery. With ten to twelve boats in the domestic fleet fishing for black cod, there is a steady business of moving approximately ten to fifteen vans a month from them. There is very little business from bottomfish in Unalaska, as the best product is that which is processed the earliest. The way that that is being done now is there is a mother catcher-processor ship with fishing vessels working for it, often as a joint venture. Ultimately, overseas shipping business in Unalaska depends upon Japan, because they are the major buyers of the product.

Sea Land presently (March 1986) is shipping somewhere around eighty containers per month; approximately half of the shipping is domestic and half is export. There are wide fluctuations in the amount of business. The major change in the operation is that now they are using the APL crane facility for vessel loading and unloading.

There is still some momentum in Unalaska to get the community designated a Foreign Trade Zone in order to foster an economic sector that would more fully exploit Unalaska's economic potential as a commercial shipping and entry port. There

are somewhere between 380-400 foreign vessels in port each year, but there has been no success in this attempted status change to date. One recent (1986) development in this process is that the Municipality of Anchorage is planning to apply for a Foreign Trade Zone license, and Unalaska is to be included as a subzone on the application.

Economics and Household Structure

At the time of the Unalaska field study in 1982, a problem considered to be one of the most acute facing the community was a housing shortage. There has been a sharp drop in demand since that time, due in part to housing construction, but due much more to the population decline in the community. In 1982, for example, the waiting list to get in rental housing on Standard Oil Hill was approximately four months long. In February of 1986, of the sixty-three units available, thirty-eight were rented.

The cost of housing construction has remained high. According to an off icial at the local bank, new houses, which are typically in the 12-1300 square foot range, are selling between $100,000 and $135,000. Some of the existing houses have sold in the $80,000 range, while the most expensive houses that have changed hands or are on the market are right around $180,000. The housing market has been slow, with only one or two houses having been built per year for the past three years. During 1984 there were no new homes built, and four or five sales of existing homes. During 1985 there were two new housing starts, and a total of four home loans in town.

The largest supplier of rental housing in the community is the Ounalashka Corporation, and the largest concentration of its rental units is on Standard Oil Hill. Most of the rentals are duplex units, which have two bedrooms and rent for $579/month, or $748/month with oil furnished (as of March 1986). There are five double units available as well, which have five bedrooms, and rent for $1079.50/month.

The Ounalashka Corporation also rents land for housing in the Ski Bowl and Strawberry Hill neighborhood areas. Rent on these lots is at $153.00/month, which has remained stable since the last field period in 1982.

As of March 1986 some of the basic household expenses were as follows: Water service to a residence cost $18.75 per month (businesses are metered). Electricity costs 9.5 cents per kilowatt for the first 750kw; thirty cents/kw over 750, Garbage collection costs $12 per month per residence. Sewer rates for the system still under construction have not been established. Fuel oil for heating is available at $1.19 per gallon.

Income and Transfer Payments

The Unalaska Aleut Development Corporation (UADC) is the local non-profit Aleut village corporation of Unalaska. The UADCS role has changed over the monitoring period, and is moving toward being a support network or informal social service provider for the Aleut community. Presently the UADC provides such services as informal day-to-day help with elders, food and clothing for needy families, and assistance with medical and education problems.

Formally, the UADC is the conduit for Native funding from various government agencies and is recognized by most institutions, with the notable exception of the Ounalashka Corporation, as the tribal entity for Unalaska. The UADC administers the JOM funds for Aleut arts and crafts skills that are taught through the school, and provides preschool tuition for Aleut children, along with some travel money for preschool teacher training. The UADC is also involved with obtaining funding, labor, and materials for two architectural/cultural projects in Unalaska: the renovation of the Bishop's House which is to become a museum, and the continuing renovation of the Russian Orthodox church. Neither of these renovation projects were active at the time of fieldwork in 1986, however.

The UADC has not been a stable entity over the monitoring period, which several changes in leadership. The UADC was entirely inoperative from January through May 1985, at which time three individuals took it upon themselves to start it up again. Once restarted, the UADC reestablished the weekly community bingo game that it had sponsored before its shutdown. Importantly, bingo is one of the few secular public activities that is attended primarily by the Aleut residents of Unalaska. Plans for the immediate future include fund raising and exploration of different ways to secure more employment for Natives. The UADC does not have an active working relationship with the regional A/PIA, which many locals feel is more oriented toward St. Paul and St. George than they are toward Unalaska.

The UADC may also get involved with the Docket 369 money, the non-Pribilof Aleuts equivalent of the "corned beef" money. (The "corned beef" money is discussed in the chapter on the community of St. Paul.) Docket 369 is a part of a settlement of a complex and long-standing lawsuit against the federal government. In an out-of-court settlement, $2.5 million was awarded to the nine villages in the region (those" in the Aleutians, but excluding the Pribilofs, because those were covered in the "corned beef" settlement). The money has not yet been divided between the villages, and the way it stands now, it appears that the money will be divided based on the population of the villages. Unalaska has proposed that the money be evenly split between the villages; otherwise the small communities will not have a large enough amount to do anything significant for their communities. The A/PIA is going to be in charge of the administration of the World War 11 reparations settlement, though the details are yet to be worked out.

The UADC director is also the fee agent (facilitator for government assistance programs) for Unalaska. The UADC had been handling those functions through their office for about five weeks prior to the fieldwork (March 1986). Due to the shift in personnel, the records are not exact for the ongoing cases in the community, but it is the estimate of the fee agent that there are approximately ten families using food stamps, and there are approximately six individuals who are receiving state aid for the blind or disabled. There are two state programs for energy assistance, and there are between thirty and forty households utilizing one or the other of these. It is also estimated that there are approximately twelve users of AFDC. There are several medicare/medicaid users in Unalaska as well that UADC assists, along with helping individuals obtain social security benefits. The UADC has come to act as an information resource for Unalaska residents in all matters related to these various programs.

The health and social welfare of Unalaska residents has undergone many changes during the past six years. On the one hand, the economic downturn has taken its toll on the community's mental and physical health, and there has been a noticeable increase in stress-related disorders, cases of domestic violence, and alcohol-related illnesses and criminal activities. On the other hand, improvements in the community organizations responsible for dealing with health and social welfare, combined with the decline in the transient population, have actually improved the quality of life in the community, as reflected in the overall decline in crime rates and morbidity and mortality indices. After experiencing a period of low morale, the Department of Public Safety has begun to assert itself, proving itself to be a valuable part of the community's mechanisms for social control. New community-based organizations are beginning to emerge which are concerned with local social problems and how to provide needed services to local residents. Improvements in the local health care system have had a measurable impact on the availability of health care in the community, whereas previously patients traveled elsewhere for such care. Thus, while the health and social welfare system of Unalaska has suffered some of the ill effects of an economic decline, it has also experienced a reorganization and expansion which partially offset those ill effects.

Social Welfare

Public Safety

The structure of law enforcement in Unalaska has changed markedly over the 1980-85 period. In 1980 the Unalaska Police Department had eight police officers, four dispatchers, and one administrative assistant. In 1986 the staff still totaled thirteen, but was comprised of the department chief, two lieutenants, five public safety officers, four communications and corrections personnel, and one administrative assistant. However, there were several significant changes in the organization of law enforcement and public safety in Unalaska during the intervening years. In July 1981 the Unalaska Department of Public Safety was created and police officers took on firefighting and emergency medical service duties in addition to their law enforcement duties. At this point the Public Safety Officers (PSOs) became the core of the (formerly all-volunteer) Fire Department and Emergency Medical Services (EMS) for Unalaska. Out of a total of sixteen personnel, fourteen were Public Safety Officers.

During 1983-1984 departmental morale was at an all-time low. In addition to internal problems, community relations were considered poor and a substantial number of residents were dissatisfied with the department. As a result, most of the officers resigned, which had a significant impact on the department's firefighting and emergency medical service capabilities as well as on law enforcement. At one point Unalaska had only four or five active Emergency Medical Technicians (EMTs) out of eighty-four individuals who were trained as EMTs in 1981. Similarly, the fire division was reduced to seven volunteers. Only three of the Public Safety Officers from this period remain in the department. In 1984 the department underwent an almost complete turnover of personnel. However, all but one of the individuals hired after this upheaval have remained with the department.

After an internal labor dispute, and with the hiring of the current chief in 1984, the department has regained its "public safety" image. However, the public safety officers now volunteer their time for EMS and firefighting work; it is no longer part of their job. All of the current PSOS are trained as EMTs and several are trained as firefighters as well. The lieutenant in charge of the Fire Division is the only paid member of the fire department, which has a staff of twenty volunteers. The volunteer coordinator of the Emergency Medical Services is the city planner, who supervises eighteen to twenty volunteers.

The attitude of the community toward the Department of Public Safety has changed dramatically over the past few years. This may be attributed to several factors. First, some of the more vocal opponents of the department have left Unalaska. Second, the community itself has changed and become more stable. Third, as both the community and the department have become better acquainted, feelings of hostility, suspicion, and mistrust have diminished. Fourth, the department has reorganized, is smaller, and reflects the non-confrontational style of the present chief. Senior staff who have been with the department for several years have observed that they no longer get any criticism from the city council, and public complaints are now rare.

Department morale has also improved during the past few years for a number of reasons. Participation in the fire department and the ambulance service is now on a strictly voluntary basis and is clearly understood as such. Public Safety Officers now receive overtime pay for police call-outs during off-duty time, with an automatic minimum of two hours pay per call-out. Relations between administration and staff of the department have improved to the point where, according to a senior administrator, staff members often no longer even put in for the overtime pay if call-outs turn out to be brief. Moreover, the staff are now better trained than they were a few years ago. During the period of low morale from 1983 to 1984, none of the staff was sent outside of the community for any specialized training. The policy of sending PSOs for training has since been reinstituted and has given quite a boost to department morale.

Paralleling the changes in the community in general and the Department of Public Safety in particular, Unalaska has also experienced a decline in the number of episodes requiring the assistance of the department. Table 20 shows the number of calls involving police cases or emergency services in the community between 1980 and 1986. The decline in these incidents may be attributed to several factors. Particularly noteworthy has been the decline in services offered by the department due to the decline in morale and personnel during this period. Not only have the number of public safety officers declined but the hours of coverage by PSOs have also been reduced. The chief believes that, because there is little crime in the community, adequate coverage can be achieved without having an officer on duty during the two daily slow periods between 5 a.m. and 9 a.m., and between 5 p.m. and 8 p.m. The communications/corrections desk is staffed twenty-four hours a day, and when no Public Safety Officers are on regular duty, officers are always on call.

Changes in department policy are also reflected in the number of police cases recorded in 1984. In that year there was a policy change on the assignation of case numbers, which resulted in fewer case numbers being assigned, as incidents that would have qualified for a case number in the past no longer do "so. In addition,

according to senior staff, during the first four months of the year there were fewer cases written than usual because of morale problems and loss of personnel (for several months there were only three officers). It is the opinion of senior staff that from 1983 to 1985 there would have been an increase in solid cases seen if the case assignation policy had been consistent.

Table 20. **Unalaska** Emergency Services, 1980-1986

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986*
Fire **Calls**	54	48	53	N/A	46	33	N/A
Emergency Medical Calls	296	207	239	N/A	240	152	N/A
Police Cases	N/A	758	600	396	326	415	326

* through March only.

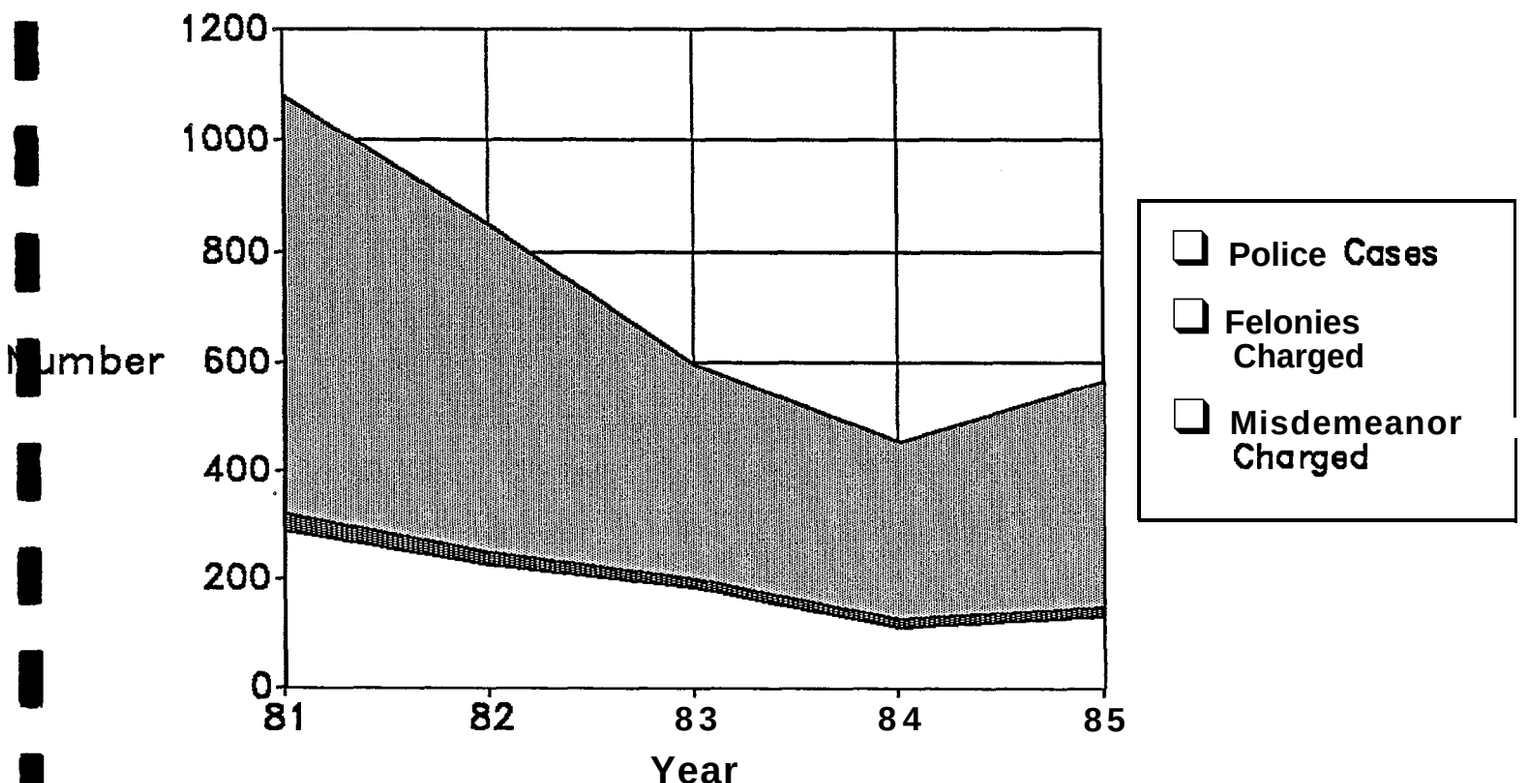
Source: **Unalaska** Department of Public Safety Case Files and Annual Reports

Finally, the decline in the number of personnel available for law enforcement may have accounted for the gradual decline in the number of cases **filed** in the **Unalaska** court, as indicated in **Table** 21, This decline may also be attributed to the decline in the transient population associated with the commercial fisheries. However, the jump in cases in 1985 after the turnover in personnel and additions to staff had been completed suggests that changes within the department itself may have had a greater influence on the rates of criminal activity and episodes requiring police, fire, or emergency medical services. Combined **Unalaska** crime indices for the monitoring period. are depicted in Figure 3.

The department believes that a new police station and **jail** facilities are essential to the public safety needs of the community, but such plans are not expected to be given the go-ahead in the near future because of the budget cutback. The days of large equipment purchases are over as well. Six of the eight patrol cars currently used by the department are 1981 model vehicles.

While the department's area of operation has expanded with the new city limits, this is not expected to cause a significant increase in work load because virtually all of the newly annexed area is uninhabited. The department has recently been brought up to date by the addition of a computer, which allows **Unalaska** to tie into data banks from other departments on a state and national level and to retrieve information very quickly. This has already proved valuable, given the transient nature of **Unalaska's** population. The major change in the focus of the department that has come about under the current chief is a new emphasis on emergency management and planning for natural disasters, such as an earthquake or a tsunami.

Figure 3
Unalaska Crime Indices: 1981–1985



(Impact Assessment, Inc., 1987)

Table 21. **Unalaska** Court Cases Filed, 1980-1985

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Criminal Cases						
Misdemeanors						
Assault		35	21	21	17	28
D WI		37	33	23	19	24
Other		218	173	142	78	81
Total Misdemeanors	N/A	290	227	186	114	133
Felonies*						
Controlled Substance		6	4	1	1	2
Sexual Assault/Attempted SA		3	4	2	1	0
Sexual Abuse of a Minor		o	0	0	0	1
Kidnaping		0	0	0	1	0
Assault/Attempted Assault		8	4	5	5	3
Manslaughter		1	1	0	0	0
Criminal Neglig Homicide		1	0	0	0	0
Misconduct with Weapons		0	0	0	2	1
Forgery/Bad Check		0	1	0	0	3
Theft		4	2	2	1	6
Burglary		5	4	3	3	2
Criminal Mischief		5	4	2	1	2
Other		0	0	2	0	0
Total Felonies	N/A	33	24	17	15	20
Total Criminal Cases	369	323	251	203	131	153
Total Civil Cases	27	100	108	116	75	104
Total Traffic Cases	N/A	190	N/A	83	141	115

Source: **Unalaska** District Court Yearly Case Books

* It should be noted that a significant number of the crimes charged as misdemeanors in **Unalaska** would conceivably have been charged as felonies in an urban center. Being a remote community, felony charges are much more expensive to prosecute, so there is considerable incentive to charge a crime as a misdemeanor whenever possible.

Social Services

Unalaska's social services have expanded considerably between 1980 and 1985. During this period the state Department of Health and Social Services, Division of Family and Youth Services has been represented in the community by a social worker who. also has regional responsibilities. Additionally, the state is now (March 1986) in the process of hiring an individual for a new position in Unalaska. This will be a Program Services Aide, a half-time position focusing on juveniles. This employee will take on an advocacy/intervention role and will also be involved in probation cases, working with the Department of Public Safety, the court, and the school in that capacity.

Several programs were introduced to the community during 1980-1985. In October 1982 the Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association established the Aleutian Counseling Center in Unalaska, staffed by a clinical psychologist who provides services to the entire Aleutian/Pribilof Islands region. Prior to its establishment no mental health services were available in the region. Funding for the center is provided by the state through the A/PIA, in addition to a grant from the City of Unalaska. The psychologist serves as a consultant to several local boards, receives referrals from local employers who send their employees for care, and works closely with the Department of Public Safety and the state social worker. The psychologist also has a contract with the Unalaska School to provide services one day a week.

On the regional level the psychologist provides "the barest minimum of services" for the other communities. This is largely confined to giving workshops, and to advising Public Safety Officers, clinics, and city administrators in the event of a psychiatric emergency. However, at the very least, this service provides a contact, "a person they can talk to, a resource that they can call on when they don't know how to handle the situation." Among other things, workshops are held on stress, depression, and parenting effectiveness. With an A/PIA grant for substance abuse prevention a "Natural Helpers" program was initiated to teach adolescents from the different communities basic counseling skills, with a focus on self-awareness, communication skills, and problem solving.

Most of the clients seen at the counseling center are local residents. According to the psychologist, transients in the community seem to cope with their problems by immersing themselves in physical or work involvement rather than by seeking counseling. There also appears to be fewer problems of emotional adjustment among transients than in the past because businesses are taking greater care in screening prospective employees prior to their arrival in Unalaska. It is far too expensive to bring people all the way to Unalaska and then have them not work out. Besides the transients, the counseling center clients come from all social and economic classes of the community.

In other small communities throughout the region, residents are reluctant to utilize these and similar counseling and referral services because of the social stigma associated with particular problems and with seeking assistance outside the kin group. Moreover, in small communities with extensive social ties it is difficult to maintain a professional degree of confidentiality. In Unalaska, however, this is less of a problem because of its relatively large population in comparison with other Aleutian communities, its greater number of relatively autonomous social networks, and greater number of transients lacking long-term social ties to the community.

Nevertheless, compared to the region's bigger communities, the possibility of maintaining a client's anonymity is slight, especially among the long-term residents, which makes it difficult for people to come forward for assistance.

The counseling center is planning to expand in the immediate future (1986) by adding a position in alcohol education and abuse prevention. Several years ago Unalaska had an alcohol treatment program, but that type of program is not being contemplated at this point. Given the prohibitive expense of a detoxification and treatment program, a prevention program is considered the next most effective means of addressing what is perceived to be a widespread problem.

Another social service entity that has come to Unalaska during the 1980-85 period is the Unalaskans Against Sexual Assault and Family Violence (USAFV). In contrast to the other social service entities in the community which. were established by outside agencies, USAFV was started entirely at the community level and has enjoyed greater community input than the two programs discussed above. It continues to enjoy solid support.

USAFV was organized in. the summer of 1981 in response to a relatively large number of rape cases at that time and the lack of a support group for victims. The group started with organizational assistance from another group, Standing Together Against Rape (STAR), from Anchorage. USAFV then combined with, and took over the function of, a previously existing group known as the Domestic Violence Council.

Funds for USAFV come from fund-raisers at most of the community events, in addition to the state funding received in 1984, 1985, and 1986. More than $3,000 was collected by the group at one recent fund-raiser, The group also receives a small subsidy from the city, together with some funding for travel from the Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association.

USAFV focuses on education at the school, where it is involved with the issues of child abuse and children's safety. It has also provided safe houses for local residents, counseling and referral services, and a three-digit crisis telephone line. Five volunteer advocates currently staff the crisis line and provide safe homes, two of whom have been with the group since its inception. Plans are afoot to expand services such as the in-school programming for teenagers.

With the decline in the commercial fishing industry and the presence of fewer transients in the community, Unalaska's social service needs have shifted from sexual assault to domestic violence and child abuse. The group has provided safe houses since 1984, and, as a result, the number of battered children in the community has apparently declined in the past few years. As part of this program, USAFV has been involved with the school in training teachers to spot battered children and to make them sensitive to the problem. Virtually all of the cases of family violence and abuse appear to be alcohol-related.

USAFV plans to expand its services in the fall of 1986 with a program on problems of women in rural Alaska. It is thought that this program could possibly lead to the establishment of a women's resource center.

In addition to Unalaska's formal social service groups, the minister of the Unalaska Christian Fellowship and several members of his congregation are involved with counseling and providing shelter. Typically these services are for people who come to the church, but there are also referrals from the social service agencies,

the Department of Public Safety, and individuals. One of the major changes noted by virtually everyone connected with social services has been the improvement in the lines of communication between the several service providers in the past few years. For example, the state social worker works closely with the USAFV group, the Department of Public Safety, and the clinical psychologist. USAFV has organized an annual meeting of all the representatives of community service organizations in Unalaska for the purpose of identifying the range of services available. Channel 8 (the local TV station) has been cooperating with USAFV in airing requested assault and violence programming, and USAFV is working with the city Department of Parks, Culture and Recreation (PCR). PCR runs a children's karate class, and is considering having a women's defense class in the future.

With the formation of USAFV and the Aleutian Counseling Center, management of the health needs of the community is moving away from the city government and into the hands of other entities. The community clinic is also an independent operation. During the fieldwork period (March 1986) a meeting was called by the city manager to discuss the possible dissolution of the City Health and Human Services Board because the city administration had the impression that the board was no longer active, and that possibly the health needs of the community were being served by other entities already in place. No decision was reached, although there was a general consensus that no major needs were unmet at this time. However, there was disagreement over whether a city board would be needed to oversee the various groups in the future.

A substantial number of residents believe that child-care is one area in which Unalaska is lacking. No support group exists for single or working mothers and no form of day care exists, which poses problems for many, especially those who are not permanent residents and who do not have the support of extensive kinship and long-term friendship ties in Unalaska.

Health and Physical Well-Being

The health clinic in Unalaska is run by Iliuliuk Family and Health Services, Inc., a private non-profit corporation. The level of care available in Unalaska has changed between 1980 and 1985 in several areas, including the qualifications of its health care professionals, the equipment available at the clinic, and community involvement with the health care system.

The most significant change was the addition of the community's first full-time physician to the clinic staff in 1982. Prior to this, primary care was provided by registered nurses and physician's assistants. Since March 1986 the clinic staff has consisted of a medical doctor (a family practitioner), a registered nurse, a lab and X-ray technician, a financial manager, and a receptionist/billing clerk.

The clinic consists of an emergency room, an X-ray and dark room, a lab, a three-bed stabilization room, three examination rooms, a specialty clinic, a sterilization room, a kitchen/storage area, and four offices. In 1985 the clinic was equipped to administer blood transfusions.

There are no plans to expand the clinic in the immediate future, nor have any been contemplated since the physician was hired, his salary being deemed a more appropriate use of limited funds than the purchase of new equipment. One piece of equipment that the clinic staff would like is a blood chemistry unit, as all blood

tests are currently sent to Anchorage. It is thought that fund-raising for such a piece of equipment would be difficult because in the past all funds raised have been put toward the purchase of items directly involved with emergency life support.

Patients with serious injuries and illnesses are evacuated to Anchorage. The cost of a "medivac" on a regularly scheduled flight (on MarkAir) is $2,387; the patient has to buy seven seats at the regular $341 per seat price. In an emergency, Medivacs can be chartered on Aleutian Air, which can deliver a patient to Cold Bay in about one hour. One of the changes over the five-year period is that with two additional scheduled air carriers flying into the community, the airlines have eased their restrictions on allowing pregnant women to travel and will now take pregnant women as passengers on regular flights until three weeks before their due date.

Funding for the clinic comes directly from patient fees. There is a grant in kind from the city for utilities, and the Ounalashka Corporation gives a $356 grant in kind per month in the form of rent. The clinic, because of its financial health, receives no state funding. Additional revenue comes from the Indian Health Service to provide health care for Natives not covered by insurance or medicare.

Maternity services were the most significant addition to the services offered by the clinic during 1980-85. Prior to the arrival of a physician in 1982, virtually all children were delivered outside the community. In 1985 six women under prenatal care at the clinic chose to give birth to their children outside the community, while seven gave birth in Unalaska. In 1986, however, the clinic had a change in policy and discontinued delivering children in the community, except on an emergency basis, due to high insurance costs. Another type of care that has changed during the monitoring period is the level of preventive care. In 1985 five individuals were given annual physical examinations, whereas in the past the clinic was used almost exclusively for the treatment of injury or illness,

As indicated by the figures in Table 22, the level of use of the clinic has shown a slight decline during the 1981-85 period. The clinic does not keep extensive records on types of illness or demographics of its patients. Beyond the confidential patient records, the only level of use figures available are the number of patient encounters obtained from billing forms, which are estimated to be accurate within five percent.

Table 22. Unalaska Clinic Patient Encounters, 1981-1985

1981	4,932	(Apr through Dec only)
1982	5,982	
1983	5,845	
1984	5,612	
1985	5,561	

Source: Iliuliuk Family and Health Services

Morbidity statistics are not compiled by the clinic. Nevertheless, accidental injury and physical trauma, much of which is alcohol-related, are perceived to have been major health problems in Unalaska throughout the past six years. Upper respiratory infections are perhaps more common in Unalaska than in other populations. Since only a handful of people in the community are over sixty and all are in relatively good health, illnesses associated with old age are uncommon.

According to the clinic staff, there are no distinct patterns of illness between the resident and transient populations who use the clinic. However, transient workers attend the clinic frequently and account for a disproportionate number of the injuries that are seen there. All manner of injuries are sustained when the floating processors come into town, and there are quite a few smashed fingers and cracked ribs from crab pot injuries on the fishing boats as well. With the decline in commercial production and the reduction in the transient workforce at the shore plants, there has been a sharp decrease in the number of transients injured on shore. The gradual decline of three-wheelers in the community has also contributed to the reduction in the rates of accidental injury. In 1981 there were eight major three-wheeler accidents, all of which ended up with the victims being Medivaced to hospital facilities outside the community. These were fishermen who would borrow someone's three-wheeler and crack it up on the beach. Since the vehicles have been outlawed on the streets, the clinic has not seen a major three-wheeler or motorcycle accident. Neither have there been any car accident injuries in recent years.

The available statistics on deaths in Unalaska do not accurately reflect rates of mortality among the local population. With the exception of the Aleuts, few old people remain in the community; if they are in failing health, their deaths would occur outside of the community. A considerable number of non-residents show up in the coroner's reports, usually the victims of disasters at sea. As reflected in Table 23, most of the deaths which occur in or near Unalaska are accounted for by non-residents. In 1983 there was a significant increase in the number of recorded deaths in Unalaska compared to the previous year. However, this increase was accounted for entirely by non-residents.

Table 23. Coroner's Cases in Unalaska

Year	Total	Identified as Local Resident
1980	17	3
1981	16	3
1982	11	6
1983	28	4
1984	22	1
1985	20	5

Source: Unalaska District Court Case Records, Identification by Clinic and Department of Public Safety

During 1985 five deaths of local residents were recorded in Unalaska's coroner's reports. Of these, four were Aleuts. Four of the deaths were directly related to alcohol, including one suicide. There were no "industrial" or work-related deaths. To date in 1986 (March) one local resident has died, in this case a suicide that occurred in the community. Additionally, there was one person who was under medical care in Unalaska but whose condition deteriorated to the point where local care was inadequate; this individual died outside the community.

EDUCATION

During the 1980-85 period a number of important changes took place in Unalaska's educational institutions. During the crab boom years of the late 1970s, the educational system underwent a period of considerable expansion in enrollments, facilities, services, and personnel. The influx of new residents and transients meant that there was a larger population of children to be educated and new services provided for long-term residents. Funding was increased to provide new facilities at the Unalaska School, and programs were developed for preschool and post-secondary education. When the crab boom came to an end, the process of expansion continued for a few more years. Then, because of the decline in state and local revenues, the process of expansion came to a halt, and greater emphasis was placed on fiscal management and on adapting to a period of diminishing resources.

A community-wide debate over the role of education in Unalaska also occurred during the monitoring period. Traditionally, the essentially Euro-American school system has emphasized vocational education in an attempt to make itself relevant to the needs of the community. This attempt was also reflected in the development of courses in Aleut language and cultural traditions. Although important, academic excellence was less of a concern because of the relatively few numbers of students intent on leaving the community to attend college or technical school. With the decline in the local economy, however, pursuit of a post-secondary education has become a more viable and important alternative. Thus, today, greater emphasis is placed on academic excellence and on preparing students for college than was the case six years ago.

Another issue related to the role of education in the community which has assumed greater importance during the past six years has been created by the different educational needs of the long-term residents and the transient processing workforce. Given that the educational institutions have moved into a period of diminishing resources, decisions must be made as to how best allocate these resources so that the educational needs of the entire community may be met. Unfortunately, none of these decisions are easy ones, and all hold the potential for community conflict.

Preschool

The Unalaska-Dutch Harbor Cooperative Preschool has been operating in the community for four years. The preschool opened in the fall of 1982 in the wake of a pilot program held earlier that spring. It is organized as a parents cooperative and funded by tuition payments and community donations. The city has provided a $3,000 contingency fund for teachers' salaries which to date has not been used.

the city appropriations for the school. With the decline in the city budget, appropriations have decreased dramatically. The proportion of the City's share of school revenues declined from a nigh of $170,000, or fourteen percent of the total budget in 1980, to $0 (zero) in 1986. Likewise, total revenues have begun to fall off significantly in the past few years, reflecting the decline in available state as well as municipal funds. The Unalaska City School budget for FY87 projects $1.5 million in revenues.

In view of the recent budget crunch the operation of the school swimming pool has become a issue of primary concern. It is the opinion of several members of the school board that the school should either hand over the operation of the pool to the city or close it because it is is regarded as simply too expensive to operate given the amount of money available. Moreover, it is the perception of the board members that the pool serves the community at large more than it does the school. This perception is also shared by several members of the city council and much of the community at large. Other measures being contemplated to reduce expenses include the reduction of the teaching staff by one or two positions. The school board also plans to purchase no new textbooks this year, or much of anything else, although this is not considered a hardship because the school is regarded as being well supplied from the good years.

According to the president of the school board, the budget crunch will probably be good for the school in the long run because it is forcing the community in general and board members in particular to examine priorities and to evaluate how efficiently resources are being used. He also noted that even with the cutbacks, compared to other school districts in the country, Unalaska still has a lot of money per student and a very favorable student to teacher ratio.

Post-Secondary/Adult Education

There are a number of educational opportunities available to Unalaskans beyond those offered in high school. These include classes offered by the University of Alaska Rural Education Center, adult education programs run through independent entities, and classes offered by the City's Department of Parks, Culture and Recreation.

The University of Alaska Rural Education Center was established in the community in 1978 and has proven to be a popular success. The center also started providing services to the community of Akutan in 1984. The program provides local residents with the opportunity of earning an Associate of Arts degree. Courses offered this past year (1985) in Unalaska included accounting, skin "sewing, aviation, anthropology, natural history, computer applications, cooking, emergency medicine, recreation, music, language, theater, mathematics, theater, lifesaving, prenatal care, writing, psychology, and several others.

The University works closely with the Department of Parks, Culture, and Recreation, and offers non-credit courses through that department, as well as through the Aleutian Arts Council. Being an isolated community, each of these groups share instructors/performers and other resources. If one group brings someone into the community, the others usually share the cost and in return benefit by having access to the visiting individual.

Through the local director the university offers other informal services. In addition to offering classes, the director counsels people working on AA degrees, assists in filling out educational forms, student loan papers, and applications to universities or colleges, and also does a little career counseling. The director's office also serves as a clearing house for educational information.

In 1981 Unalaska began to offer adult education programs. These are funded by the state and the A/PIA, and include an Adult Basic Education (ABE) program, a GED program, and an English as a Second Language (ESL) program. The ESL courses are often held at seafood processing companies, as virtually all of the students who take these courses are processing workers who live as well as work at the plant site.

A wide range of classes is offered by the Unalaska Department of Parks, Culture and Recreation (PCR), including cooking, art, dancing, sports, finance, crafts, computers, music, exercise, and various recreational pursuits. In addition to sponsoring classes and special events (such as sports tournaments and community festivals), PCR sponsors a variety of ongoing activities, from summer day camps for children to movies for the community.

Enrollment

There are eighteen preschool students enrolled in two classes for the 1985-86 school year, eleven in the class for four-year olds and seven in the class for three-year olds. Over the four years of operation, the average enrollment has been ten students in each class per year.

Attendance figures for the Unalaska City School over the 1980-85 monitoring period are provided in Table 24. School enrollment peaked at 195 students in fiscal year 1981. The decline since 1981 reflects the population decline associated with the downturn in the local commercial economy. This downward trend appears to have leveled off in the past few years, however, and increased enrollment is projected for the coming school year. Nevertheless, according to the superintendent, although

Table 24. Unalaska City School Average Daily Attendance, 1979-1987

1979	158	
1980	162	
1981	195	
1982	190	
1983	175	
1984	152	
1985	135	
1986	138	(Estimated)
1987	145	(Projected)

Source: Unalaska City School

Unalaska has a smaller transient population than it used to, it is still very transient when compared to similar sized communities in the lower 48 states. In the past eighteen months approximately thirty families with children have left Unalaska. The total enrollment figures do not reflect the extent of this transiency, however, because other families have moved in during the same period.

Student enrollment in the University of Alaska Rural Education Center for the 1985 winter/spring semester was 126, with an additional forty students enrolled in non-credit courses. For the 1985 summer/fall semester ninety-two students enrolled in credit courses and five enrolled in non-credit courses. The student population reflects the population of the community at large with respect to ethnic composition, with approximately twenty percent of the students being Aleut. According to the local director, nine or ten students are working on AA degrees, and the rest are taking classes for either job skill training or for fun.

Courses offered by the Unalaska Department of Parks, Culture, and Recreation are also well attended, as indicated by the figures in Table 25.

Table 25. **Unalaska** Department of Parks, Culture and Recreation Attendance Figures

Period	Avg Attendance Special Events	n	Avg Attendance Classes	n
Jan-Jun 1982	55.4	30	NA	NA
Jul-Dec 1982	133.7	22	NA	NA
Jan-Jun 1983	78.6	32	NA	NA
Jul-Dec 1983	91.6	30	NA	NA
Jan-Jun 1984	96.8	19	11.6	NA
Jul-Dec 1984	109.6	21	8.8	11
Jan-Jun 1985	133.0	11	7.0	10
Jul-Dec 1985	114.0	11	7.7	20

Source: PCR Records

Although there are notable exceptions, according to the administration, parents do not get very involved with the school, and no parent-teacher or similar associations exist. Not surprisingly the children are regarded as "the best part of the school." In the past two years there has been only one case of vandalism, there have been no fights, and only two small problems with drugs. According to the superintendent, there are no identifiable cliques at the high school and everyone gets along with everyone else. Approximately three students per year drop out of school, either because of an unplanned pregnancy or because of disciplinary problems.

Unlike some other communities in the Aleutians/Pribilof Islands region, most children enter the educational system with a satisfactory command of the English language. Although a bilingual educational program is offered for Aleut students, the community has relatively few native Aleut speakers and educating Aleut-speaking children is not a problem. However, several Unalaska students are bilingual in languages other than Aleut. The ethnic composition of the school population is changing, and in the coming school year (1986-87) the school is expecting five Japanese children in grades K through two whose families are connected with the' surimi plants. Students of foreign origin are not new to Unalaska, however. In the recent past the school has taught several Polish children, and currently has two Vietnamese high school students enrolled who work with the bilingual instructor.

There are indications that the student population is becoming more academically oriented in its post-high school goals. Although to date only one student from Unalaska has completed a four-year college program, from the 1985 class of seven graduating seniors, three have gone on to a four-year college. Out of the 1986 class of eight or nine, four or five have applied to four-year schools. A few students have gone on to vocational training, and several others have gone on to two-year programs. As noted in the introduction to this section, because of the decline in the commercial fishery in the region, post-secondary education has assumed a greater importance as a means of securing employment both within and outside the community.

As noted in the introduction to this section, one of the major issues surrounding the provision of formal education in Unalaska has been whether or not all segments of the community are adequately served by the school district. Although classes are offered in bilingual and bicultural education, and two of the most respected Aleut leaders of the community serve as part-time teachers, there is a perception that the Unalaska school reflects Euro-American middle class culture and its classes are often irrelevant to the needs of the Aleut community. Because of this, parental participation in school activities by many of the long-term Aleut residents of the community has been minimal. This is in spite of the fact that Aleuts constitute a more stable element of school enrollment. Ray Hudson, a teacher at the Unalaska school, wrote a paper in 1983 which argued the case for inclusion of Aleut studies in the curriculum of the school district. In this paper he examined the composition of six twelfth grade high school classes between 1977-78 and 1982-83. The paper reveals that 41.3 percent of the students in these classes spent half or more of their junior and senior high school careers in Unalaska, but that only 16.8 percent of the seniors spent all six high school years in the district. There was a sharp difference in the stability of Aleut and non-Aleut school populations. Out of a possible maximum of six years, Aleut students spent an average of 4.25 years in the school district, while non-Aleut students spent an average of only 2.28 years in the district. Aleut students, who comprised 38.2 percent of the high school population during this time period, accounted for a total of sixty-three percent of the student years over the course of the six years.

Hudson also found that over this same time period the elementary school population was less stable than the high school population. Nineteen percent of the students spent at least half of their seven-year elementary education in Unalaska; only 9.8 percent attended all of the grades K through six in the school. During this time period the sixth grade class of 1980-1981 was the most transient, with 90.4 percent of the students having spent three years or less in the district. Nineteen

percent of the 139 students attending grades K through six over this time period were Aleut. However, Aleut students attended the Unalaska school for an average of 5.7 out of 7.0 elementary years; non-Aleut students attended only an average of 2.0 years.

Therefore, from 1973 to 1983, Aleut students accounted for twenty-five percent of the student body of the Unalaska City School. Although they were in the minority in almost all of the classes, nearly seventy-five percent of the long-term students (six or more years in the school) were Aleut.

In addition to the transient lifestyles of a large segment of the population, the role of the school is also defined by the remoteness of Unalaska, which in turn influences parental attitudes toward formal education in general and the school in particular. According to the superintendent, "one of the strange things about this school is that the parents think nothing of taking their kids outside during the school year--even for a month or six weeks." Long vacations during the winter are common, and are attributed to "cabin fever." At the time of the fieldwork (March 1986) seven or eight students were outside of the community with their parents. Because of these attitudes, parents are not especially active in school activities and the educational progress of students is often disrupted.

The objectives of the school vary according to the composition of the school board. The superintendent of the school says that there is currently an increased emphasis on academics, representing a shift away from the traditional emphasis on vocational education programs. However, it is unclear whether the shift will be temporary or long-term.

No records are kept locally of standardized test scores to measure student performance, although there are plans to begin such testing in the 1986-87 school year. The school board is seeking more accountability for the performance of the school administration and staff, and standardized testing is one possible measure of that.

One indication of a high level of morale despite the decline in revenues and other resources has been the relatively low rate of teacher turnover. Only two of the teachers are non-tenured (having been in the district for less than three years). The turnover rate can be largely accounted for by one position -- there has been a new music instructor each of the past four years -- but otherwise it is a very stable staff and in the top ten percent in the state for teacher experience. One reason why teachers are staying longer in jobs is the "reduction in force" occurring in districts all over Alaska in response to the declining state budget, which will tend to inhibit transfers within the state.

CONCLUSION

Population. Unalaska lost a number of residents over the monitoring period, with the rate of change in population being tied to economic conditions. In particular, the decline in the commercial crab fishery is directly responsible for the decline in Unalaska's population, just as it was responsible for the population expansion just prior to the monitoring period. Rates of emigration and immigration

have affected the ethnic distribution in Unalaska. The influx of non-Native outsiders in the late 1970s and early 1980s has made the Aleut segment of the population a minority in their own community.

Change in the ethnic distribution of the community has important implications for other aspects of the sociocultural system. With the shift in population from an Aleut majority to a non-Native majority, there has also been a shift in the dominant ideology of Unalaska. This shift includes the increasing importance given to commercial profit versus subsistence production and distribution; voluntary associations versus social relations based on kinship ties; and a tolerance of outside economic interests and opportunities versus the perceived need to preserve local resources and a traditional way of life.

The change in the ethnic balance of the population has also had implications for the distribution of political power within the community. This is most evident in the varying patterns of relations between the municipal government and the Ounalashka Corporation. The changing ethnic distribution has also affected the direction of economic development, particularly from the standpoint of the willingness to commercially exploit local resources versus the need to preserve them in an effort to maintain a traditional way of life. Finally, changes in ethnic distribution have affected social relations between Aleuts and non-Aleuts. There is a common perception of Aleuts as residents and non-Aleuts as "outsiders" even though there were non-Aleut permanent residents with long-standing community ties present at the beginning of the monitoring period. In Unalaska, the increase in the number of non-Aleuts has contributed to a certain degree of social distance and a measure of political conflict among Aleuts and non-Aleuts.

Household size is another aspect of population has been affected by the presence of outsiders and changes in other sociocultural institutions. Household size increased in the boom days of the crab fishery, a period during which the rate of increase in population far exceeded the availability of housing. Average household size has declined over the monitoring "period, however, due to the construction of HUD housing by the Aleutian Housing Authority, an increase in income and options for financing available for construction of privately financed housing, and the population decrease. This decline, in turn, has had an effect on kinship-based patterns of residence and social interaction. In Unalaska, the vast majority of new homes constructed during the monitoring period have been built away from the main areas of the community, lowering the population density and rearranging the relative proximity of kin and friends. In particular, the construction of both HUD and private housing away from the downtown area has created ethnically differentiated residential neighborhoods in a community where there were none before.

Finally, changes in population during the monitoring period have also been evident in the distribution of residents based on age and sex. The male domination of the Unalaska population is decreasing as the male transient portion of the population has diminished with the overall decline in the economy. Also, the proportion of young people in the community has declined as the seafood processing workforce has grown older.

These changes in age and sex distribution have implications for other components of the sociocultural system as well. They reflect a change in values associated with younger versus older residents; males versus females; and residents versus transients. Changes in the age and sex distribution have also had an impact in terms of political representation, the need for educational services, and the

structure of health and social welfare institutions. An increase in the number of younger residents, for instance, has created a demand for expanded educational facilities and improved educational programs. In Unalaska, the appearance of a preschool program during the monitoring period points to this trend.

Land. Over the monitoring period, the major issue involving land has been ownership of land within and surrounding Unalaska. The local Native corporation, the Ounalashka Corporation, is the major landowner; the Federal and state governments are not major land owners in this area. The Ounalashka Corporation has reconveyed ownership of property to the City government under the conditions of Section 14(c)(3) of ANCSA. In Unalaska, unlike most of the other communities of the region, non-Native individuals and commercial interests are significant and even major landowners.

Ownership of land within and surrounding the community is seen as a means of retaining local control over commercial resources and economic development. It is also a means of retaining local control over subsistence resources. Some individuals in the Ounalashka Corporation, for example, had ownership and subsistence concerns when the City of Unalaska first proposed annexation of additional lands; though this annexation took place without major opposition in early 1986. Land ownership patterns have affected the course and speed of economic development in Unalaska. During the early years of the monitoring period, when the commercial fishery was still attempting to expand, the Ounalashka Corporation's control of the land, and its attitude toward control of the land, were perceived by many to be impeding economic expansion. Residential patterns during the monitoring years have, in large part, been determined by those few individuals who controlled saleable land.

In Unalaska, the amount of land developed for commercial use has grown, while land developed for industrial use" (i.e., processing) has remained constant over the course of the monitoring period. Harbor facilities development has been a top priority, and two State harbor development projects (the "small boat harbor" and the "small small boat harbor") occurred during the monitoring period. Residential land use has increased. Construction of Aleutian Housing Authority-financed housing has contributed to the increase in residential land use, as has privately financed housing construction,

Finally, the institutional response of patterns of land ownership and utilization reflect the value system underlying these responses. To some extent, land and sea are viewed as both commercial and subsistence resources. However, they are viewed more as a commercial resource in Unalaska by most of the residents, although this again varies with length of residence. Permanent and other long-term residents generally hold to a perspective that commercial enterprises come and go, but that subsistence resources need to be protected for the long haul, and that subsistence pursuits represent the best long-term adaptation to the local environment. It should be realized as well that even among the short-term residents of the community, there are many individuals who were drawn to Alaska because of a perception of the state as an unspoiled environment, and much of the enjoyment that they receive from their residence in Unalaska derives from outdoor activities. Just as those who are primarily interested (either in terms of time invested or psychological orientation) in commercial activities are often strongly attracted to subsistence activities, the reverse is also the case. What often seems incompatible at the community planning level (choices must be made regarding land use between commercial and subsistence uses, for example) are well integrated at the level of the individual and, indeed, it is not a question of people choosing between commercial

and subsistence pursuits but, rather, how they go about integrating the two that determines their style of behavior. The value systems underlying. the two types of activities are often quite different, and the balance of the two value systems within groups in the community, and between groups, in turn has an effect on patterns of economic development, political control and conflict, and social differentiation.

Political Control. Several changes have occurred in the political institutions of Unalaska, reflecting response to outside forces and institutions (as well as changing local conditions) and the strong desire in the community for local control and self-determination. There was a trend toward the proliferation and formalization or bureaucratization of political institutions during the monitoring period but, in the case of Unalaska (unlike some of the other communities in the region), much of this process took place just prior to the beginning of the monitoring period. Interest in local politics during the monitoring period peaked in 1982-83 before dropping off. This time was marked by a shift in personnel and priorities in the City administration. During 1982-83 there was nearly a complete turnover in top City administrative positions, accompanied by a change in focus from expansion of the City bureaucracy, increase in services, and a very pro-development perspective to an emphasis on diversification, slow growth, and living within available means during a local economic recession in a time of decline in state and federal revenues. Unalaska is a socially complex community, as compared to the other communities of the region, and a political analysis of the community must be understood against the background of the formation over the years of relatively discrete population segments with different values, cultural backgrounds, and political interests.

A relatively new entrant on the regional level of political organization is the Southwest Alaska Municipal Conference. This organization has received support in Unalaska and has drawn Unalaskans to its leadership positions. This, perhaps, represents a broadening of the local political process beyond individual community boundaries, however, this particular entity is still in the early stages of development, so its long-term role in the region remains to be determined.

The Ounalashka Corporation has become a major participant in the political arena by virtue of their status as the major local landowner and their involvement in local economic development. (The local nonprofit Native corporation, the Unalaska Aleut Development Corporation, serves as a conduit for federal funding, although it is otherwise largely inactive in the political life of the community.) This participation has, at times, been characterized by competition and conflict. While ethnicity and length of residence have been general factors in certain forms of political competition between the Ounalashka Corporation and the City of Unalaska, most often competition or conflict has been based on competing claims to political authority and issues of control of resources.

In Unalaska, traditional authority based on kinship and age has been supplanted by land ownership, employment of local residents, and access to outside resources (such as federal and state revenues for infrastructure development, health and social services, and education). This shift in the basis of political authority has brought with it changes in leadership styles and requirements, although much of this shift took place in Unalaska well before the monitoring period. The Ounalashka Corporation is faced with the ongoing problem of needing leaders with highly developed administrative skills and expertise who are required to manage increasingly complex political institutions, especially in the areas of grantsmanship and negotiation.

Political leaders in Unalaska must appeal to an increasingly heterogeneous constituency and adjust their leadership at different times to appeal to different audiences. An intra-group shift of leadership styles has been most apparent among the Aleut portion of the population. While leadership styles in the non-Aleut portion of the population have changed over the years, and dramatically so within some departments in the City government (particularly during 1982-83), typically this is the result of a new constituency and a new set of leaders coming to the community, and not a shift within an otherwise stable population, or a change in style on the part of individuals.

The control of local resources and the struggle for self-determination has been the driving force behind changes in the political institutions over the last six years. For example, a feeling that the local population was not in control of localized developments that immediately effected them, particularly the moves of the oil industry, led directly to the annexation of lands around the city.

During the monitoring period, the emergence of regional forms of government represents a new strategy in the effort to control local resources and seek a measure of self-determination for individual communities in the region. The regionalization of political control is based on the recognition of the historical links among the communities in the Aleutians, the common dependence on commercial fishing as the basis for economic development, and the necessity of unified action in order to maintain political control. Unalaska has been active in seeking a position in a CRSA, and has been actively involved with the SAMC, as mentioned previously.

Despite the efforts at local political control and self-determination, the state and federal governments retain varying degrees of control in the political systems of Unalaska. This control is based on several different factors, including land ownership; ownership of facilities such as roads and airports; provision of revenues for the administration of municipal services, health, education, and social services as well as economic development projects; employment of local residents; and regulations such as the selling of offshore oil leases, or the commercial fisheries quotas. The decline in federal revenues threatens to have substantial direct and indirect impacts on the political institutions the community.

Sociocultural Institutions. An evaluation of the changes in sociocultural institutions of Unalaska must be based on information the "traditional" sociocultural systems of the community and the baseline description of these systems as they existed in 1980. By the beginning of the monitoring period in 1980, Aleuts were in the minority in Unalaska because of the dramatic growth in the fishing industry during the 1970s. This fact is prominently noted in the Aleut communities of the region, and Unalaska is a popular example of what can go wrong with development. "We don't want to be another Dutch Harbor (Unalaska)" is another way of expressing the negative perception of loss of control over a community by the indigenous population.

While throughout most of post-contact history, the dominant religious tradition in Unalaska was the Russian Orthodox Church, by 1980 there were competing religious traditions in the community, although these were largely associated with Euro-American newcomers. Today the most active religious organization in the community is the Unalaska Christian Fellowship, which counts only a handful of Aleuts among its members, while the Russian Orthodox Church continues to appeal to virtually the entire Aleut population, but very few non-Aleuts.

Patterns of social organization have become increasingly formal and complex during the monitoring period. The social system of Unalaska has diversified as new categories of residents have emerged, with these categories organized around the primary dimensions of length and type of residence, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status. Some of these classifications such as the distinctions between Native and non-Native and resident and "outsider," of course, predate the monitoring period. Classifications based on neighborhood and income status have become widely salient only during this period, however.

As social relations have increased in variety, they have also become more formal and stratified. Traditional institutions such as kinship groups, subsistence-oriented partnerships, and the Russian Orthodox Church, continue to dominate patterns of social interaction (and the values regulating these patterns) among the permanent residents of the community. It must be remembered, in Unalaska, for a very substantial portion of the population, there are no "traditional relations" or "traditional institutions" to build social interaction upon, given the transient nature of their lives. During this period several voluntary associations emerged or grew, each comprising a specific segment of the community and each with a specific set of recreational, social service, religious, or political objectives.

Several factors have combined to influence the rate and direction of these changes. One such factor is the nature of participation in the commercial economy. Unalaska's recent history has included a boom and bust cycle in the commercial crab fishery, but the "bust" was tempered by a diversification of the economy. Unalaska has, for the last ninety years or so, had a commercial economy that moved in cycles in response to a focussed effort to extract a single resource at any one point in time, and perhaps the recent diversification will temper the extremes of the pendulum swing in the future.

Another factor in general sociocultural change has been changes in population. For instance, the commercial fisheries have attracted new residents representing different cultural traditions, patterns of residence, political and economic objectives, and social expectations during the beginning of the monitoring period. However, the decline in the commercial crab fishery also brought with it a decline in the number of transient residents. Against these fluctuations within the transient segments of the population, Unalaska's permanent resident population has, over the monitoring years, decreased and then increased (in relative terms), but in absolute terms appears to have grown steadily.

The degree of local political control over economic development has also contributed to the variation in changes in sociocultural institutions. When the desirability of financially committing the City to supporting the expansion of Unalaska's airfield and air terminal facilities, permanent residents at planning meetings raised the questions of who locally was going to pay for the facilities, and who were to be the real beneficiaries of the expansion.

Other factors contributing to changes in local sociocultural institutions include the construction of new housing, which has affected patterns of household formation and social interaction. Education has also had an effect on local sociocultural institutions. The divergence of hierarchies of values among age groups can be attributed, to a significant degree, to the role of educational institutions their central place in the processes of enculturation and socialization.

Each of these changes in sociocultural institutions have, in turn, led to the emergence of new values or, perhaps more accurately, a shift in the hierarchy of values, expressed within the community. For instance, a greater emphasis on, and amount of prestige associated with, income and residence has emerged in Unalaska. In addition, social groups have become distinguished by the extent of their local power and political representation, which is largely the consequence of the processes of centralization and promotion.

Nevertheless, many of the "traditional" values continue to dominate social life. Kinship and subsistence exchange remain important criteria for social interaction among the Aleut residents of Unalaska. Although the institutions themselves may have experienced some changes, the values, and hierarchies of values, have by-in-large remained. Similarly, the Russian Orthodox Church remains an important sociocultural institution. Although regular attendance is typically infrequent, there is a stable core of attendees which swells at holiday times and, importantly, the religion provides an important marker of ethnic identity and a measure of cultural continuity in a changing environment.

Economic Organization. Several changes have occurred in the economic organization of Unalaska over the six-year monitoring period. An increasing diversification of economic organization is found in the growth of the service sector and is evidenced in the patterns of Ounalashka Corporation investments which have moved beyond land ownership and leasing to the development of commercial, retail, industrial and service sectors of local and regional economies. The Ounalashka Corporation toward the end of the period, however, began concentrating its efforts more exclusively on land management once again.

Political institutions have also come to play a greater role in economic organization during the monitoring period, with the management of a developing infrastructure to foster and maintain commercial development. The decline in federal and state revenues have resulted in changes in available revenues for local economic development as well as provision of community services. The City moved to increase its tax base through expansion of the city boundaries, and has attempted to aid in the rebound of the commercial fishery through temporary local tax rate cuts for the industry.

The commercial fisheries have also experienced substantial change in organization due to processes of diversification and linearization. On the one hand, there has been a decline in traditional commercial activities, such as the crab fishery in Unalaska. On the other hand, there have been substantial efforts among fishermen to participate in the region's groundfishery despite widespread pessimism over the prospects of such participation and the perceived disadvantages in competing with better-organized, better-equipped, domestic-foreign enterprises.

OCS development has occurred in the region during the monitoring period, and Unalaska has experienced significant effects. The direct effects of the oil industry were limited to a two-year span during which an offshore marine operations support facility was active in Captain's Bay. However, indirect effects were experienced for several years before the construction of the Captain's Bay facility through sales of goods and services to the oil exploration and support fleet which, for several enterprises in the community, amounted to a considerable volume of business. The community also experienced direct contact with the oil companies during the times that oil rigs (in transit) were sheltered in Unalaska Bay for

varying periods of time. Some of these interactions were seen to be positive by the community, while others clearly were not. One such contact resulting in direct conflict between an oil rig and its tenders and a local, small-scale, commercial fishery.

Subsistence activities remained an important part of the sociocultural system of Unalaska in spite of a trend toward greater participation in the wage labor economy. Given the resources provided by wage labor (i.e., cash), as well as the demands placed on this form of economic activity on leisure time, subsistence activities have become more capital-intensive, although it must be recognized that this trend substantially predates the monitoring period. Cash is used to purchase items such as skiffs, fishing gear, three-wheelers, four-wheel drive vehicles, and firearms, and also, cash is used to charter aircraft to enable local residents to harvest more subsistence items, over a wider geographical area, in a shorter period of time than previously. Subsistence resources are still regularly exchanged by the long-term permanent residents.

Change in the economy of the community is tied to several different factors, such as the community's ability to exploit commercial resources. For example, Unalaska's magnificent natural port (along with its existing harbor facilities) facilitated its role in the commercial crab fishery and oil exploration in the Bering Sea. In contrast, regulations imposed on halibut fishing in the Bering Sea by the North Pacific Fisheries Management Council have placed local fishermen at a relative disadvantage to the large joint-venture enterprises operating in the region. In Unalaska, the infrastructure and industrial capability for commercial activity continues to be present; however, the decline in crab stocks and profit margin of groundfish processing have depressed the industry.

Another factor contributing to variations in the rate and direction of change in economic institutions has been the community's willingness to exploit commercial resources at the expense of subsistence resources, or at the exclusion of the pursuit of subsistence resources. Unalaskans' reactions to OCS-related development, for example, shifted dramatically in the "doom and gloom" days of the steep descent the crab fishery, Previously, oil development had largely been considered incompatible with commercial fishing, the lifeblood of the community, and so was negatively perceived. Oil activities were seen in a positive light with the "bust" of the fishery, but with the gradual economic rebound of the community, reactions are again mixed. Even as transient as much of the population of Unalaska is, however, residents express a concern over potential exploitation by "outsiders" and the loss control over, and access to, traditional subsistence resources.

Health. In Unalaska, components of the sociocultural system concerned with the provision of health and social services have become diversified and formalized in the Euro-American sense of the term. There has been a proliferation of social services and increasing institutionalization into varying degrees of formal organization. New health and social service institutions with more specialized services, such as the A/PIA-sponsored regional psychologist based in Unalaska and the local entity of USAFV, have emerged to meet the perception of increasing needs of local residents. In part, processes are related to the continuing development of Unalaska as a regional service center. Population increase and diversification, changes in the economic base of the community, local perceptions of stress brought about by change, and influx of residents with Euro-American values have also contributed to this process.

Diversification may also be attributed to the increasing need for these services on the part of local residents. Although rates of patient visits have increased in Unalaska, they appear to be holding steady, while crime rates (both felonies and total criminal cases) have dropped consistently during each of the first four years of the monitoring period before increasing in 1985. In the instances where rates of criminal activity, morbidity, and mortality have increased, they are attributed by local experts to the stresses associated with sociocultural change. However, with changes in rates of criminal activity, this relationship is confounded by fluctuations in the number of public safety personnel, as well as changes in morale, policy, and style within the public safety agencies. Rates also fluctuate in response to changes in the policy and personnel in the locally based court systems.

In Unalaska, the overwhelming majority of the crimes and problems associated with domestic violence are alcohol-related. Alcohol is also very closely associated with the high rate of accidental and self-inflicted injuries and deaths, and is cited by health care workers as a contributing factor to many other patient contacts.

Education. The educational institutions of Unalaska may be viewed as a sociocultural paradox, as there has been an effort to expand educational programs and facilities in the face of declining enrollments. Morale is high among both teachers and students, as evidenced by a low rate of teacher turnover and declining student absentee rates over the course of the monitoring period. Students, however, are sometimes caught between pressures and incentives to leave the communities in search of a college education or employment opportunities, and social, cultural, and economic pressures and incentives to remain in the community. In Unalaska, the level of incentive to remain in the community varies widely by residence group. In general, Aleut families encourage their children to stay in the community, or return to it once education or training programs are completed, while within the long-term transient or semi-permanent residence groups, whole families may leave the community when the children reach high-school age, in order for those children to complete college preparatory courses and begin to build their own lives outside of the community.

During the monitoring period in Unalaska, changes in educational institutions for both young and older students have taken place. The Unalaska-Dutch Harbor Cooperative Preschool opened in 1982, and reflects not only changes in attitudes toward education, but also changes in the demographics of the community and the composition of the community workforce. The University of Alaska has expanded its course offerings in the community, Classes for adults have expanded as well under the City's Department of Parks, Culture, and Recreation and under the Adult Basic Education and English as a Second Language programs.

Institutional response of local educational systems are interrelated to changes in values, patterns of social interaction, and economic activities, and they represent the integration of Euro-American and traditional values. In addition to a typical Euro-American curriculum, Aleut language and heritage classes are also offered in the Unalaska City School.

The school itself is a focus for social interaction, and school facilities are used for public meetings, dinners, and community festivals. School athletic events and recreational leagues are important forms of social interaction among community residents and between locals and the residents of different communities.

Educational institutions are seen as critical in preparing younger residents for the sociocultural changes they are likely to experience. There has been an emphasis on vocational programs in Unalaska, and this emphasis has been guided by the desire to provide young people with the necessary skills to fill development-related employment positions, and, in part, educational activities are seen as a means of keeping local students from moving away permanently. However, post-secondary education (of the type only available outside of the region) is also perceived as being important as a means of training local students to assume leadership positions in the local political and economic institutions.

CHAPTER 4: ATKA

INTRODUCTION

Atka is a small, ethnically homogeneous Aleut community located on Atka Island in the Andreanof Islands group, which lies in the center of the Aleutian Islands chain of southwestern Alaska. Located on Nazan Bay on the eastern shore of the island, the village of Atka enjoys relatively easy access to the Bering Sea to the north, and to the Pacific Ocean to the south via Amlia Pass, which runs between Atka Island and nearby Amlia Island. Atka is relatively isolated compared to the other study communities, both in terms of distance from other settlements and frequency and intensity of interaction with outsiders. It is the western-most civilian community on the Aleutian Chain. Compared with the other communities in the region, a significant portion of the young people still speak Aleut, and the village is referred to by residents of other villages as "the last bastion of Aleut culture." Compared to the other study communities, there is a very low level of development of a local commercial economy, and a very high level of utilization of subsistence resources.

Atka is becoming less isolated, however. Travel to and from the village has significantly improved during the monitoring period with the construction of an airstrip. Through the late 1970s the only transportation available for villagers or their mail was provided by tug service from the naval base at Adak. The late 1970s also brought telephone service and television to the community.

The village has a relationship with the Federal Government that is unique in the region. All of the land on the island, including the village site itself, and nearby (and traditionally used) Amlia Island lies within the Alaska Maritime National Wildlife Refuge. While the local Native corporation has selected some of these lands, the USFWS retains management/regulatory control, however, so far the USFWS has taken a "hands off" attitude toward management.

Atka was selected chosen to serve as a control or static analysis community in this study monitoring change in the Aleutian/Pribilof region. That is to say, selection of this community was designed to provide a relatively stable background against which to assess the more dramatic changes that were known to have occurred in the three other study communities. Atka is representative of an analytic subregion which also includes Akutan and Nikolski, although Akutan experiences much more frequent contact with outsiders than Atka or Nikolski.

POPULATION

Introduction

Atka is one of the smaller communities in the Aleutian-Pribilof region, a fact which has several consequences for the community, both in terms of its relationship to other larger political and economic entities and in terms of the internal dynamics of the community. These consequences will be discussed below. The total resident population of Atka in April, 1986 was ninety (Atka Village Council

Records). The population of Atka from 1970 to the present is shown in the following table. According to local informants, the population has remained stable during this time because natural growth has been offset by individuals leaving the community.

Population and Ethnicity

Atka is an ethnically homogeneous Aleut community. Of the permanent residents only two are non-Native, and both have Aleut spouses. There are also five temporary non-Native residents: a married couple, both of whom are school teachers and their two children, plus a single school teacher. Teachers and their families are typically the only transient residents of the community, staying in the community an average of one or two years. The married couple will leave at the end of the 1985-1986 school year after teaching in Atka for two years, and the single teacher will begin her second school year in the fall of 1986. Because of their temporary status in the community, these individuals are not included in the table of age/sex distribution or others found below.

Table 26. Population of Atka, 1970-1986

Year	Population	Data Source
1970	88	Jones (1973:8)**
1980	93	U.S. Department of Commerce**
1983	77*	Alaska Department of Labor
1983	91	Atka Village records**
1984	80*	Alaska Department of Labor
1986	90	Atka Village Council Records

** Published in Veltre and Veltre (1983:69)

* Note: Department of Labor figures are consistently lower than either census or local records.

Ethnicity is very much an issue in the village when discussions of development arise. Atka is a close-knit community with many cross-cutting ties between residents, the most inclusive and pervasive of which is ethnicity. In Atka there is a strong desire to enlarge the local economy and to provide additional employment for residents, but there is also a strong desire to do so without attracting outsiders into the community or having outside interests take control. Unalaska is cited as the example of what can go wrong with development, where outsiders who are non-Aleuts have come to outnumber the indigenous population and gain nearly absolute control of the local political and economic institutions, and community life in general.

The fact that Atka is an **Aleut** village has significance for the government of the village. Indeed, that the population has a Native ethnic identity is the basis for the particular structure of local government, the IRA council. This form also ensures continuing control over the government by established residents of the community in that, under the organizational terms of an IRA government, only Natives are guaranteed the right to vote in local elections. This provision may be used to keep outsiders from gaining access to political resources. Ethnic cohesiveness in the political arena, together with other ties such, as kinship and friendship, are reflected in the style of government action as well, where the influence of the village council extends beyond the formal government arena.

Demographics and Household Size

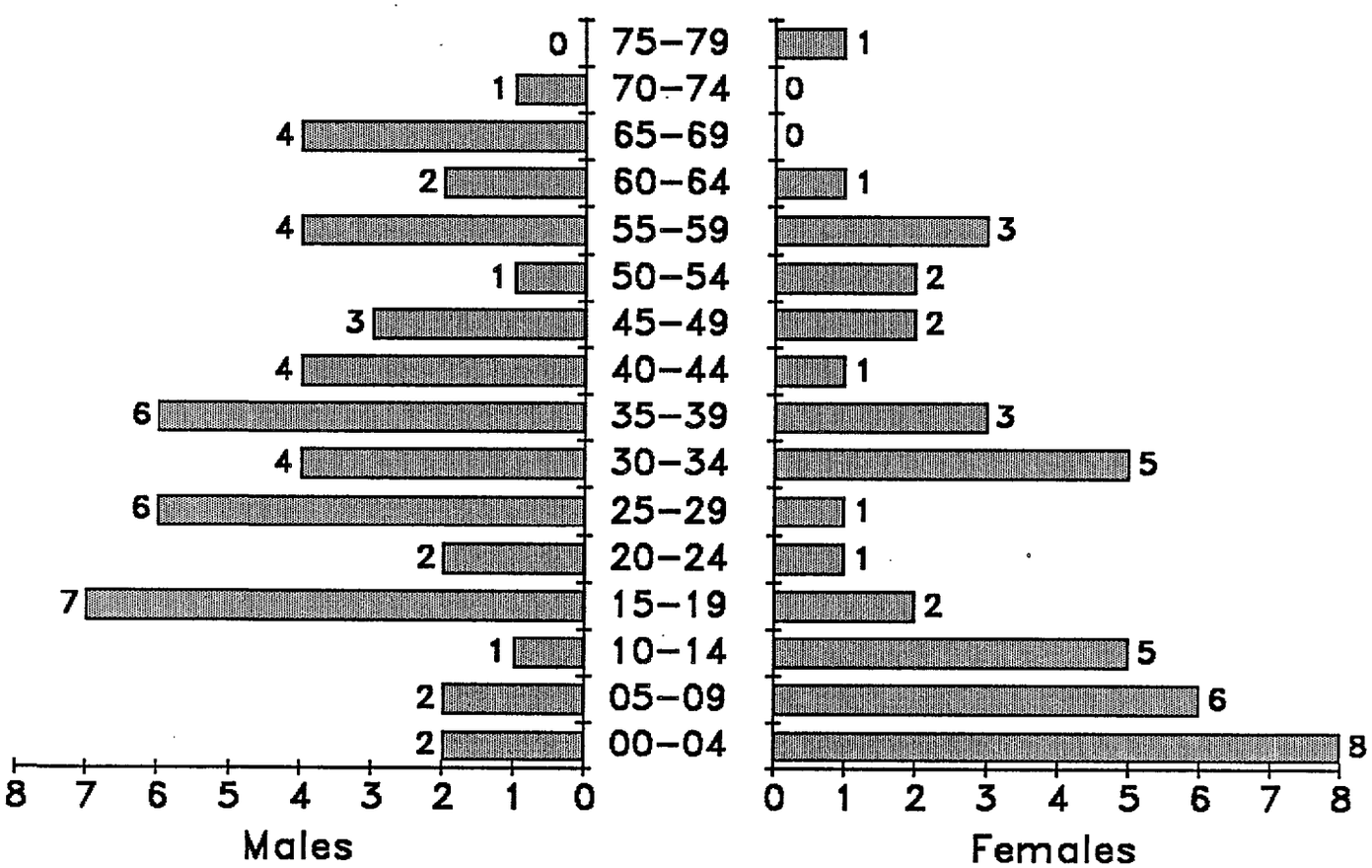
The average household size in Atka recently decreased after the construction of HUD houses by the Aleutian Housing Authority in 1983. This one major period of construction has diminished the usefulness of household size as a indication of long-term demographic trends in the community. (Household size has remained stable since 1983; 1986 figures are presented in Table 27.) However, while it is not useful in an analysis of cumulative trends, this instant shift in housing patterns did bring about "geosocial" change within the community, with respect to changing proximity of friends and kin. The social consequences of the new housing are related not so much to the new houses per se, but rather to the location of the new houses. As will be discussed below in the section on land distribution, the new houses were located approximately one mile from the existing village, splitting the community in two. The new houses were taken primarily by younger adults with families, meaning that a disproportional number of older individuals remain in the older section of the community. Prior to the construction of the new housing overcrowding and the inability of nuclear families to have their own residences were seen as pressing problems in the community, and one which limited the options of former village residents who wished to return to the village for varying lengths of time.

Table 27. **Household** Size in Atka, April 1986

Household Size	Number
1	5
2	6
3	5
4	5
5	4
6	3
Total	28
Mean Size	3.58

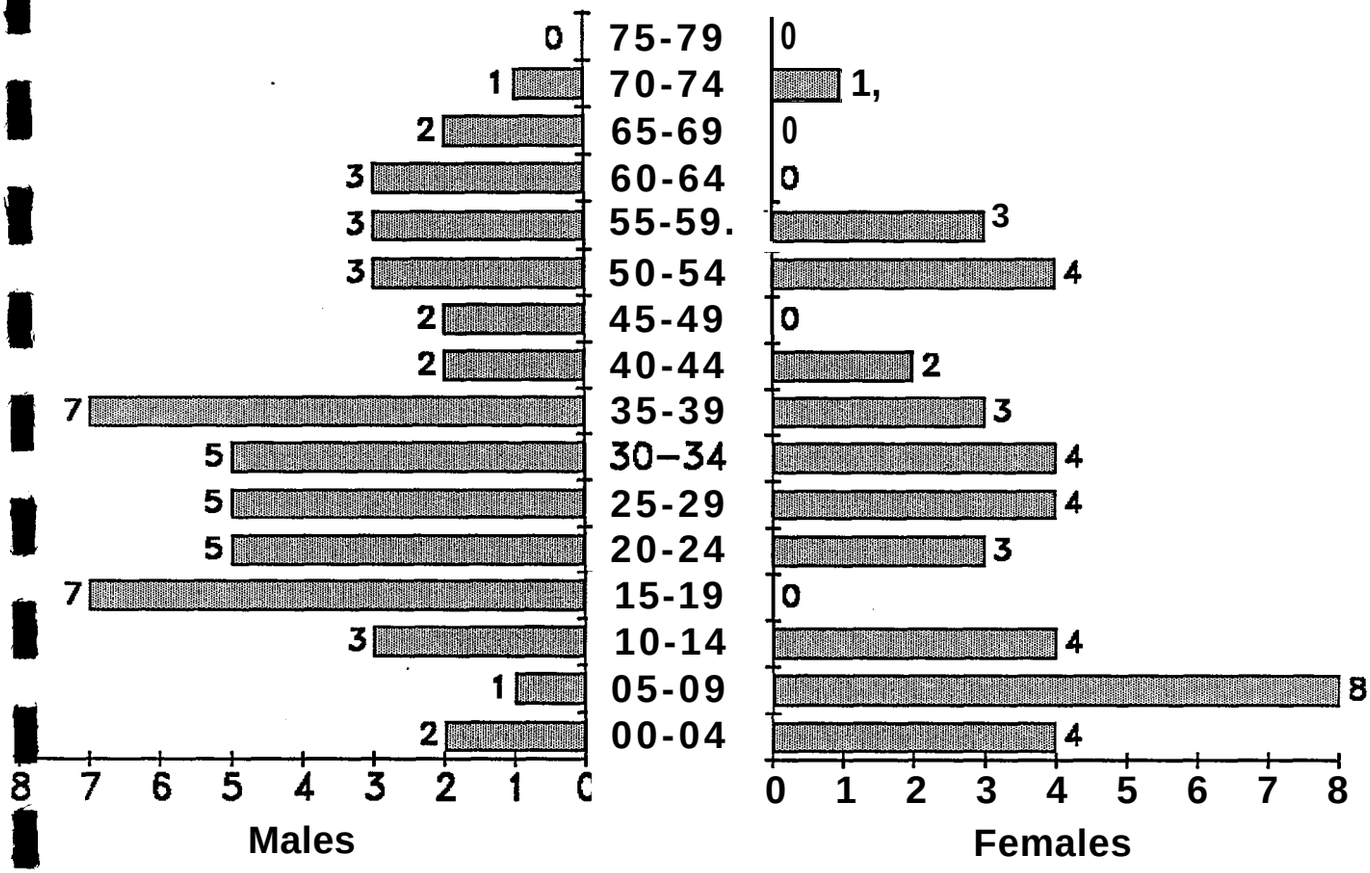
Source: Atka Village Council

Figure 5
Atka Age/Sex Population Distribution: 1986



(Impact Assessment, Inc., 1987)

Figure 6
Atka Age/'Sex Population Distribution: 1983



(Impact Assessment, Inc., 1987)

Population and Age/Sex Distribution

Figure 5 is a graph of Atka residents by sex and ages attained in 1986, and immediately following is a graph (Figure 6) of residents by sex and ages attained in 1983. There are several points to deduce from these figures, which have implications for sociocultural change. One is the difference in the number of males and females between the ages of fifteen and twenty-nine. There are fifteen males and only four females in this group, which in all likelihood means that marriage partners will be likely to come from outside the village, males will have to remain single for extended periods of time, or males who wish to marry will have to leave the village. This, of course, remains to be seen, and may eventually be compensated for by marriages between older males and younger females as there is also a distinct difference in the groups under fourteen years of age, with five males and nineteen females.

Population Size and Economic Change

The fact that Atka has a small population influences the degree to which social changes are generated by different levels or types of economic stimuli. Given the small population size and the low level of local commercial development, what may seem like small enterprises are actually disproportionately large in their influence on the community. An example of this is the influence of the growth of the local commercial halibut fishery. This enterprise, discussed at some length in the economics section, is still a small venture in terms of money generated and in terms of the number of people employed when duration of employment is taken into account but its influence on the community has been very significant. During the short halibut season openings, all activity in the village revolves around the fishery, and approximately forty people are involved one way or another. The long-term influences of the fishery remain to be seen because this year (1986) will be only its third year of operation.

Population and Land

Local control of traditionally used land is an important issue in many rural communities throughout Alaska. Aṭkans are concerned about the future, but self determination/autonomy is not an immediate problem. In most areas, the degree of control over local land is a function of the local population count, both in absolute numbers and relative to transient population or new population cohort. Control and use of the land in and around Atka is only partially linked to the size of the population.

Through ANCSA population size indirectly determined land ownership patterns in the area. Enrollment numbers for the corporation determined the amount of land that was transferred to the Atxam Corporation under ANCSA. (This determination was indirect because many of the enrollees were not current residents of the village.) The Atxam Corporation does not enjoy the degree of freedom of control over local lands that most other local corporations around the state do, and its situation is unique in the Aleutian-Pribilof region. Atka is the only village in the region that is actually within the Alaska Maritime National Wildlife Refuge. Both Atka and Amlia islands are located entirely within the refuge so lands not owned by the corporation (or private lands within the village) are owned by the federal government. Although

the corporation owns the selected lands, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) retains management/regulatory control. However, so far the USFWS has taken a hands-off attitude towards corporation lands.

Although the local corporation may not have absolute control over the use of its land, the community is assured continued access to lands around the village. Federal ownership and refuge status dictate that outsiders cannot purchase lands in or around the community that are not owned by the local corporation. Since resident villagers own a large portion of the corporation (and as a cohesive group influence the direction of the corporation to a disproportionate degree) local control of lands is vouchsafed both directly through the corporation land holdings and by default through federal land holdings. While outsiders may not purchase the federally held lands, villagers are guaranteed continued access to refuge lands for subsistence uses under federal law (Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act of 1980, Title VIII). While these circumstances assure a degree of stability with regard to lessening the encroachment of outside public or private development in or near Atka, there is also a realization in the village that Atka's small population has meant that the community has had little clout at the regional, state, or federal level.

LAND

Spatial Organization Within the Community

The village of Atka is divided into two sections -- the old and the new. The old section, which is composed of the main townsite, has been occupied since the 1860s. This is the site of the older housing, a number of small sheds and boathouses, and all of the community buildings, with the exception of the school and the fire hall. The community buildings include the old school, which now. accommodates the village council offices, the preschool, the post office, and a recreation room used for bingo games; the Russian Orthodox Church;' the clinic building which also houses the office of the Atka Fishermen's Association and a two-bedroom apartment maintained by the village council; a generator building; a carpentry shop; a pumphouse for the community's water supply, which doubles as the office of the Village Public Safety Officers; a halibut processing and freezing plant operated by the Atka Fishermen's Association; and both village stores.

Since the construction of new housing and the new school, some of the institutions have relocated within the old section. The village council moved its offices out of the clinic building and into the old school building in January 1984. The Atxam Corporation moved from the old school building into a private home. The old school building also provided office and classroom space for the school's Aleut Language Associate (classroom space is now located in the new school building) and a small laundry. The use of the washer in the laundry has been discontinued and the dryer is now located in the new Atxam Corporation office.

The other section, known as "the subdivision" or "new town," is the location of the new (HUD) housing. The recently constructed fire hall and school are close by. This section, which contains eighteen houses, is located approximately one mile from the old section. The housing was built apart from the original townsite because of physical constraints: more housing was needed but there was not enough flat land to build in and around the old housing area. The new housing was assigned first on the basis of need, and second on the basis of want. Problems over housing

distribution were avoided because enough new houses were built to accommodate everyone who applied. Atka has no shortage of homes, and there are several unoccupied houses in the old section of town and two in the new. One of the houses in the new "section is currently being rented to the Aleutian Regional School District, with the provision that it can be assigned to a local family should the need arise. It should be noted that after the construction of the new school, teachers were no longer housed adjacent to the school, and their current living arrangements ensure that they are better integrated into the community. The married couple and their children live in the old section, and the single teacher lives in new housing.

Spatial distribution of housing within the two sections is strikingly different. House siting in the older section of town is a product of long-term processes over the course of more than one hundred years. Siting in the new section of town was a result of economic and topographic constraints, with the site itself selected as the nearest land that was suitable for building and with homes being laid out to minimize the cost of installation of utilities. These physical and economic factors have influenced the spatial arrangements of individuals and families within the village; it remains to be seen if they also become catalysts for social change.

Land owned by the village of Atka is not directly held by the local government. Because the village is not incorporated as a municipality, land reconveyed under ANCSA by the Atxam Corporation to the village is held in trust by the Municipal Lands Trustee, the Alaska Department of Community and Regional Affairs. This land will be conveyed directly to any future municipal government, should one be formed.

Land Outside of Atka

Unlike many other communities in the region, there are no Native Allotment lands in or around Atka. No land in the vicinity of the village is privately owned, with the exception of the lands owned by the Atxam Corporation. As mentioned above, Atka is the only community in the region located within the Alaska Maritime National Wildlife Refuge, which is administered by the federal Fish and Wildlife Service, and management of Atxam lands must be compatible with refuge objectives. The Aleutian Islands Unit of the Refuge has its headquarters on nearby Adak (the headquarters for the entire refuge is located in Homer), but there is little direct contact between villagers and Fish and Wildlife staff.

Continued access to the land by the people of Atka is assured through the refuge status of the lands surrounding the village. It is likely that a dispute will arise in the future between the Fish and Wildlife Service and the village over the disposition of the reindeer herd on the island. The residents believe that the herd belongs to the village, along with any rights of regulation. Both the state Fish and Game and the federal Fish and Wildlife Services are of the opinion that the herd is legally "feral," having not been brought under husbandry, and is therefore accessible to all users. However, the Fish and Wildlife Service, which is responsible for managing the island, is being pragmatic and currently turning a blind eye, and for good reason. The Fish and Wildlife Service is concerned that the population of the herd on Atka Island has grown too large and that extensive damage is being done to the slow-growing indigenous flora by this non-indigenous species. The Fish and Wildlife Service also recognizes that herd use will be a politically tricky question to deal with, so for the time being no action is contemplated, although it is assumed that as the herd continues to grow a crisis will occur and the problem will have to be squarely faced.

POLITICAL CONTROL

Political Autonomy and Local Government Structure

Atka is guaranteed of retaining a large degree of political autonomy even in the (unanticipated) event of future demographic and other changes. Atka is organized as an IRA village, governed by a seven-person village council. Council members are elected for parallel two-year terms. The highest priority of the council is economic development, which primarily concerns the fisheries. The institution of the IRA village council is, by organizational design, well insulated against change and assures retention of local control by design. As an IRA, Atka cannot collect taxes or make laws. It currently receives most of its operating revenues from state and federal funds.

There is some discussion of the advantages of incorporating as a second-class city form of government under the state laws of Alaska, but there are a significant number of people in the village strongly opposed to the idea. Those in favor of the proposed incorporation believe that such a move would give the community control over a possible future state-built boat harbor and dock facility. However, the present form of government is preferred by others because they believe that it is better designed to maintain local control.

The present form of government was set up in 1939, and the traditional system of chiefs was phased out after the World War II. Politically, Atka is an independent entity. There are no formal government ties at the regional level, but there are ties to other types of regional entities, These include the Aleut Corporation (the regional for-profit ANCSA corporation], the Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association (A/PIA, the regional non-profit corporation), and the Aleutian Regional School District. Of all of these ties, perhaps the most critical to the current structure of the community is the relationship with the A/PIA. The A/PIA acts as a conduit for state and federal funding, and is responsible for a critical number of jobs in the community, directly accounting for three part-time and two full-time positions. The relationship with the A/PIA also gives the village a measure of political clout beyond what might be expected for the population base of the village. It is through the A/PIA that issues of local interest are pursued at the state and national levels, such as the World War 11 reparations and Docket 369 (a recent settlement for historical Federal infringement of aboriginal rights) issues.

Politics and the Process of Formalization

Atka is not going through the "developmental" sequence of increasing complexity of social organization that is seen in the other communities in this study, so one does not see the broad-based trend towards formalization of institutions within the village. There are two exceptions to this at the present time. First is the organization and formalization of the Atka Fishermen's Association (AFA). The establishment of the AFA represents the conversion of an informal subsistence fishery to a commercial operation, and the evolution of a loose association of fishermen who cooperated and shared in a subsistence lifestyle into a formal organization with set rules of distribution. In this way the structure of the fishery has changed. (It is, of course, the case that those individuals who fish commercially in Atka still subsistence fish as well. During the commercial season,

however, all effort is directed toward the commercial enterprise, and understandings about the commercial enterprise guide behavior, not subsistence-related values.) The second institution that has become formally organized is the Atka Volunteer Fire Department.

There are at least three processes of sociocultural change taking place with the formation, institutionalization, and growth of the AFA: centralization, linearization, and promotion. In the process of centralization, control of a valued resource becomes focused on a smaller group than in the past. In this instance control of the fishery has been vested in the AFA, whereas in the past control of the fishery (which was then a subsistence fishery) was exercised by a larger number of individual fishermen guided in their interactions by traditional and informal cooperation and sharing networks.

Linearization is the process whereby lower-order controls are routinely by-passed in favor of higher-order controls. In the fishery, routine decisions are no longer made by individuals, but by the AFA due to the changed nature of the fishery and the need for close cooperation and efficiency. Both the investment in and the rewards from the fishery have increased with commercialization, and formal coordination and cooperation is essential to the survival of the venture.

Promotion is the process whereby a group that controls a single resource or set of skills assumes increased importance in the social organization of the community. In this case, those individuals who possess superior fishing skills benefit most from the shift to a commercial fishery, both in terms of economics and prestige. They play a more important role in the economic viability of a community in which fishing has become increasingly vital, to the point where village life revolves around fishing during the commercial season. In the past, successful fishermen were highly regarded according to the traditional values associated with subsistence pursuits; now, fishing has taken on additional importance through its commercialization, particularly in the light of employment outlook. An old resource and an old set of skills have come to be valued in a new way.

It remains to be seen what sort of social differentiation will result from the commercialization of fishing. There are clearly new roles and responsibilities for captains, crews, beach crew, and for the fishermen's association itself. Many of the men of the community report having had previous commercial experience under similar circumstances, having worked in commercial fishing on a seasonal basis outside the village (in both the Bering Sea and in Bristol Bay). The extent of this experience, however, is not documented.

The volunteer fire department is another institution in the community that has recently undergone a process of formalization. Informal mutual assistance networks have become formalized ties for the protection of life and property. Unlike the fishermen's association, the fire department is a non-commercial entity, so is an example of formalization without commercialization. Without being a commercial enterprise, and the fact that it involves substantially fewer people in the community, the creation of the fire department has had less of an influence on community life than creation of the AFA. The fire department is also considerably less active than the AFA, and being a member of the fire department does not appear to carry with it the amount of prestige associated with similar search and rescue/fire department statuses in some other parts of rural Alaska, such as the North Slope.

Politics and Political Issues

The main issue facing the community is the lack of local employment opportunities. The primary concern with local development, as mentioned above, is that development take place without outsiders coming into control either economically or politically. It is this concern which makes it politically volatile.

Political Control and the Demographics of In-Migration

There is no migration of individuals into Atka related to resource development. The only development that has taken place recently, the formation of the Atka Fishermen's Association, has occurred at the local level. Unlike some other communities in the region, Atka has no resources that are earmarked for exploitation in the near future by outside interests.

SOCIOCULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

Social Complexity

Atka is a community that has relatively few formal institutions compared to the other study communities of Sand Point, Unalaska, and St. Paul. The institutions of Atka, and the processes by which they are changing, are discussed under the population, political control, and economy portions of this chapter, and will not be recapitulated here.

Religious Organizations

The only religious organization in the community is the Russian Orthodox Church. The church is still active with close to fifty members per service during the fieldwork period (April 1986). The church influences much of the life of the community. For example, during Lent bingo games are suspended. Bingo games represent the only secular public gathering in Atka (outside of regular organizational meetings, such as the fire department meetings), Bingo is a very popular pastime, attested to by the fact that attendance during the fieldwork period was approximately thirty individuals at each of the twice-weekly games. The church is not as active in the community as in the remembered past, however. The modalities of the church, the brotherhood and the sisterhood, once involved in many areas of village life throughout the year are relatively inactive at present, with activities now associated primarily with Church functions during the holiday seasons.

ECONOMY

Economics and Fiscal Priorities

During the monitoring period there were a number of projects and developments that influenced the structure of the community. These included changes in the transportation facilities, construction of housing, opening of a new school, and provision of new communication facilities specifically television and telephones,

Economics of the community were influenced by the decline of state and federal revenues, and its structure was affected by the development of a local commercial fishing industry.

Village Council Budget

About one-third of the budget is locally generated and the balance comes from state and federal sources. The budget has declined over the past several years because of cuts in federal revenue sharing (this, 1986, is the last year that these funds are expected). State revenue sharing is also down because the level of funding depends on Alaska oil revenues. Local revenues are generated by bingo, the rental income from of a council owned apartment in the clinic building, clinic rental, fares charged for rides to the airstrip, and occasional equipment rental.

The Atka Village Council monies go primarily into salaries for the employees and equipment repairs. There are no capital improvement projects being funded at this time.

The village council is also directly involved in the economy of the community through the Native Store. The Atka Native Store is an Alaska Native Industries Cooperative Association store run by the village council. Being a cooperative, the revenues generated are put back into the store, and not into the general community budget. (There are two stores in the community. The Atka Native Store is open Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m., and the Island Store, which is privately owned, is open Tuesdays and Thursdays from 4 p.m. to 6 p.m. and Saturdays from 10 a.m. to 12 noon.)

Infrastructure

There is a distinct difference in the way public utilities are run in Atka compared to the other study communities. In Atka the water system is operated by the village council. There is no charge for the service, the philosophy of the council being that there should be no charge to the residents of the village for something that does not cost the council anything to operate, The two Village Public Safety Officers, whose salaries are paid by the Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association, are trained as water maintenance personnel and run the system. Additionally, the state has supplied the chemicals needed for water treatment. Similarly, there is no charge for garbage collection, which is run by the village council but does not cost the council any money because the garbage collector's salary comes out of state funding.

Transportation

The Atka airstrip was completed in October 1982, It is a paved 3500-foot runway. Runway lights were installed in September 1983, and a non-directional beacon is due to be installed this summer (1986). The airport project was fully funded by the state.

Over the monitoring period, access to the community has improved appreciably, both for passengers and mail/shipping, Approximately five flights per week are made every other week into Atka from Adak. There is also charter service available from Cold Bay and Dutch Harbor, but it is normally prohibitively expensive for village residents. Round trip fare to Adak is $100. As a military base, Adak

normally requires three day notification for passengers passing through the base. Most supplies for the community come in via air, although the BIA barge sails to Atka once a year (usually in May) to bring supplies, and plans to make a second stop in the fall to pick up fish from the AFA for delivery to Seattle.

Communication

Television came to the community in the fall of 1981 with the Learn Alaska Network. This was made possible by the erection of a state-funded satellite dish in Atka. In 1982 the statewide entertainment channel was added.

Prior to July 1976 the community had no phones. External communication was by radio. There was one village phone from July 1976 until phones were put in the houses in August of 1983.

Construction

Eighteen new houses were built in Atka in 1983. These are located in their own neighborhood ("the subdivision") located approximately one and a half miles from the village site. This new site, so far from the existing village, was chosen due to a lack of available land in the old village site, and a lack of land shallow enough in grade to permit construction near the old village site.

A new school was built near the new houses, and classes began in the facility in the fall of 1983. The building was funded by the state through the Aleutian regional school district. Operating expenses for the school also come from the state.

Economics and Employment

One" of the primary issues of concern to Atkans is the relative lack of employment opportunities in the village compared with the number of people who are interested in holding jobs. As of April 1986, there were twenty-four part-time and eight full-time regular jobs in the community, which are detailed in the following table.

Sources of Employment

Through the AFA seasonal employment is becoming a routine part of village life, fitting in with traditional subsistence patterns. Little employment is a result of locally generated revenues. There is only one private enterprise retail establishment in Atka, the Island Store. Along with the AFA, other local revenues are generated by the Native Store and the Andreanof Corporation.

Because it relies to a large extent on external funding the Atka economy is susceptible to fluctuations. The federal revenue earmarked for Atka has declined because of budget cuts in federal revenue sharing. The decline in the price of oil and the problems with the shortfall of the state economy have depressed the amount of state funds available. This will most likely indirectly affect employment through a

Table 28. Regular Employment in **Atka,** April 1986

Employers and Positions	Part-Time	Full-Time
Atka School[1]		
Teacher		1
Title I Aide	1	
Maintenance	1	
Atka Fisherman's Association		
Coordinator		1
Bookkeeper	1	
Atka Village Council		
Secretary	1	
Preschool Instructor	1	
Janitor	2	
Handyman	1	
Recreation	3	
Administrator		1
Mail Truck Driver	1	
Garbage Man	1	
Atka Native Industries Cooperative Store		
Manager		1
Helper	2	
Atxam Corporation		
President		1
Office Manager		1
Andreanof Corporation		
Bookkeeper	1	
Generator Operator .	2	
Alaska Department of Transportation		
Runway Maintenance	1	
Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association		
Health Aide	2	
Community Health Representative	1	
Village Public Safety Officer		2
Island Store (Privately Owned)		
Owner	1	
Worker	1	
Total	24	8

Source: Atka Village Council, format after **Veltre** and **Veltre** (1983:74-75).

Notes: Full-time = 30 or more hours per week. Figures do not include seasonal fishing jobs.

[1] Three teaching positions filled by non-Natives resident only during the school year are not included.

[2] A wholly-owned subsidiary of the **Atxam** Corporation.

reduction of funds to the local government, as well as directly through the Atka school which provides a significant amount of employment in the community in addition to bringing temporary residents (the teachers) to Atka who spend money in the community.

External influence on the economy is not limited to ongoing funding. Although it is now an independent entity, the Atxam Corporation was created through a piece of federal legislation, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, and external monies. This corporation is restricted in its organizational moves, its mode of operation, and so on by legislative constraints.

There is a degree of regional influence on the Atkan economy as well. The Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association provides a significant amount of direct employment in the community, and it fuels the economy indirectly as well by acting as a conduit for state and federal monies. The specific effects of federal and state cuts on A/PIA positions and programs remain to be seen.

There are also periodic employment opportunities provided in Atka through federal and state projects. During the monitoring period there were temporary jobs provided on the infrastructure projects mentioned above. During the summer of 1986 there will be a number of local hire jobs available for the World War II debris clean up project.

The AFA is a relatively new organization in Atka, with twenty-three paying members. There are approximately forty fishermen in the community who fish commercially, including crew. Only skippers are required to belong to the association to get their fish marketed. Membership in the association runs $100 per year.

The AFA was started in 1984, and the Atxam Corporation was indirectly, but substantially, involved with its organization. The corporation was investigating options for direct investment in commercial fishing, and it appeared to be too risky a venture to be considered attractive. There was a great deal of local interest in pursuing a local fishery, however, and the AFA was born out of this interest. The corporation aided its inception through a low-interest (5%) loan of more than $100,000 to be repaid over a period of 10 years. The AFA was formed with no outside investment, although it now receives a portion of its operating budget through a grant from the Administration for Native Americans.

The AFA does not own any fishing vessels but does own a blast freezer, a holding freezer (with a capacity of 80,000 lbs), and an ice machine for processing product, together with the building that contains this equipment. The AFA plans to obtain a second ice machine this year (1986).

In its first year of operation, 1984, the AFA produced 27,000 lbs of finished product. In 1985, out of 72,180 lbs landed on the beach, 47,000 lbs of finished product were produced. The goal for the 1986 season is to produce 100,000 pounds of product.

There are approximately twenty skiffs, ranging in size from fourteen to eighteen feet, which fish commercially in Atka. Halibut are taken by long-lining, and the vessels fish relatively close to the community because of rapidly varying weather conditions and strong tidal currents. A group of individuals in the

community is currently finishing construction of a twenty-four-foot wooden fishing vessel with an enclosed cabin, which will be the first vessel of its type in the community,

There are no dock or port facilities in Atka, and the vessels are stored by pulling them up on the beach. The United States Army Corps of Engineers recently completed a feasibility study for construction of port facilities in Atka and, given the natural features of the land and bay, concluded that a relatively economical port could be constructed. Given the budget situation at the state level, however, individuals in the community are not optimistic that there will be any port construction in the near future.

So far the only fish that the AFA has harvested is halibut. There are four, and a possible five, halibut openings per year. In 1986 openings were scheduled for May 29-June 1, June 30-July 3, July 29-August 5, August 25-27 and, if the quota has not been caught in the previous openings, from September 23 until the quota is met. There is a 1.7 million pound quota for the area around Atka. Outside vessels are not expected to participate in the first two openings as they will most likely be fishing elsewhere in the state, but it is expected that twenty to thirty outside vessels will be in the area and will catch the remainder of the quota during the third opening.

The AFA is the first local commercial fishery in Atka. Breaking more or less even in its first year, in 1985 the AFA put approximately $50,000 into the local economy directly through payments to fishermen after all operating expenses were paid. In addition to providing fishermen with a means to market their fish, the AFA is also responsible for other seasonal employment in the community in the form of labor at the processing facility. During the season a recording clerk is hired in addition to a shore crew of about four individuals, including the plant manager, who unload the vessels as they come into the beach. A good deal of money is saved in the processing operation because the fishermen themselves, for no additional wages, process the fish immediately after the season closes. If the operation continues to be successful there are plans to expand in the future to a multi-species fishery. One of the major difficulties that the AFA faces is the high cost of delivery of the fish, being in a location so remote from the final destination. Expenses are also high due to the cost of shipping gear to Atka. (As of April 1986, shipping items from Anchorage to Atka cost $1.50 per pound by air, while barge shipping cost $25.00 per hundred pounds.

Although vessels from other parts of the state and the lower forty-eight fish the waters around Atka Island, outside fishing vessels do not call on Atka for fuel or supplies or to move product. Typically, the only time that outside fishing boats come into the bay is when crew members have sustained injuries and are brought in to be treated at the clinic and/or flown out on a Medivac flight.

It used to be common practice for people to work seasonally outside of the village such as at the commercial seal harvest in the Pribilofs, but this is less common now, particularly in the wake of the development of the local fishery. It is expected that virtually everyone in the village will be involved in the 1986 commercial fishing season. There are no longer any regular outside seasonal work migration patterns.

Economics and Business Development

Because there is no development in Atka sponsored by outside interests, one does not find the variety of businesses that are springing up in the other study communities. The only businesses in Atka are the Native Store, which carries a wide range of goods, and the Island Store, a much smaller operation which carries food and sundries. The only other place which sells goods or services is the Andreanof Electric Corporation which provides electricity for the community, and is a wholly owned subsidiary of the Atxam Corporation. Virtually all of the village residents are shareholders in the Atxam Corporation, meaning that the residents/customers are owners of the utility.

Seasonality of Employment and Traditional Values

Development of the commercial fishery is on small scale. Although halibut was a species fished traditionally, the short intense commercial seasons are a marked contrast to past harvesting techniques. Relationships among the fishermen have changed as well with commercialization. Rather than informal redistribution and reciprocity and the values associated with such an "economic" system governing the disposal of harvest, skippers are now paid by the size of their catch, and crew are paid by the skippers. Of course in a village the size of Atka, there are cross-cutting social ties between the skippers and crews that extend beyond economic relationships, but the changes that have taken place in the economic arena are significant. It is too early in the enterprise to tell, but such changes may have long-term implications for the maintenance (or lack of maintenance) of traditional values. An important feature of the brief fishing seasons is that commercial fishing is not removing the workforce from other activities for a substantial portion of the year.

Commercial and Subsistence Economies and Sociocultural Change

Atka is much more subsistence oriented than the other communities, which is partially due to the relative lack of commercial employment. Not that involvement with the commercial economy precludes involvement in the subsistence economy. In fact money is required for subsistence pursuits to purchase skiffs, engines, gasoline, rifles, shotguns, ammunition, and fishing gear. Participation in the wage economy allows earnings for expensive subsistence pursuit items. It also means that the individuals have less time to spend on subsistence pursuits themselves, but fishing and seal hunting are normally done relatively near the village, so this is not usually a difficult problem. Sea lion hunting is less regularly successful near the village and sea lion and reindeer hunting is often done at a considerable distance from the community and requires a substantial time commitment. Sea lion hunters and often reindeer hunters use skiffs to locate their prey, and these trips require a substantial cash investment as well. Gasoline in April 1986 sold for $200 per fifty-five gallon drum, or $3.64 per gallon, plus oil. (Gasoline for commercial fishing only is available through the Atka Fishermen's Association for $160 per fifty-five gallon drum, or $2.91 per gallon.)

While the expense of gasoline is often split between those going out in a skiff, the meat resulting from a successful hunt is more widely distributed. In a community the size of Atka, it is common knowledge who is out hunting and when they return word spreads quickly. When men hunt in groups, it is not unusual for meat

FIGURE 7

ATKA SUBSISTENCE **YEAR-ROUND** CYCLE

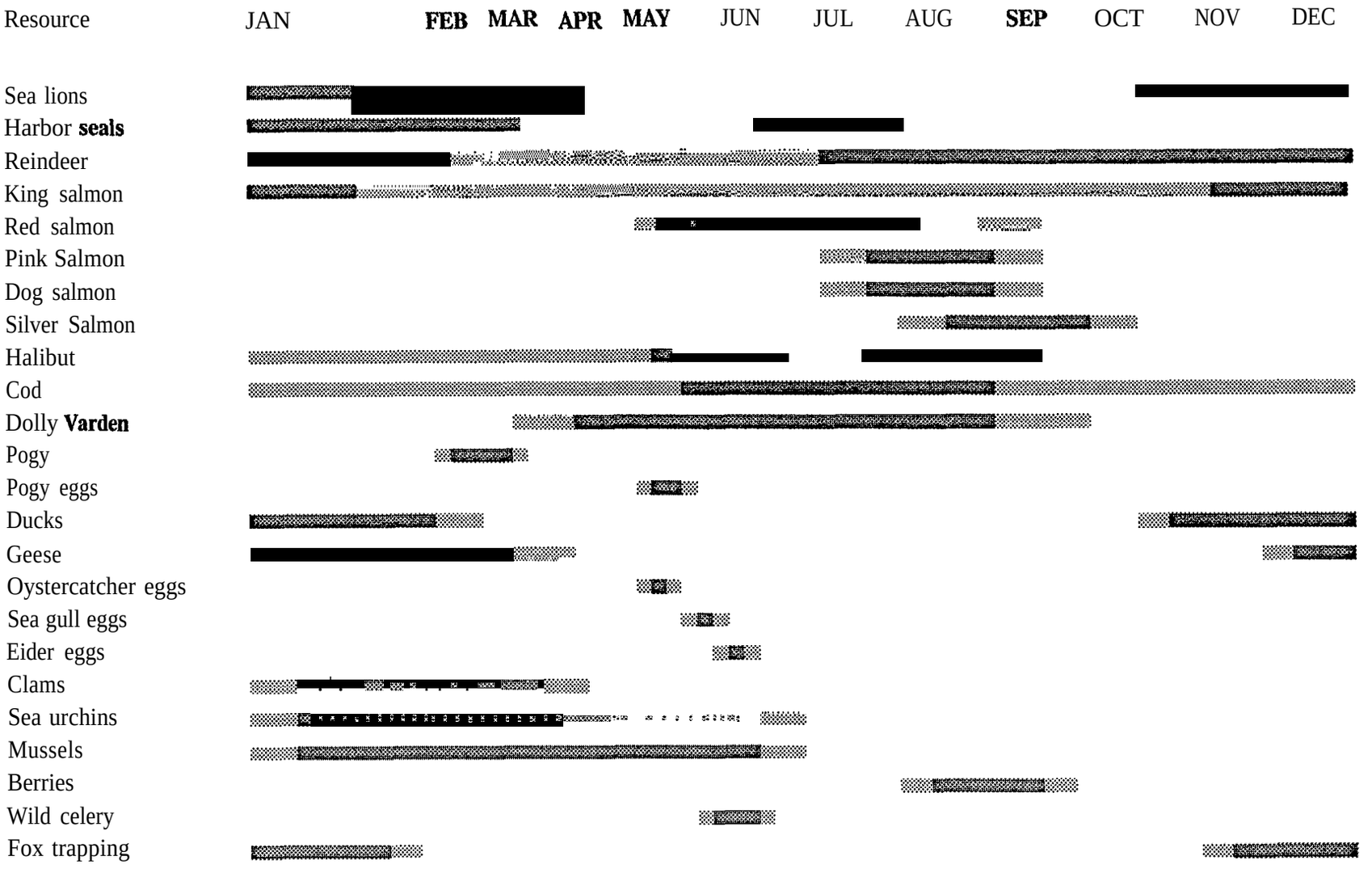


Figure adapted from Veltre & Veltre 1983:164

from a single hunt to find its way through the whole village. This type of redistribution does not appear to have changed significantly during the monitoring period,

Subsistence activities vary with the season. Although patterns are discernible, activities also vary over time and each year is different. Males and females of all ages contribute in some way to the subsistence livelihood. Hunting is almost exclusively a male activity, as is fishing. Females take a greater role in the food preparation. An approximate subsistence cycle may be seen in Figure 7.

In Atka the pursuit and utilization of subsistence resources is seen as a link with a valued past. Subsistence is connected on several levels with cultural continuity. The exact nature of subsistence has changed over time, however. Many but not all, of the same resources are used today as in the past; nor are they used in as many ways. Utilization of store goods has increased over time but a very substantial portion of the diet is still obtained from local resources. Reasons for this include the expense of store bought items and the shortage of employment opportunities in Atka, but also for an expressed preference for the taste of subsistence goods and the cultural values surrounding subsistence pursuits.

Cultural values held by Atkans reinforce participation in a subsistence lifestyle. Successful hunting and fishing, and the redistribution of goods are sources of pride and satisfaction. As nearly all members of the community participate in subsistence activities in some capacity, recognition of the importance of the activity is nearly universal as well. Continuing the subsistence tradition is not just of symbolic value but also pragmatic. Atka is remote from commercial centers, and even if it is not as isolated as in the past, store bought goods are expensive. The high cost of store goods, combined with few employment opportunities available in the community, have encouraged continued utilization of subsistence goods.

Economics and Household Expenses

Some of the regular household expenses in Atka are as listed below. The charges for electricity provided by the Andreanof Electric Corporation are as follows:

1-100kw	.55/kw
101-200kw	.50/kw
201-300kw	.45/kw
over 300kw	.25/kw

There is a state subsidy of .1645/kw up to 750kw. There is no charge for water in Atka, nor is there a charge for garbage collection. Both of these functions are supervised by the village council, and are supported by outside funding. It is the philosophy of the council that if the service does not cost the council anything, then it should not cost the consumer anything.

The new housing subdivision in Atka was provided by HUD through the Aleutian Housing Authority, an arm of the Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association. All of the new houses, whatever their individual size, are equally valued at $92,625.00.

Payments, however; are based on the income of the owners. Homes are typically heated by fuel oil, which in April 1986 sold for $104.50 per barrel. The cost of store food in Atka is relatively high. In their 1983 study Veltre and Veltre found that grocery items were 61.8% higher in Atka than in Anchorage.

Atxam Corporation

Atxam Corporation was incorporated in November 9, 1973, as a village corporation pursuant to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971. The corporation's principal undertaking so far is making investments outside the community. Within the community the corporation provides electricity through a wholly owned subsidiary, the Andreanof Electric Corporation. Inventories of the corporation consist principally of fuel oil. The corporation has been following a conservative investment policy and is in good fiscal condition.

There are now approximately 148 shareholders in the corporation. According to the president of the corporation, there are shareholders all over the United States, but most of those who live outside of Atka live in Anchorage. Well over one-third of the shareholders live outside of the village,

The corporation employs few people. They are the corporation president and the office manager, both full-time positions, and a part-time janitor. The subsidiary Andreanof Electric Corporation has two part-time maintenance personnel, and the bookkeeping is done by the Village Council. There is sporadic employment pumping fuel and making repairs, which pays around $8 to $1 O/hour. There is a considerable overlap of leadership between the corporation and the council. Currently, there are three members on both the village council and the corporation board, and this is reportedly characteristic of the cooperation between the two entities. The relative stability of leadership in the community may be in part attributed to the relatively large number of leadership positions when compared to population size.

One thing that the corporation has done locally is loan the Atka Fisherman's Association more than $100,000 at five percent interest to get established. (This can be seen as having benefited not only the village economy at large, but it is also important to note that the AFA is composed of corporation shareholders.) The only major investment in the community is the Andreanof Electric Corporation, and that is about breaking even. The two diesel electric generators are leased for $1 per year from the Atka Village Council, as it was the council which got the original grant to install them. The rated capacity of these generators is 200kw. There has been a small hydroelectric generation plant built as well, but it is not on-line yet, and there are a few technical problems that remain to be worked out. It will he used for supplemental power to save on fuel bills for the main generator. Andreanof was formed in the late 1970's. It started supplying power with a 40kw generator, now there is a 75kw (normally used for nighttime generation) and a 125kw generator (normally used for daytime generation). Before this time there was no electricity to the houses. While both the Atxam Corporation and the subsidiary Andreanof have made profits, neither has paid dividends to shareholders.

Of the 92,160 acres that the corporation is entitled to under ANCSA, 86,156 acres have been conveyed so far. The Atxam Corporation is in a slightly different situation than most other local corporations with respect to its relationship to the regional corporation. The regional Aleut Corporation does not own the subsurface rights to the land selected on Atka Island by the Atxam Corporation as would

normally be the case, because it is part of the Alaska Maritime National Wildlife Refuge. The corporation has also selected lands on the west end of Amlia Island, together with lands on Unalaska Island and in the Canoe Bay region on the Alaska Peninsula. All of the non-government land around the village is owned by the Atxam Corporation with no land having been granted as Native Allotments. No outsiders own land in Atka.

One of the major problems that the corporation faces is that approximately one-third of the 148 shareholders live outside the community. Thus, if services are performed for the community that do not produce dividends, then the corporation is in trouble i.e. liable to lawsuits by the shareholders who live outside the community, One of the fears is that those shareholders, with less of an immediate stake in the corporation than village residents, will sell their shares in 1991, the first year that Native stockholders can transfer shares on the open market to non-Natives.

The priorities of the corporation are quite straight-forward. The first concern at this point is to convey lands that are primary places of residence and primary places of business, and to complete land 'survey work before 1991. The second priority is to make investments that will produce a monthly income to carry expenses. Two immediate problems faced by the corporation are a cash shortage and a shortage of people. The cash shortage is due in large part to the structure of corporate assets, while the shortage of people is due to Atka being a small village with a limited human resource base. A less urgent priority is for the corporation to acquire its own building, as it is currently renting a private home.

Unlike many other communities in Alaska, Atka has no local non-profit village Native. corporation. The Atka village council serves many of the functions that non-profit corporations serve elsewhere. In addition to having what amounts to an equivalent of a non-profit corporation, another reason given for why the community has no non-profit corporation is that there are too few people in the community to effectively run two corporations and a council.

There is significant interaction between the village and the region through the regional corporations. As discussed in the employment section, funding from the Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association directly accounts for a large percentage of the employment in Atka (twenty-five percent of the full-time and seventeen percent of the part-time employment). There is a degree of local-regional interaction through annual village-regional seminars. The village council president is the Atka representative on the A/PIA board. (The A/PIA board has a representative from each village, whereas the Aleut Corporation board members are elected on a regional basis.)

The regional profit corporation, the Aleut Corporation, does not influence the economy of Atka through direct investment in the community. It does, however, provide technical advice to the Atxam Corporation, and the president of the Atxam Corporation is on the board of the Aleut Corporation. The relations between these two corporations were much closer in the past, because for the first ten years of the corporations' existence the regional body had to approve the budgets of the local body and in other ways work hand-in-hand with them under the provisions of ANCSA. With these legal binds loosened, the regional corporation is now much more wary of giving advice to the local corporation for fear of giving bad advice for which they would conceivably be liable.

HEALTH

Public Safety

There are two Village Public Safety Officers (VPSOs) in Atka. Both work on a 24-hour on-call basis. The emphasis of the VPSO program in Atka is community service. The VPSOs, local Aleut residents whose positions are funded by the Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association, are assigned various duties outside of their official charges by the Atka Village Council as the need arises. For example, one of their main ongoing duties outside of public safety, ***per se, is*** care of the community water system and treatment of the water supply. The VPSOs are looked upon as a valuable resource by the council because there are tasks to be done in the community and a lack of revenue to hire individuals to do the jobs. Little needs to be done in the way of law enforcement, but although Atka is a "dry" community, it still has problems associated with alcohol. Most of the law enforcement calls are disturbances related to alcohol. Prior to the introduction of the VPSO program, in the late 1970s, law enforcement for Atka was the responsibility of the state trooper based in Sand Point or Naknek.

Law enforcement is not the VPSOs only official duty. The VPSOs are also responsible for organizing fire protection and search and rescue. Additionally, they supplement the community medical care system through their training as Emergency Trauma Technicians.

Fire protection in Atka is provided by the Atka Volunteer Fire Department. This department was formed in the 1970s and now has approximately sixteen volunteers and a new 300-gallon mini-pumper, that was acquired at the time of the construction of the new fire department building in 1983. The fire department is fully equipped, with the exception of SCBA (self-contained breathing apparatus) gear for the firefighters. There are few fire calls in the community. In 1985 there was one fire in Atka and it was quickly contained. For search and rescue operations the VPSOs coordinate the activities of informal search parties organized by villagers, and act as contacts for the Coast Guard or other agencies.

Clinic

Health care in the community is managed through the village clinic, which is staffed by two health aides trained by the Public Health Service. There is strong continuity of health care in the village as one of the two aides has been active in health care in the village since 1945, and began serving as a paid health care worker in 1968. Both of the health aides were hired from the village. The health aides are paid by an IHS grant which is administered by the A/PIA, and hospital consultation is handled through the ANS facility in Anchorage. The Community Health Representative is primarily a social worker position, and it is her job to look in on the elderly and to provide information services to the community. A doctor and a dentist from the ANS hospital in Anchorage visit the community once every year.

The Village Council owns the clinic building which is leased by the federal Public Health Service. The clinic consists of a reception room, a lab, an exam room, and storage and shower facilities. The two health aides each work part time, one in the mornings and the other in the afternoons.

Level of use of the clinic varies widely. When influenza is going around the village, it is heavily used, but otherwise it is hardly used. The clinic does not have the capacity to handle serious injuries beyond stabilization, and such cases must be "medivaced" out. Medivac patients usually go to Anchorage, although facilities are available closer by on Adak in the case of a dire emergency.

EDUCATION

Several levels of education are available in Atka, ranging from preschool through post-secondary.

Preschool

The Atka Village Council runs a preschool in the council building located on the main townsite. Four children are currently enrolled in the program, which runs from Monday through Friday for one hour per day.

Atka Village School

The Atka village school is part of the Aleutian Regional School District. The school offers sessions from kindergarten through twelfth grade in the new building that was constructed in 1983. Education through high school is relatively new to the community, with the first class to complete twelfth grade graduating in 1980. Prior to this, most students boarded at BIA schools such as Mt, Edgecumbe or Chimawa, while a few attended school on the military base at Adak.

Because Atka is part of a regional school district, there is some opinion in the community that the administration can be unresponsive to local needs, but everyone acknowledges the advantages of having access to the resources of the district. In addition to providing administrative support, the district offers opportunities outside the classroom. These include sponsorship of trips to the Native Youth Olympics, and trips every two years to Seattle for the fifth and sixth graders and to Washington D.C. for the eleventh and twelfth graders.

The community has a new high school building which was built during the monitoring period (in 1983), but the most important recent change in education in the village is that students no longer travel out of the village for their high school education.

The community has a rapid rate of teacher turnover. Three non-Native "outsiders" taught at the school during the 1985-1986 school year. Two of these were scheduled to leave at the end of the school year, which was their second year at the school, and the third plans to begin her second year in the fall of 1986. This rate of turnover, which is typical, is a cause for some cynicism in the village. It is the perception of some of the villagers that teachers only come to work in Atka for the money, and this gives rise to some resentment.

Although somewhat isolated socially within what is a tightly knit community, in terms of housing the teachers are integrated into the village. Two of the teachers are a married couple who live with their children in the old village. The single teacher lives in a house in the new subdivision.

The school is divided into elementary, junior high, and high school, each having its own teacher, i.e., the above mentioned outsiders. The fourth teacher, a local resident, is in charge of the Aleut language program.

There is a strong bilingual program at the school. It was started in 1972 and has enjoyed a good deal of continuity because the current instructor has been teaching the program on and off since its inception, and when he has not been available to take classes another teacher would step in. In 1972, as part of the Aleutian Regional School District, Atka students were given language dependency exams. It was discovered that students in Atka, Akutan, and Nikolski were sufficiently dependent upon the Aleut language to warrant the development of a bilingual program. There is strong local involvement with the bilingual program from the instructional and textual perspectives. The instructor is a local resident and a linguist by training, having studied under Knut Bergsland in Oslo. He is the co-author, with Bergsland, of two works on Aleut grammar and is the author of a bilingual book on Atkan birds.

Although the program at the school is a successful one, use of the Aleut language is changing in Atka. The language is still commonly heard in the village, primarily among high school age individuals and older. Older persons use Aleut almost exclusively; younger adults are fluent in Aleut, even though they often use English conversationally. However, according to the bilingual program instructor, younger children use English as their first language because parents prefer to communicate with their children in English. Twenty-three students currently attend the school and. all take part in the Aleut program. Enrollment in one of the four levels of instruction is based upon the student's level of competence in the language: The same instructor also teaches an Aleut crafts program, which focuses on traditional crafts and technology.

Although significant contact with outsiders is still infrequent, with the notable exception of the school teachers, exposure to spoken English is pervasive through television and radio. While the school provides the most overt example of institutionalized acculturation and enculturation, and does so by design, the increased use of English in the home encouraged by adults and the media have similar effects that are well recognized in the village.

Atka has no problem with students dropping out of school. According to one teacher, all students finish school because "there is nothing else for them to do." There is strong incentive to keep children in the community for their education because the level of funding for the school depends upon the level of enrollment. However, while many older residents think that sending children to high school in Atka is a positive thing, some of the students seem to feel that they miss out on a wider range of opportunities by not attending school outside of the community.

Post-Secondary Education

Although there are no actual post-secondary educational opportunities available in Atka, college courses are available through the Rural Education branch of the University of Alaska by means of the interactive teleconference phone system. Students can take individual classes, or work toward AA degrees. Expansion of this system is planned at the University so that future students can study for BA degrees as well. While Atkans have attended college, including the University of Alaska-Fairbanks and the University of Oslo, no Aleut resident of the community has yet earned a four-year college degree.

CONCLUSION

Population. The population of Atka has been quite stable in comparison to the other study communities. The natural rate of increase has been balanced by an equivalent rate of emigration, so that there has been a net change of only three individuals over the monitoring period (representing slightly over three percent of the total population). The rate of change in population is in part tied to economic conditions. The lack of available wage labor jobs has served as an incentive to leave the community, and is a problem discussed by young and old. Rates of emigration and immigration in Atka have not significantly affected the ethnic distribution in the community, as it is an ethnically homogeneous village with only two permanent non-Native residents, both of whom have Aleut spouses.

Even in the absence of unrelated non-Aleuts in the village, there is a strong feeling of a need to preserve local control over local resources and the traditional way of life, and a desire to keep Atka an Aleut village. This is reflected in the direction of economic development. Development controlled by outsiders is considered by many to be too high a price to pay, even for strongly desired wage labor.

Household size is an aspect of Atka's population that has been affected by changes in other sociocultural institutions. Average household size declined over the monitoring period due to the construction of HUD housing by the Aleutian Housing Authority, The new HUD housing has had effects on the "geosocial" complexion of the community as well, as the new homes have been constructed well away from the main area of the community, lowering the population density and rearranging the relative proximity of kin and friends. Additionally, the new housing served to differentiate the community by age, as the new houses (located approximately a mile from the existing village site) were taken primarily by young families.

Land. The Atxam Corporation is the major landowner in and around the village of Atka. Atka has a close relationship to the Federal Government on land regulation issues, as all of the land around the village lies within the Alaska Maritime National Wildlife Refuge and is administered by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. Indeed, Atka is the only village situated within the refuge. No non-Natives own land in or around the community, nor are there any privately owned Native Allotment lands near the village. Housing financed by the Aleutian Housing Authority has contributed to an increase-in residential land use. Privately financed housing construction has not been evident in Atka during the monitoring period.

Land issues are sensitive in Atka, and land ownership is seen as a means of retaining local control over economic development and subsistence resources and subsistence resource utilization. Given the level of reliance on subsistence resources in Atka, these are equally high (and mutually reinforcing) priorities. To some extent, land and sea are viewed as both commercial and subsistence resources. However, they are viewed more as providers of subsistence resources in Atka, despite the recent development of a local commercial halibut fishery.

Political Control. Unlike the other study communities, Atka has undergone little change in its political processes over the monitoring period, because the community itself has undergone very little demographic or economic change. Neither groups nor resources have changed significantly, so long-term adaptations to the distribution of power and resources have remained in place. In this respect, Atka does "indeed serve as a control community for sociocultural change as was intended in the study design.

The process of proliferation/formalization of institutions, seen in the other study communities, was little in evidence during the monitoring period in Atka, with the exception of the formation of the Atka Fishermen's Association (AFA). The AFA is an organization of fishermen intent on establishing a viable local commercial halibut fishery. The Atka Volunteer Fire Department is also a relatively new entity, having been formally organized in the 1970s. The Atxam Corporation has been involved with local economic development directly, through the provision of employment, and indirectly, through loan of money to enable the AFA to begin operations.

Native non-profit institutions have been active participants in the political process in the community. The Village Council of Atka, for instance, exerts political influence by virtue of their authority under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, and serves as the formal local government for the community. " This form of government, due to the structural provision which excludes non-Native participation in elections, functions to preserve local control, even if a substantial number of non-Aleuts were to move to the community. As in the other the small communities throughout the region, which lack a large political organization or a highly developed community infrastructure, the regional Native non-profit Aleutians/Pribilof Islands Association has filled the role by providing community services and acting as an advocate for its clients in the regional and state (and, indeed, national) political arenas. The A/PIA has been been fundamental to the provision of basic governmental services and social services in these communities. Traditional authority, based on age and kinship, remains strong in Atka, and there appears to be little conflict between the IRA Council and the Atxam Corporation.

Despite the efforts at local political control and self-determination, the state and federal governments retain a degree of control in Atka. This control is based on several different factors, including ownership of facilities such as roads and airports; provision of revenues (often channeled through the A/PIA) for the administration of municipal services, health, education, and social services as well as economic development projects; employment of local residents; and regulations such as the selling of offshore oil leases, or the commercial fisheries quotas. The decline in federal revenues and projected cutbacks in the number of federal and state subsidized employment positions also threatens to have substantial direct and indirect impacts on the political institutions of each community.

Sociocultural Institutions. The traditional sociocultural system of Atka is Aleut in origin, with a strong degree of Russian (first) and Euro-American (second) influence. While the continuing influence of Aleut culture is stronger in Atka than in the other study communities, as measured by such indices as language retention, the influence of outside sociocultural institutions is nonetheless very strong indeed and pervades virtually all aspects of life in Atka. One inescapable distinguishing feature of Atka, however, is the fact that, no matter how strongly influenced by external forces, virtually all of the permanent residents of the community are Aleut, and share a worldview predicated upon that identity. "

The Russian Orthodox Church continues to remain strong in Atka, and membership has remained high. There are no competing religious institutions within the village, so in addition to being an ethnically homogeneous community, it is religiously cohesive as well.

The village of Atka is a "primary group" in anthropological terms, meaning the individual villagers have face-to-face relations with all other villagers, and each is known to all. As a result of this there are is an array of "cross-cutting ties" which characterize all social interaction. This makes social life in Atka quite different from that in Unalaska, for example, where there are several "secondary groups" whose members know some, but not all, of the members of the group. In the case of a community with secondary groups, relations can be context-specific (e.g., one can deal instrumentally with strangers in a business situation, whereas there can be no "purely economic" exchanges in Atka). This unavoidably influences social interactions in the community.

Classifications based on neighborhood and income status are not particularly salient in Atka, but it remains to be seen how things will change as the result of the new housing development being located relatively remotely from the main body of the village (as well as the long-term implications of the development of a local commercial fishery). Atka's level of participation in the commercial economy of the region is strongly influenced by several factors, including its small population, distance from regional population and commercial centers, and its low level of infrastructural development. Atka, over the past several decades, has not attracted outsiders intent on local economic development.

The degree of local political control over economic development has also contributed to the variation in changes in sociocultural institutions. In Atka, differences in the level of income among those who are regularly employed are not as sharp as in the other study communities, but the small number of full-time employment positions within the community make employment and income levels salient issues within the village.

Economic Organization. Changes have occurred in the economic organization over the monitoring period, although these changes are not nearly as dramatic as those in the other study communities. The increasing diversification of economic organization seen in the development of a small commercial fishery, the beginning of which was funded by a loan from the local Native corporation.

Political institutions have also come to play a greater role in economic organization during the monitoring period. The A/PIA is responsible for most of the "governmental" type of employment in Atka, although this pattern predates the monitoring period.

The commercial halibut fishery of Atka has become organized through the process of linearization, despite the very real possibility that it may not succeed in competing with established fishermen and processors. OCS development effects are not at all in evidence in Atka.

Subsistence activities have remained a central part of the sociocultural systems in Atka, complementing a trend toward greater participation in the wage labor economy. Given the resources provided by wage labor (i.e., cash) as well as the demands placed on this form of economic activity on leisure time, subsistence activities have become more capital-intensive. Cash is used to purchase items such as skiffs, fishing gear, three-wheelers, and firearms to enable local residents to harvest more subsistence items, over a wider geographical area, in a shorter period of time than was previously the case. In Atka, distance from markets and lack of harbor facilities has limited opportunities for local development. Job opportunities, for the skilled and unskilled worker alike, are few and depend in large part on factors not particularly subject to local control, such as state funding. To a very large extent, income and employment are dependent upon federal and state revenues which have declined throughout the monitoring period.

Health and Social Welfare. New health and social service institutions with more specialized services, such as the A/PIA-sponsored regional psychologist based in Unalaska, are available to meet the needs of Atkans. Local provision of health care has changed very little in its structure over the monitoring period and, although precise data are unavailable for Atka, the impression obtained during field interviews is that health care indices have remained constant in that community. As in the other study communities, the large majority of problems in social control in Atka are alcohol-related.

Education. In Atka, teachers continue to be regarded as "outsiders." Some students experience incentives to" leave the communities in search of a college education or employment opportunities, and social and cultural incentives to remain in the community. Strong kinship bonds and incentives to remain in the community are at times offset by the realization that the local economy is unlikely to expand dramatically in the near future, however, and the lack of jobs is problematic to the young people, The local school represents the integration of Euro-American and traditional values. Aleut language classes are offered in Atka, and one of the teachers at the school is involved with the production of Aleut language teaching materials. Post-secondary education of the type only available outside of the region is also perceived as being important as a means of training local students to assume leadership positions in the local political and economic institutions.

CHAPTER5: ST. PAUL

INTRODUCTION

The community of St. Paul is located on St. Paul Island, one of the Pribilof Islands in the southeastern quadrant of the Bering Sea. The Pribilofs are situated 240 miles north of the Aleutian Islands, 300 miles west of the Alaskan mainland, and approximately 750 miles west southwest from Anchorage.

The community traces its history back to the late 18th century, when Russian fur traders brought Natives from Atka and Siberia as hunting crews for the commercial harvest of fur seals (Veniaminov 1840). The island was administered by the Russian American Company until the sale and transfer of Alaska from Russia to the United States in 1867. In 1870, the U.S. Government awarded a twenty-year sealing lease to the Alaska Commercial Company, which provided housing, fuel, food, and medical care to the Native residents in return for participation in the fur seal harvest. A second twenty-year lease was awarded to the North American Commercial Company in 1890. By this time, however, the number of seals had declined significantly due to over-harvesting, and a period of severe poverty ensued (Jones 1980). The 1910 Fur Seal Act formally ended private leasing of the islands and placed both the community and the fur seal harvest under the control of the Bureau of Fisheries. Under Federal Government control, food and clothing were scarce, social and racial segregation were practiced, working conditions were poor, and restrictions on travel and exile from the island as punishment for "misbehavior" were invoked (Orbach and Holmes 1983:18). During World War II, St. Paul Aleuts were moved to Funter Bay on Admiralty Island as part of the general evacuation of Aleuts from the Bering Sea region. Despite the improvement of social and economic conditions after the war and the gradual acquisition of a measure of local control, St. Paul remained politically and economically dependent on the Federal Government (lately in the form of the National Marine Fisheries Service) until very recently.

An array of conflicting events occurred almost simultaneously and affected the community of St. Paul during six-year the monitoring period. First, on October 13, 1983, the National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS) withdrew from the island, ending an era of direct or indirect federal control which began with U.S. acquisition well over a century ago. In doing so, NMFS transferred its responsibility for management of the annual fur seal harvest and provision of essential community services (e.g., power, water, sewerage, and road maintenance) to local entities. The prospects for the vitality of the community would probably have been bleak were it not for certain other events. One was the passage of the Fur Seal Act Amendments by Congress (P.L. 98-12) in 1983. These amendments terminated federal administration of the Pribilof Islands and allocated $20 million ($12 million for St. Paul and $8 million for St. George) for the "orderly transition" to local governmental and economic control of services previously provided by NMFS in support of the fur sealing operations of the islands. Known as the "St. Paul Trust," the expressed objective of these funds was to encourage the establishment of a stable, diversified economy no longer dependent on sealing for its economic existence. A second event was the Indian Claims Commission settlement of July 1979, which provided $8.5 million (known as the "corned beef" money) to the Aleut communities of St. George and St. Paul in 1983 as partial compensation for the unfair and unjust treatment of Pribilof Islanders by the Federal Government between 1870 and 1946. Third, was the initiation of several major construction projects throughout the community, including the

initiation of the breakwater construction project, HUD and PHS construction projects, and electrical generation projects. All of these events came to fruition at virtually the same time.

This chapter will focus on recent events in the monitoring period, detailing the transition from federal to local control. We shall examine how external circumstances (i.e., the larger political economy) combined with local values and institutions to influence the rate and direction of change. In turn, we shall examine how the institutional changes have affected the community's value system.

POPULATION

The existence of the countervailing forces described above have made the interpretation of population changes in St, Paul over the 1980-1985 period difficult. Where such a multitude of factors exist, the attribution of causality is virtually impossible. What we have tried to do in the following analysis is to separate out the longer-term trends from the temporary effects of particular, delimited construction or development projects. When viewed in combination with the analysis of employment trends below, a better understanding of both the population and employment dynamics of St. Paul under conditions of rapid change emerges.

Total Population

The 1960 U.S. Census recorded 350 residents of St. Paul, the 1970 Census recorded 355 residents, and the 1980 Census recorded 551 residents. While these figures are generally accepted as accurate, subsequent population estimates and censuses vary significantly from year to year. City of St. Paul censuses and revenue sharing population statements record 591 residents in 1981 and 595 residents in 1982, 1983, 1984 and 1985, while Alaska Department of Labor (1983, 1984) records indicate populations of 528 in 1983 and 541 in 1984. For most other objectives these differences would probably not be a problem. For the purposes of this study, however, they provide a confusing and unacceptable comparative base. The population changes that have occurred over the last five years are blurred under one set of figures (ADOL) and totally eliminated in the other (City of St. Paul censuses). Our own survey of the population of St. Paul indicated that there are currently 473 "effective" residents in the community, using the criteria outlined in the first chapter.

The. U.S. Census enumerated 551 residents of St. Paul in 1980. Of this population 483 of were classified as Alaskan Native. Of this total 450 were classified as Aleut, twenty-three as Indian and ten as Eskimo. Of the sixty-eight non-Native individuals, sixty-one were classified as caucasian, three as Filipino, and four as "other." However, it is important to place the 1980 census in context. Given the extraordinarily constant nature of St. Paul employment patterns between 1970 and 1980, its stable population growth pattern (1 .2°% annually), and the close-knit nature of social ties which in the past acted as a constraint to outmigration, we can reasonably assume that these 1980 figures reflect the actual effective population as defined above. At that time NMFS had virtual total control of the physical operations and management of the community. Federal employees with permanent assignments to this duty' station were present year-round in St. Paul

(virtually none of these non-Native federal employees have remained in the community). What we have done is to take the accepted and well-documented 1970 and 1980 U.S. Census reports, break out the Native populations, and compare these figures with our own extensive household survey conducted in April 1986.[2]

Among the assumptions used in the population survey of 1986 were three exceptions to the nine-month residency rule as applied to St. Paul. First, high school students (in 11th and 12th grades) expected to return upon graduation were counted as permanent residents. High school juniors and seniors who have gone to Anchorage, Kodiak, Sitka or Seattle to complete high school almost invariably return after graduation to live for some period in the community. They are considered by both themselves and the community as a whole to be residents of St. Paul. Where entire families have gone to these other communities to be with their older children during their high school years, we have eliminated the family from our census count. This is the case because the likelihood of their returning is considerably lower, and because they were not physically resident in St. Paul at least for that particular year. Second, for both population and employment tables and graphs United States Coast Guard (USCG) personnel rotating to and from the Island on active duty were not included. Third, teachers were considered in employment figures but not in population counts because they do not view themselves, nor are they considered by other residents of St. Paul, to be permanent residents.

The USCG "Loran C" facility presents several analytic problems. On the one hand, Coast Guard personnel are often in the community for longer stretches of time than some of the permanent residents, yet they do not consider St. Paul to be their home. Rather, they are assigned for fixed periods of time to this duty station and look forward to the time they will be "rotated stateside" or reassigned to another station. Their employment has little or no economic effect on the community aside from incidental purchases at the community store and the employment of a few local residents for maintenance services. They remain on the Loran site virtually the entire period of their assignment and their interaction with the community is typically limited to exchanges with locals who come to the base for recreation (movies, beer, pool, darts, etc.). Were this facility expected to remain a constant feature of the employment and population picture, their inclusion in the analysis would probably be appropriate. However, this is not the case, for within the next

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2. ***Our census of St. Paul, the only community where such a highly detailed census was required, was developed with the assistance of several local residents who claimed to know where every person in the community was (city office personnel, postal personnel, and two independent reviewers). We were able to locate every individual, determine his or her precise age and, for those individuals currently not resident in the community, to differentiate which individuals would likely (or even potentially) return to the community (e.g., people out to work, high school students attending school in Sitka, Seattle, Anchorage, etc.), from those certain not to return (who had permanently moved, recently died, in jail). This approach is essentially social in character. Our effort was not so much to gain an idea of the total possible population but to develop an accurate assessment of actual effective population: those who virtually everyone agreed were residents and who actually lived in the community.***

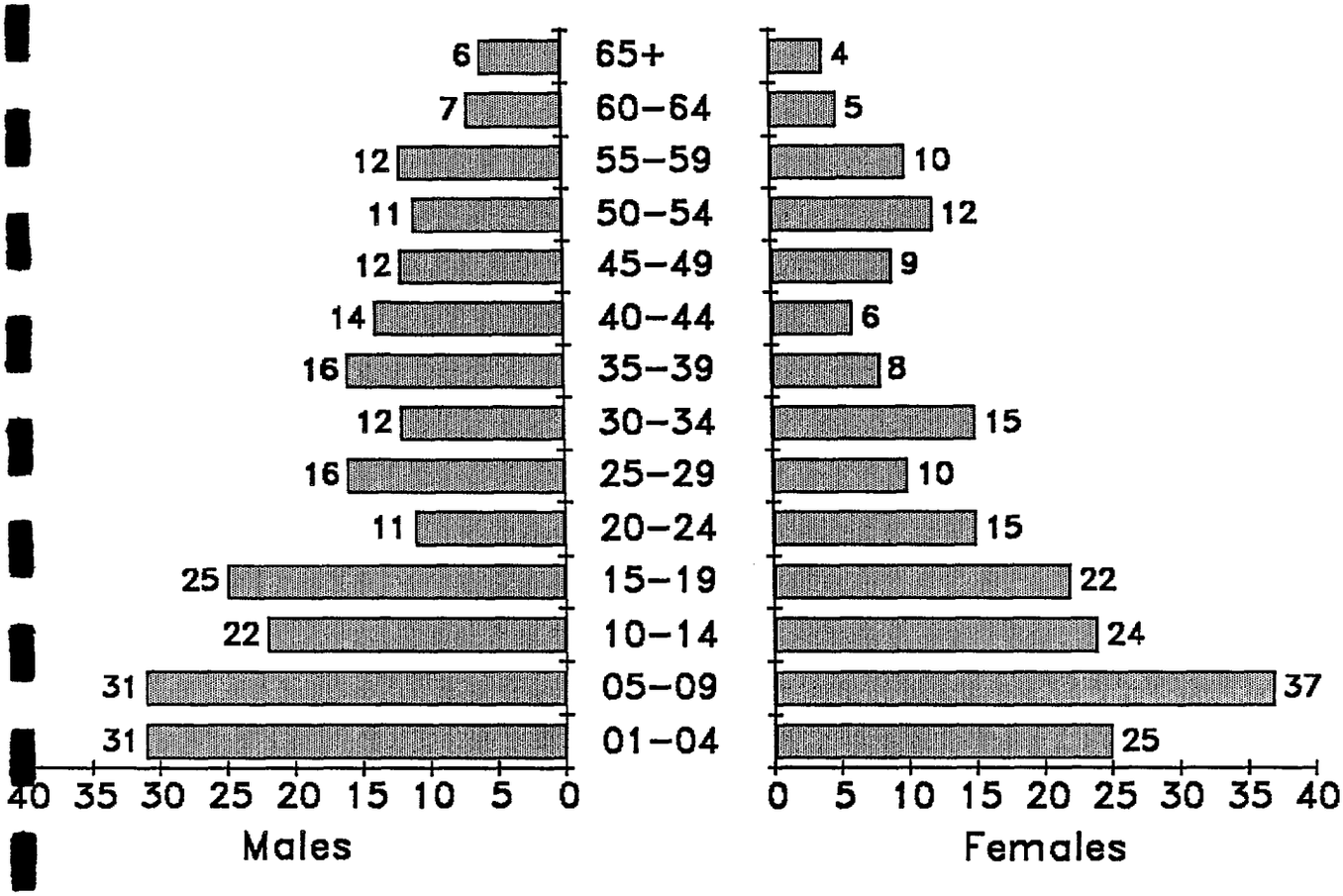
year or two the station is expected to be eliminated under a cost-cutting policy of the Coast Guard. Had the nineteen full-time employment positions represented by the base been included in an analysis of the local economy, the elimination of these positions would have resulted in an exaggerated appraisal of economic effects. From a population perspective, their departure would appear as a significant outmigration of working-aged (twenty to thirty-five year old) males. This too would have significantly distorted the analysis.

Age and Sex Ratios

The 1980 age/sex pyramid is contained in Figure 9. When compared with the 1970 pyramid in Figure 8, the character of changes in age and sex ratios between the two U.S. Censuses becomes evident. First, there was increase in the number of individuals in the older age brackets, with five percent over sixty years of age in 1970 versus seven percent over sixty years of age in 1980 (corresponding with the national trend of longer lifespan). Second, there was a decline in the percentage of' individuals between the ages of thirty-five to fifty-nine from twenty-four percent to nineteen percent of the population. Third, from an employment perspective, there was an absolute increase in the number of individuals of employable ages (i.e., between fifteen and sixty-four years of age) from 248 in 1970 to 302 in 1980 (though this represents only .5% percent increase). Fourth, the ratio of employable age males to females in the population remained fairly constant (fifty-five percent male in 1970 versus fifty-six percent in 1980).

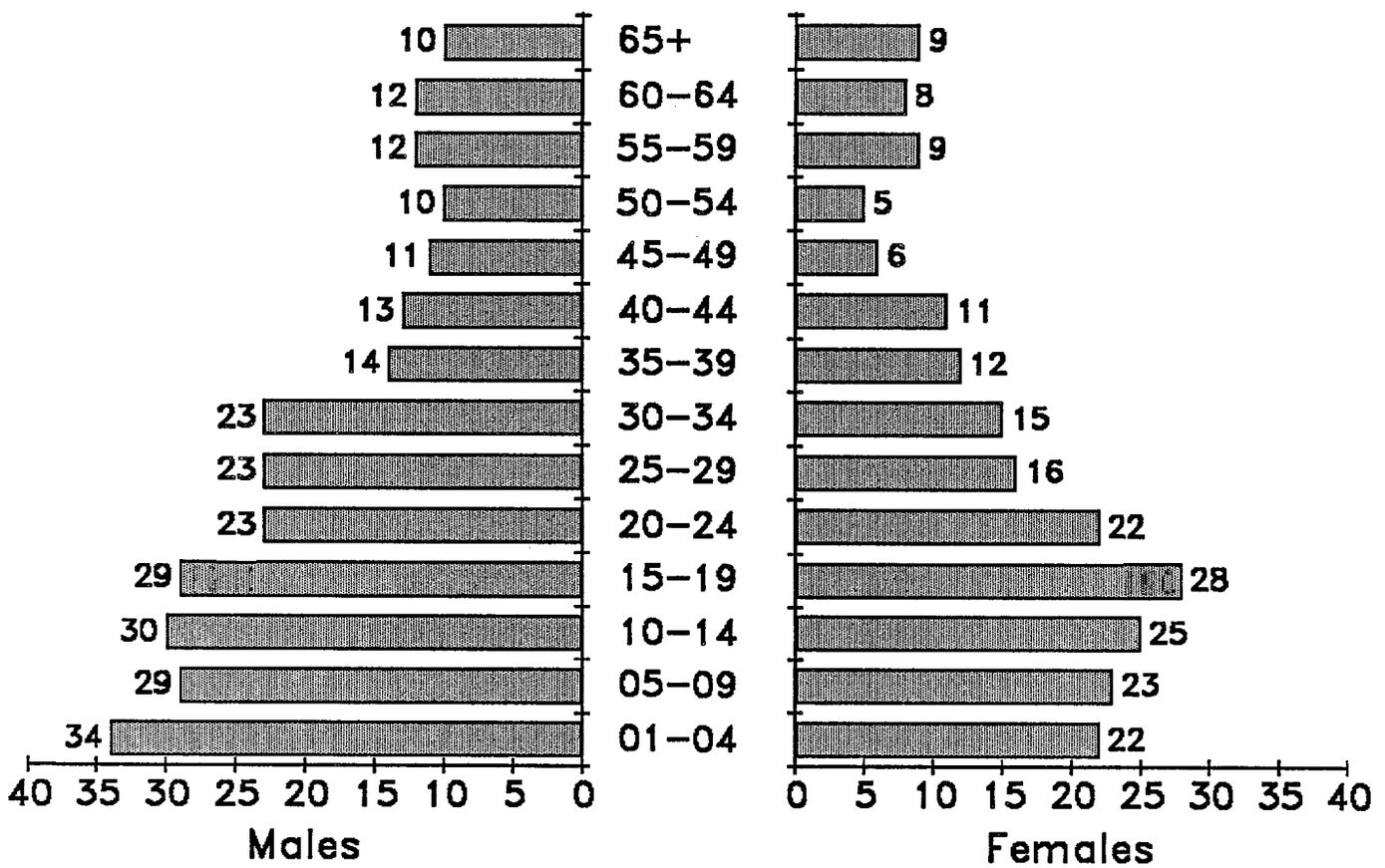
Given the above long-term trends, we can see that several changes have taken place over the five year monitoring period since 1980. The 1986 age and sex pyramid presented in Figure 10 also shows continuation of the aging trend of the population. The number of employable age individuals has gained only one individual (from 302 in 1980 to 303 in 1986), however, the percentage of employable individuals in the community population has increased from 54.8% in 1980 to 64% in 1986, due to a proportional decline in other population cohorts. The employment picture when contrasted with the population as a whole has undergone another significant shift with the recent movement of women into wage-earning positions as well. However, the number of permanent jobs in the community has shown virtually no increase because of the elimination of wage-earning fur seal harvest jobs with NMFS. This will have considerable bearing on the perceived severity of the unemployment conditions if prospects for development are not realized soon. In addition, the percentage of females in the high fertility ages (between fifteen and thirty-four years of age) increased from 14.5% of the population in 1970 to 16.7% of the population in 1980, but by 1986 the number of women in this age group had declined 14.8% of the population. Marriages to men from outside the community, outmigration for employment or educational purposes, and the movement of a few large families over the last five years account for this decline. This decline is also reflected in the declining percentage of resident children under the age of ten (from 22.3% in 1980 to 20.7% in 1986). When compared with the 1970 figures the decline is from 29% to 20.7%. There has been little change in the ratio of males to females between ages 21 and thirty-five. There were sixty-nine males to fifty females in this age bracket in 1980, and seventy-f our males to fifty-seven females in 1986. However, while this reflects very little change in sex ratio over the monitoring period, when combined with the observed tendency of fertile females to outmigrate, it is clear that a shortage of marriageable females will continue into the foreseeable future. To these changes we must also add the cumulative natural increase over the monitoring period. As

Figure 8
St. Pau Age/Sex Population Distribution: 1970



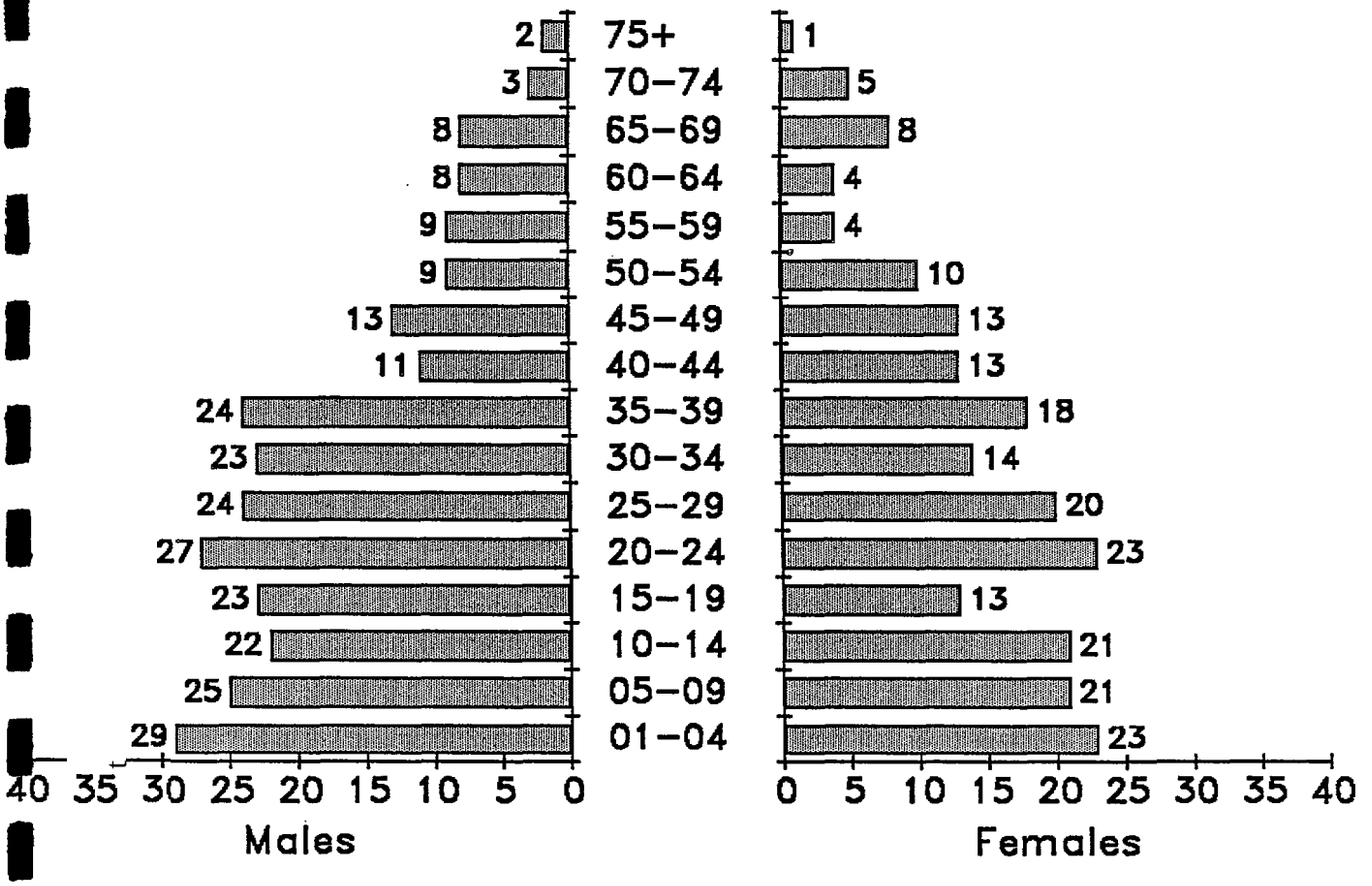
(Impact Assessment, Inc., 1987)

Figure 9
St. Pau Age/Se× Population Dis r.'≥ution: 1980



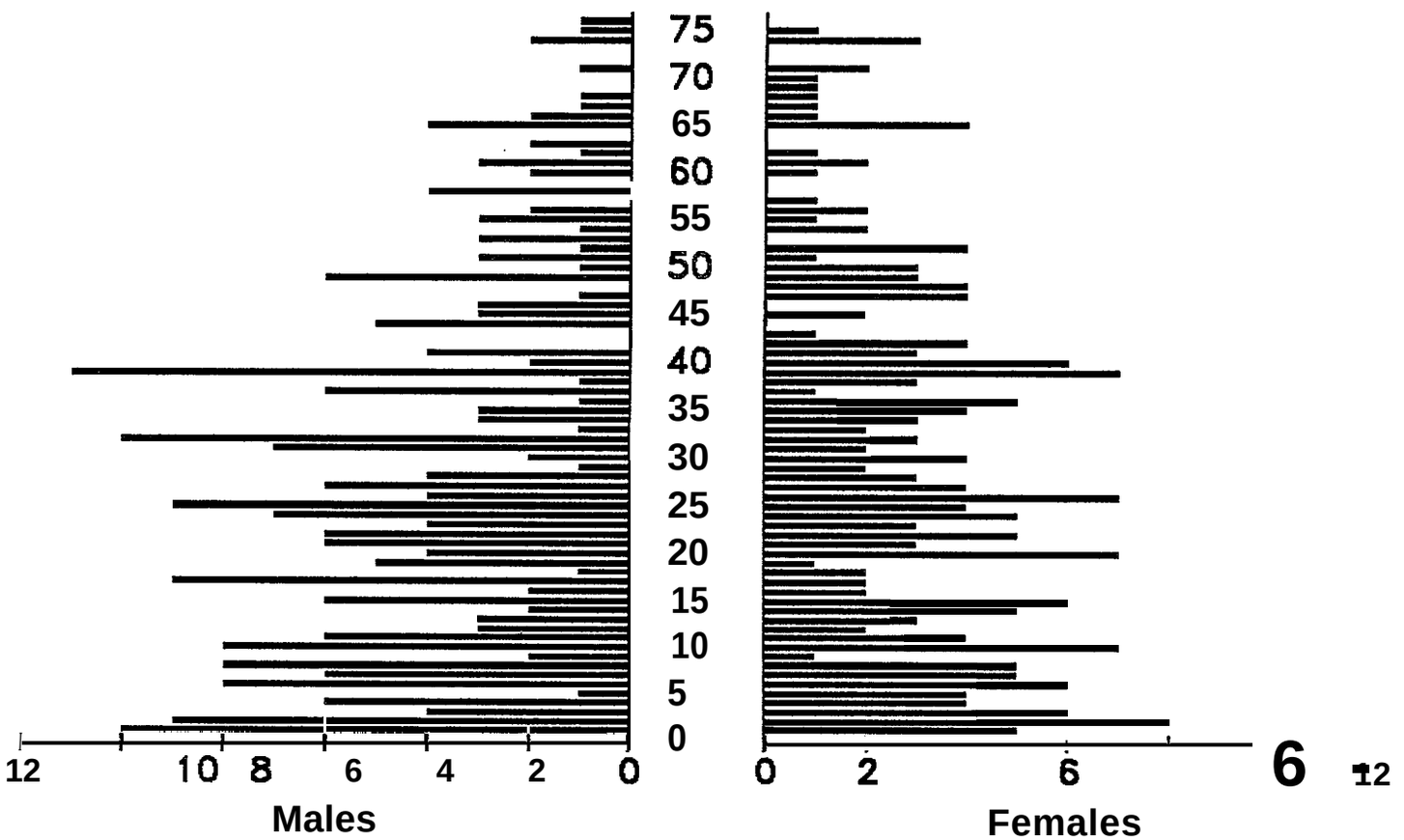
(Impact Assessment, Inc., 1987)

Figure 10
St. Paul Age/Sex Population Distribution: 1986



(Impact Assessment, Inc., 1987)

Figure 11
St. Paul Age/Sex Population Distribution: 1986
By Specific Age



(Impact Assessment, Inc., 1987)

depicted in the following table, net natural increase of births over deaths in St. Paul (through 1984) was thirty-seven individuals. Thus, net outmigration of permanent residents from the community since 1980, based on similar classifications of "effective residents" at both points in time, is about sixty persons (495-473 = 22 + 37 = 59).

Finally, Figure 11, presents a population pyramid of the community of St. Paul by actual age. That is, rather than relying on the standard U.S. Census five-year age brackets, we have constructed this pyramid by actual date of birth according to the following convention. The year of birth was extracted from each individual's birthday and his or her age measured from that year to 1986. The disadvantage of this approach is that individuals born in 1986 have been lumped with those born in 1985 as one-year olds. There are two important advantages of this approach. First, future analysts need only obtain an accurate census of the community to fix with absolute accuracy the changes in population over the intervening monitoring period. A direct comparison between this pyramid and future similarly constructed pyramids will allow the computation of changes by year categories in the population, the verification of mortality estimates, and will even allow a direct appraisal of emigration and immigration (though some overlap can be expected).

Table 29. St. Paul Births and Deaths

Year	Births	Deaths	Net Natural Change
1970	10	1	+9
1971	8	2	+6
1972	6	4	+2
1973	12	3	+9
1974	10	8	+2
1975	9	2	+7
1976	18	2	+16
1977	9	4	+5
1978	10	2	+8
1979	1	6	-5
1980	14	5	+9
1981	8	8	0
1982	15	7	+8
1983	13	5	+8
1984	20	8	+12

Source: Alaska Department of Health and Social Services (n.d.) as cited in Braund et al., 1986.

Population and Ethnicity

According to the 1980 Census, 81,7 percent of St. Paul's population was Aleut, six percent were Other Native (Eskimo and Indians), and the the remaining 12.3 percent were non-Natives (U.S. Census 1980). Braund and his associates surveyed the community and found that the Aleuts represented approximately ninety percent of the island's population. The increase in this figure, however, was attributed to an underenumeration of non-Natives because the survey was conducted during the summer months when teachers and other non-Natives were on vacation or living elsewhere. However, based on our own estimate of the number of effective residents of St. Paul as defined above, we found this percentage to be accurate.

Throughout the monitoring period, the ethnic distribution of the population has remained relatively constant. There has been a trend toward a slight increase in the Aleut proportion of the population due to the outmigration of a few non-Natives in the first few years of the 1980s. Should the USCG Station close down as planned, this proportion could become even higher in the next few years.

Demographics and Household Size

Household size in St. Paul has remained relatively constant throughout the monitoring period. Based on U.S. Census figures, there were 144 households in the community in 1980 with an average household size of 4.2. In 1982, Orbach and Holmes counted 526 locally-born Aleut residents, including their twenty-two spouses or children born elsewhere, living on St. Paul in 119 households. In addition, there were twenty-f ive Caucasian residents in eight households (Orbach and Holmes 1983). In 1985, the survey conducted by Braund and his associates counted 122 households in St. Paul, ranging in size from one to fourteen people with an average household size of 4.46 (Braund et al 1986:5-1 14).

Household size during this period has been affected by two countervailing trends. On the one hand, no new homes were constructed during the period from 1980 to 1984. Shortage of adequate housing, pooling of economic resources, and other social and economic factors tended to keep families together in the same household. On the other hand, average household size did not increase substantially because many younger family members were migrating off the island in search of employment and educational opportunities or because of marriage to individuals residing elsewhere. With the construction of twenty-four new homes in 1985, the housing situation improved somewhat, leading to a reduction in average household size from 4.46 in 1985 to 4.26 in 1986 (Impact Assessment 1986).

LAND

Land Ownership

Throughout the monitoring period, the two biggest landowners have been the local ANCSA Native corporation, the Tanadgusix Corporation (TDX), and the federal government. In addition, St. Paul is unusual in the sense that the city and state governments own no land in or near the community. Certain events have occurred during the monitoring period which could change this situation, however.

Under the terms of the ANCSA, the Tanadgusix Corporation received title to 23,564.4 acres of land on St. Paul Island. This represents approximately eighty-six percent of all land on the island, making TDX the largest landowner in the community. In addition, TDX also received title to land at Chernofski Harbor on Unalaska Island because the forty-four square mile area of St. Paul Island was less than the Corporation's entitlement under ANCSA.

In accordance with Section 14(c)(3) of ANCSA, TDX must reconvey up to 1,280 acres to the City of St. Paul for municipal use. This has yet to take place, however, and a date for commencing the transfer has yet to be identified. The source of this delay appears to lie in a disagreement between the two institutions over how much land near the harbor/port facility is required by the City for development of municipal services. The City has requested a total of four acres of land in this area while TDX feels that two acres should meet all of the City's needs. Because land ownership is an important criterion for political authority in the region, the lack of clear title to land within its municipal boundaries could be interpreted as a liability for the City of St. Paul in its efforts to assert its municipal authority and proceed with further development. As explained below, the political authority of the City since 1983 has stemmed from its role as the largest employer in the community. In the meantime, the City has been granted interim conveyances, leases, and easements from TDX for certain development projects.

In July of 1985 the City petitioned the State of Alaska for the annexation of Otter Island, Walrus Island and the territory of three nautical miles offshore from these islands, the total area consisting of 194 square miles (193 square miles of water and one square mile of land). The rationale for annexation was that the City's tax base could be enhanced by expanding its municipal boundaries offshore so that the raw fish tax revenue paid to the State by floating fish processors operating immediately offshore of St. Paul Island could be shared with the City. The City also wanted to control the impact upon the community of development by fishing and oil exploration and to control land use and development through planning in a larger area.

Throughout the monitoring period, the federal government has retained ownership of 3,835.6 acres on St. Paul Island and 171.4 acres on Walrus and Otter Islands and Sea Lion Rock. This includes 1,012 acres for seal rookeries under the jurisdiction of the National Marine Fisheries Service and 2,240.6 acres of bird cliff areas administered by the United States Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS). The federal government also retained control of certain parcels of land on St. Paul Island, including the USCG Loran station and the United States Weather Service (USWS) station, along with the community landfill, airport, roads, school, clinic, and specific parcels within the village formerly used in NMFS seal operations (Braund et al. 1986).

As part of the withdrawal of NMFS from the island in 1983, a memorandum of understanding was signed between the U.S. Department of Commerce and the City of St. Paul, TDX, and Aleut Community of St. Paul identifying lands to be transferred from federal ownership to state, municipal, and private ownership. This included 440 acres to TDX, 353.5 acres to the state, and 1.5 acres and 200 front feet of harbor lands, as well as leases to the City of lands, right-of-ways, easements, and buildings required for public services and utilities. However, as of the end of 1986, NMFS had yet to transfer any of its property to any local or state agency. Although the mechanisms for the transfer of federal land were established by the memorandum they have yet to affect the patterns of land ownership in the community. Moreover, despite the withdrawal of NMFS in 1983, the agency continues to have an

impact on the community through its continued ownership of land. Since land ownership is tied to regional perceptions of political power, NMFS remains an active force in the community if not to the same degree as prior to its transfer of administrative responsibilities for management of the fur seal harvest and the community infrastructure.

Land Use

The municipal boundaries of the City of St. Paul currently includes all of St. Paul Island, However, most of the land used for residential, commercial, and industrial purposes (apart from the seal rookeries which are now defined as public use lands) lie inside the village proper and along the corridor between the village and the airport. The USCG Loran station is located next to the airport, and the USWS weather station is nearby. The village proper is comprised of two developed areas: the original townsite and Ellerman Heights. The original townsite has been developed for residential, commercial, industrial, and institutional use, whereas Ellerman Heights is predominately residential (Braund et al. 1986:5-48).

According to the 1984 City of St. Paul Comprehensive Plan (Norgaard 1984a), there are thirty acres of land in the village developed for residential use. This includes eighty-three lots in the original townsite and seventy-six lots in Ellerman Heights. Additional residential development has been slated to the north of the existing residential areas in Ellerman Heights, including ten acres for a four-building, thirty-two unit multi-family housing complex.

Most of the commercial activity in St. Paul occurs on Bartlett and Tolstoi Boulevards in the original townsite. This includes the King Eider Hotel, Aleut Community Store, the tavern, the gas station, and the offices of TDX. The Point Warehouse was recently converted into a ship chandlery and marine vessel repair facility. There are a few other commercial enterprises scattered throughout the original townsite and Ellerman Heights area. The City hopes to develop additional land for commercial use in the area between Ellerman Heights and the airport road (Polovina Turnpike).

Most of the industrial land use in St. Paul is located in the harbor district in Village Cove. The seal processing plant and associated shops and warehouses are located on an eighteen acre site, of which twelve acres are presently in use. The City has targeted this area for redevelopment in conjunction with the construction of the port/harbor facilities. Other areas targeted for development of light industry include the area between Ellerman Heights and Polovina Turnpike, the Kemanista Ridge Quarry area, and the airport industrial area. The only development to date in the airport industrial area has been the construction of the Pribilof Offshore Support Services (POSS) facility in 1984. However, the facility was sold and dismantled in 1986 and is no longer in operation.

Institutional land use is predominately located in the village area and includes the Pribilof Island School District office, the St. Paul school, the Russian Orthodox Church, the cemetery, and the Assembly of God church. The total area is approximately 420 acres. In addition, there are three types of public land use areas on St. Paul Island, totaling 26,869 acres: facilities and services, resource and wildlife management, and subsistence use (Braund et al. 1986:5-59). This represents by far the largest proportion of land use in the community.

Despite the development of a Comprehensive Plan by the City of St. Paul and the development efforts of the Tanadgusix Corporation and IRA Council, there has been very little change in land usage during the monitoring period. The construction of the POSS facility represented a major initiative in the development of land for light industrial use; however, the closure and dismantling of the facility in 1986 was a significant setback in the development of land for this type of use. The harbor has been developed for commercial and light industrial use and housing construction has occurred on land already zoned for residential use. However, given the uncertainty over the transfer of land from federal to local authority, development of other areas has been put on hold.

Housing

Prior to the 1970s, homes on St. Paul were constructed by the federal government. A total of eighty-four single family units existed in the village and were constructed in three basic styles: concrete, wood and concrete, and wood frame. Commencing in the early 1970s, federal grant funds were used to develop new housing units in Ellerman Heights. Thirty wood frame and modular units were constructed (Braund et al. 1986:5-78). In addition, multi-family housing including the Alaska Dorm, the Government House, and the King Eider Hotel Annex is available for permanent residents. Transient housing is available at the USCG Loran station, the USWS station, the King Eider Hotel, and NMFS staff headquarters.

In 1980, there were ninety-eight single-family units, four duplexes, and nine multi-family units in St. Paul as well as forty-three units available for transient housing (Dames & Moore 1983). By 1985, the number of single-family units had increased to 131; multi-family units had increased to twenty-one; and housing available for transients had increased to eighty-seven units. However, most of this new housing was made available only after 1985; no new houses were constructed in the community between 1980 and 1984 (Braund et al. 1986:5-79). Moreover, the temporary "housing located at the POSS facility is no longer available since the sale and dismantling of the facility in 1986. ·

The construction of new housing, as noted earlier in the discussion of St. Paul's population, had a noticeable impact on household size in the community. Household size is expected to drop even further with the construction of the planned thirty-two unit multi-family housing complex north of the Ellerman Heights area.

Values Relating to Land and Sea

As noted elsewhere in this report, land and sea play a central role in the traditional sociocultural system of Aleuts throughout the region. Both were important sources of subsistence resources; world views stressed the interrelationship between the social group and their physical environment; and value systems reinforced qualities such as self-sufficiency, cooperation, courage, and work dictated by the demands of the environment. However, the relationship between the Aleuts of St. Paul Island and their environment differed somewhat from the relationship as it existed elsewhere in the region. One important difference was in the commercial utilization of the environment. St. Paul's sociocultural system represents a synthesis of a traditional Aleut culture dependent upon subsistence activities and the imposition of a Euro-American sociocultural system based on the

commercial harvesting and processing of fur seals. Both remain as important components of the sociocultural system of St. Paul Aleuts despite the fact that the commercial harvesting and processing of fur seals has been eliminated by recent legislation. Land and sea have thus traditionally been viewed as commercial resources as well as subsistence resources which helps to explain certain aspects of recent development priorities and projects.

The commercial importance of land on St. Paul notwithstanding, land continues to be seen from the perspective of subsistence activity as well. Although the community is dependent upon wage labor for its economic livelihood, subsistence activities continue to have important social and cultural functions. It is for this reason that most of the land on the island has been reserved for subsistence use. This concern for the preservation of both land and sea as subsistence resources is also reflected in the opposition of the IRA Council and TDX to the City's efforts to annex offshore areas and Otter and Walrus Islands for development purposes. Both agencies perceive that any commercial activity in these areas such as fishing and processing could threaten local subsistence resources.

Another important element of the value system as its relates to the local environment has been the importance of local control. Control over the local environment has been an important issue throughout the region; in St. Paul, however, this issue is characterized by a history of federal domination over property, community infrastructure, and economic activities. Prior to ANCSA, the National Marine Fisheries Service owned all the land on St. Paul Island and its presence on the island reinforced the idea that ownership of property was an important criterion of political authority. The transfer of land to the Tanadgusix Corporation after the enactment of ANCSA represented the first major land-based measure of local control and self-determination for the Aleut residents of the island. Legal and actual control of land, therefore, was one of the dominant values characterizing institutional response involving land over the monitoring period.

POLITICAL CONTROL

Political control has been one of the dominant issues affecting the community of St. Paul throughout the monitoring period. Historically, the Aleuts of the Pribilof Islands have had little opportunity to exercise any right of self-determination. The communities originated as the result of the forced relocation of Natives of the Aleutian Islands for the commercial harvesting of fur seals in the late 18th century (Veniaminov 1840). During the late 18th and 19th centuries, the islands were administered by the Russian American Company, Alaska Commercial Company, and North American Commercial Company respectively. The federal government under the auspices of the Bureau of Fisheries assumed control in 1910 (Jones 1980). Despite the emergence of local political institutions in the 1950s, the federal government continued to dominate the political system of St. Paul until the withdrawal of the National Marine Fisheries Service in 1983. This withdrawal brought with it sudden independence. As Young (1984:8) observes, however, the community continues to have little control over over external political institutions and policies affecting their lives.

> By many accounts, the circumstances of the Pribilovians actually deteriorated under the management of the Pribilof Islands Program. With respect to public policy, the fate of St. Paul and St. George is closely tied to federal actions under the terms of the Marine Mammals Protection Act of 1972 (86 Stat. 1027), the Fishery Conservation and Management Act of 1976 (90 Stat. 331), and the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act Amendments of 1978 (92 Stat. 629). Yet the communities have little ability to affect the stance adopted by the United States in the course of negotiations relating to the international management regime for northern fur seals. Similarly, they have virtually no influence over the actions of the North Pacific Fisheries Management Council regarding the marine fisheries of the Bering Sea or the decisions of the Department of the Interior relating to offshore lease sales in the Bering Sea. As a result, St. Paul and St. George find themselves constantly reacting to changes in public policies motivated by interests and concerns having little to do with their welfare.

For years, the community of St. Paul has struggled for self-determination in the face of overwhelming control by NMFS. The achievement of a measure of self-determination with the withdrawal of NMFS, however, has engendered certain costs to the community. While the community had for a long time strived to attain their independence, they wanted to achieve it at their own pace, within the limitations of their expertise and experience. At no point did they anticipate or desire the total withdrawal of NMFS personnel and certainly never favored the elimination of the substantial financial and infrastructural support provided by the federal government in its operation of the fur seal research and processing operation in the island. The islanders consistently argued for the continued financial underwriting of the fur seal harvest, the multitude of costs of maintaining the island's infrastructure (e.g., fuel, electricity, water and sewerage), and the key developments if the community was expected to become a self-sustaining economy (e.g., the breakwater, harbor and port development, and local fisheries development).

Moreover, prior to the withdrawal of NMFS, the durability of local government by the federal agency allowed the population to focus its attention on self-government and self-determination in opposition to federal controls. The gradual increase in self-induced political control, combined with the express intent of the federal government to withdraw, produced mixed feelings at best. Many individuals looked at the pending separation from the security of absolute government control and responsibility to that of self-government as not entirely pleasant or positive. The result was increasing insecurity and uncertainty prior to and immediately following NMFS withdrawal.

Since the departure of NMFS, the issue of political control has become even more complex. With no external opposition to unite against, local political entities have resorted to jockeying for political control and competing, in a real sense, for a limited set of resources (i.e. the St. Paul Trust, grants, employment opportunities, etc.). The basis for conflict within the political system during the monitoring period lies within the varying sources of political power of these

institutions, their overlapping authority and responsibilities, the role of kinship in the formation of political factions, and differences in opinion with regard to the course and speed of economic development. Each of these will be examined in turn.

There are three major local political institutions in St. Paul, each with a different base of power and influence. The City of St. Paul is the primary beneficiary of the St. Paul Trust which was set up by the federal government to ease the transition of administrative responsibilities from federal to local authorities. Much of the twelve million dollars allocated to St. Paul has been used by the City to employ local residents in compensation for the loss of wage-labor jobs associated with the commercial fur seal harvest, making the City the largest employer on the island.

As mentioned previously, the Tanadgusix Corporation, the local Native corporation established under the terms and conditions of ANCSA, is the major landowner in the community. While not a political institution *per se*, its ability to influence economic development through control of the available land for such development, and its intensive efforts at lobbying on behalf of its shareholders for policies and programs which promote their interests, makes the TDX Corporation a major participant in the political arena of St. Paul.

The Aleut Community of St. Paul, established under the terms and conditions of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, controls the "corned beef" money which was the Indian Claims Commission settlement to the Aleut people in compensation for the treatment they received at the hands of the federal government between 1870 and 1946. This fund has been used to promote the development of a local fishing industry and other community development projects during the monitoring period. While this financial base is smaller than that possessed by the other two institutions, the IRA Council is the oldest local political institution on the island and one of the strongest advocates of preserving the integrity of the community in the face of intrusion by the larger Euro-American society.

All three institutions have responsibility and/or authority for a wide range of programs and activities in St. Paul. Many of these responsibilities overlap. For example, the IRA Council and the Tanadgusix Corporation have both been involved in fisheries development, and in 1985 both institutions assumed responsibility for the fur seal harvest of that year. Considerable effort has been devoted during the past few years to establishing clear lines of authority. Occasionally, the delineation of responsibility has engendered competing claims among agencies and the transfer of authority has occurred only after considerable negotiation.

The role of kinship in the exercise of political control in St. Paul has been another basis for competition. During the monitoring period, particular kin groups have been able to exercise substantial influence over certain local institutions, resulting in the formation of political factions. Although this factionalism is of a generally low level, it has implications for several areas of community life. For instance, according to one local informant:

> For this island to succeed, the nepotism must stop. Everyone knows it and is frustrated. If they are not part of the "in" group, they don't get jobs. That's just the way it is.

Because of the extensive nature of existing kinship networks in the community, however, charges of nepotism may be unavoidable.

Kinship, however, is less of a factor in political conflict than is divergence of opinions on how best to proceed with economic development. In 1981, Smythe reported a desire to keep control of economic development in the hands of the local Aleut leaders. This desire has been reflected by the efforts of local political institutions, especially the IRA Council and the Tanadgusix Corporation to prevent the possibility of a population of outsiders immigrating to the island, taking up residence, and dominating the political institutions.

> Underlying the issue of local control is the desire to provide means of livelihood for island residents, while simultaneously maintaining traditional forms of leadership and decision making, The concern over potential development is not a fear of more business activity or higher output and profits, but in having periods during which large numbers of outsiders come to the islands and alter the local lifestyle. An increase in complexity or seasonal influx of a population of outsiders would bring about new forms of village organization (Smythe 1981:15).

However, the perception of local residents is that both the Tanadgusix Corporation and the IRA Council are more concerned with Aleut control of development and exclusion of outsiders at all costs than City government, which maintains that in the face of massive unemployment once current construction projects are completed, attraction of outside commercial interests may be a necessary if not desirable option. Whether this perception is accurate or not is irrelevant; the fact remains that it is frequently used to explain political conflict within the community.

Despite these conflicts, however, all three local institutions are deeply concerned with the establishment and maintenance of local control of the community's future. Improving the prospects for the community's well-being is the primary objective of all three institutions. This goal, however, has been profoundly affected by the withdrawal of NMFS and the external regulatory policies which prohibit the commercial harvesting of fur seals. In comparison to the obstacles created by external institutions and policies, the conflict and competition for scarce resources among the local political institutions is minor.

The remainder of this section will examine the major institutions which comprise the political system of St. Paul, the social and religious organization of the community and how each has changed during the monitoring period.

Federal and State Institutions

Since 1910, the federal government managed the Pribilof Islands as well as conducted the commercial harvest of fur seals. Under the terms of the Fur Seal Act of 1966 (80 Stat. 1091), the federal government provided home heating oil and electricity at subsidized rates, handled freight delivery to the islands, supplied

other municipal services, and constructed housing. These tasks were the province of the Pribilof Islands Program, an office of the National Marine Fisheries Service within the U.S. Department of Commerce (Young 1984:3). In 1983, the federal government transferred these responsibilities to the City of St. Paul. However, the federal government continues to be a dominant force in the political system of St. Paul.

> It owns the seal rookeries and the bird cliffs, and has assumed exclusive management authority over most of the marine areas surrounding the Pribilofs. Under the circumstances, the federal government will inevitably continue to make decisions drastically affecting the prospects for St. Paul and St. George . . . . It can allocate a substantial segment of the annual allowable catches of bottomfish and crabs in the area around the Pribilofs to local fishers or make these allowable catches available to others. It can open or close the outer continental shelves adjacent to the islands for oil and gas exploration (Young 1984:23-24).

In addition to-the impact of federal policies and regulations, the federal presence on St. Paul is felt through revenues and land ownership. The federal government, for instance, has provided funds for harbor development, HUD housing, revenue sharing funds for the city government, health care and other social services. Lands retained by the federal government include the seal rookeries (1,012 acres) administered by NMFS, and bird cliffs (2,240.59 acres) administered by USFWS (Braund et al. 1986:5-74). As administrators of the fisheries, the fur seals, Coastal Zone Management Act, and the St. Paul Island Trust, NMFS still has a pervasive mantle of control over the community.

The state presence in the political system is primarily limited to revenues. Between FY81 and FY86, St. Paul received a total of $17,437,000 in state capital construction appropriations for major infrastructural developments such as the harbor/port facility, the airport, and other facilities. This estimate does not include construction projects funded through state agency programs (Braund et al. 1986:5-37). The State also provided or administered funding for social service programs such as unemployment compensation, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), food stamps, low income housing and energy assistance, and the village public safety officer (VPSO) program, in addition to municipal assistance and revenue sharing funds for the City of St. Paul, and grants for planning and coastal zone management. The State did not own any land on St. Paul Island during the monitoring period, although it will acquire ownership of the airport, airport road, school, and teacher's housing once land transfers to the Tanadgusix Corporation have been completed.

Regional Institutions

The two regional institutions which played significant roles in the local political system during the monitoring period were the Aleut Corporation and the non-profit Aleutians/Pribilof Islands Association. The presence of the Aleut Corporation during this period was felt primarily in two areas. In the first, the Aleut Corporation distributed annual dividends to shareholders living in the community.

These dividends ranged from $100 per shareholder in 1980 to $115 per shareholder in 1985. The Aleut Corporation also managed the Pribilof Offshore Support Services facility and provided construction jobs for some of its shareholders until 1985 when it sold the facility for reasons to be outlined below.

The Aleutians/Pribilof Islands Association is represented in St. Paul chiefly in the form of providing or administering subsidized programs. With the withdrawal of NMFS, the role of the A/PIA has increased somewhat during the monitoring period. It has provided funds for employment training, and administered federal funds for health and social services. A/PIA also provides salaries for two VPSOs, a Community Health Representative, an alcohol counselor, and three employees at the St. Paul Clinic: a custodian, nurse's aide, and Community Health Specialist. In 1981 the A/PIA hired a clinical psychologist, based in Unalaska, to provide mental health services throughout the region. During the period of distress over the withdrawal of NMFS in 1983, this individual was actively involved in providing counseling and referral services to local residents.

Also represented on the island is the Aleutian Housing Authority, which works closely with the A/PIA, which has been responsible for building and maintaining the HUD housing which has been constructed in the past few years.

Local Institutions

As noted above, there are three local institutions which are actively involved in the political system of St. Paul: the city government, the IRA council, and the local Native corporation. Each of these will be examined in turn.

City of St. Paul

St. Paul was founded as a second class city in 1971. It is governed by a seven-member city council and a city manager. During the monitoring period, the city acquired the following responsibilities from the National Marine Fisheries Service: community infrastructure, including harbor development, utilities, airport, road maintenance, and garbage collection. The city is also responsible, for public safety (police and fire), and health care.

The City levies a three percent sales tax as a source of revenue. However, the bulk of its operating funds during the monitoring period have come from the federal government in the form of loans from the St. Paul Trust and a $1 million grant from NMFS to upgrade utilities and buildings in need of repair (City of St. Paul 198 1-86).

The City has attempted to solve the problems associated with the withdrawal of NMFS by hiring more staff than needed in order to provide more jobs in the community. However, city officials acknowledge that this level of employment cannot be maintained for long, especially since Trust funds are rapidly being depleted. Thus, they have been forced, as have the IRA Council and the TDX Corporation, into the position of cutting hours or reducing the number of employees. In early 1987 the City announced major layoffs for the coming summer.

The City administration has sustained criticism from different segments of the community for many of its actions, Some residents feel that it has become a target of resentment because it is perceived as filling the shoes of NMFS. As noted

earlier, both the IRA Council and the Tanadgusix Corporation opposed the annexation of Otter and Walrus Islands and surrounding offshore areas. The City's decision to stop fuel delivery to customers for failure to pay bills has also been an unpopular one. In late 1985, the City borrowed money from the St. Paul Trust to pay for their fuel supply. As a condition for the loan, the City had to agree to collect for delivery from the community. Some residents, however, have been distressed by this policy and felt that the City was being unfair or did not understand their positions on the matter..

Aleut Community of St. Paul

The Aleut Community of St. Paul (the IRA Council) was chartered in 1951 as a combined IRA council representing both Pribilof Islands. Prior to incorporation of the City of St. Paul in 1971, it was the only local political institution in the community. In 1982, the Aleut Community divided to form the Aleut Communities of St. Paul and St. George. The Aleut Community of St. Paul is governed by a seven member board which oversees its funds and programs.

The objectives of the IRA were outlined by Braund and his associates (1986:5-144). They include:

* To strengthen the tribal government charter, policies, organizational structure, administration and management.

* To foster economic development for St. Paul by Aleut participation in the economy, Aleut entrepreneur development and employment, and TDX private sector investments.

* To foster and preserve Aleut social, cultural, and community services by lowering the cost of living, providing community services in recreation, cultural and social affairs; providing adequate housing, child care, and education opportunities; and providing for public health, safety, and welfare.

* To develop tribal government land use and economic development plans, policies, programs, zoning ordinances and regulations that control the rate of economic growth to principally benefit private sector Aleut entrepreneurs.

The IRA council is responsible for the operation of the community store and bar, and handles Johnson-O'Malley (JOM) funds for the local Head Start program and other community and school-related programs. The Council has assumed responsibility for the "corned beef" settlement funds. Twenty percent of the settlement funds received by St. Paul was used to create a "community development fund" which was invested to yield yearly income for community development activities and loan guarantees (Braund et al. 1986:5-145). It has been involved in the development of a local halibut fisheries and in 1986 it assumed responsibility for the management of the annual fur seal harvest. "These functions give the Council control over important aspects of economic life on St. Paul in addition to political influence with off-island entities" (Orbach and Holmes 1983:120).

As with the other local political institutions, the Aleut Community of St. Paul has been concerned with attaining local control over community development and future economic growth. The Council leadership has been particularly concerned with protecting the community from the hazards of uncontrolled development and the unregulated immigration of non-Native "outsiders." Dutch Harbor (Unalaska) is typically cited as an instance of what can go wrong when development is taken out of the hands of long-term residents. To this end, the IRA Council has advocated a passport system designed to limit and control the influx of outsiders, and has worked consistently toward the hiring of local residents for construction projects.

One of the consequences of the transfer from federal to local control has been that the IRA Council has experienced a crisis of identity. As the tribal government with the capacity for government to government relations, its tribal government prerogatives have been abrogated in fact, if not in law, by the City of St. Paul with its authority as a second class city and its support from state agencies. As a tribal business entity, its activities often overlap those of the Tanadgusix Corporation. Both TDX and the IRA Council, however, share an identity of interest because almost all tribal members are TDX shareholders. Despite the support that the IRA Council receives from TDX in its development efforts and political role as the local institution which pioneered Aleut self-determination on the island, the duplication of functions by the Native corporation and the municipal government has left the role of the IRA ill-defined.

Tanadgusix Corporation

The local village corporation of St. Paul is the Tanadgusix Corporation. The Corporation is governed by a nine member elected-board and has approximately 450 shareholders. As is the case among other village corporations in rural Alaska, the political influence of the Tanadgusix Corporation is largely based on its economic power in the community.

Although the Tanadgusix Corporation was established to manage the property of the Aleut segment of the community under the terms of the 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, its political influence in the community increased substantially in the early 1980s when it began to supplant the role of the National Marine Fisheries Service as one of the community's primary sources of income and principal employers. The Corporation assumed responsibility for the harvesting and processing of fur seals in 1983 with the withdrawal of NMFS from the community. The Corporation also provided 'a number of jobs for community residents and dividends for shareholders in the early 1980s through a series of economic ventures. These included land leases for the POSS helicopter transfer facility; a pilot program in commercial halibut fishing and processing; the promotion of tourism and the development of tourist facilities such as the hotel, gift shop, and King Eider restaurant; joint venture construction and catering; management of an investment portfolio which includes land at Chernofski and other properties in the Aleutian Islands and a seventy-five percent interest in the Anchorage International Inn; and upgrading of local housing and other facilities in conjunction with the City of St. Paul. With the exception of the seal harvest activities, all of these operations experienced employment increases between 1980 and 1985. The Corporation is also a subcontractor to Chase Construction Company's efforts to remove World War 11 debris from the area under the U.S. Environmental Restoration program. This effort was expected to require thirty-six employees on St. Paul for a maximum of sixty days during the summer of 1986 and generate $300,000 in revenues for the Corporation.

Despite the continuing efforts of the Tanadgusix Corporation to promote economic development in the community, its role has been challenged in the past year by a number of factors. Chief among these factors has been the decline in economic activities on St. Paul Island. The efforts of the corporation to develop a fishing and fish processing industry on the island have met with limited success. With the exception of the World War debris cleanup, most of the construction programs which generated income during most of the monitoring period have come to an end or are about to end this year, The development of the harbor which was to have provided a considerable source of jobs as well as income for the community has been delayed. Responsibility for the fur seal harvest was handed over to the St. Paul IRA Council after the Tanadgusix Corporation spent over $70,000 to harvest seals in 1985 which they were unable to sell or even process for commercial sale. The number of employees has declined dramatically to an estimated twelve in 1986.

The political role of the Tanadgusix Corporation has also been affected by the conflicting objectives of the Corporation itself. According to the FY85-FY90 Draft Corporate Plan, among its broad goals are the following: (1) ensure that the corporation remains self-sustaining; (2) assist the community in becoming self-sustaining through the development of profitable enterprises which increase job and business opportunities; (3) control and manage corporate assets to ensure their availability to future generations; and (4) protect village lifestyle and promote cultural preservation by participation in major decisions affecting community and development of compatible enterprises (Tanadgusix Corporation 1985). However, while not necessarily contradictory, these objectives appear to have been prioritized in such a way as to place certain limitations on the types of economic development activities conducted by TDX and place it in conflict with the City of St. Paul. For instance, the formulation of informal agreements between local organizations and outside firms to limit traffic and other potentially disruptive influences from outside the community and the investigation of intensive, shore-based developments that would minimize the need for transient residents in St. Paul, place restrictions on the role of outside agencies in community development. As a result, the community has been able to attract limited outside capital for economic development.

Although the conflict between the Tanadgusix Corporation and the City of St. Paul on the surface has assumed the character of a dispute among two major cliques of community residents, at its root is a fundamental disagreement over how economic development should proceed, which organization should manage this development, and whether the interests of the community as a city are necessarily isomorphic with the interests of the community as corporation shareholders. The City of St. Paul, for instance, appears to be less reluctant to involve outsiders in' local economic development than the Tanadgusix Corporation, even though both organizations agree that priority for local employment should be given to community residents. For its part, TDX acknowledges that working with outside interests in St. Paul's economic development is both necessary and inevitable. However, as TDX has matured in understanding its private property rights and options, it has become more concerned with which outside sources and with whom shall they be involved, rather than whether they shall be involved (Ron Philemonoff, pers. comm.).

Another major source of conflict is the current dispute over the City's plans to annex additional lands on St. Paul Island and a three mile limit of offshore areas which would also include Walrus Island, Otter Island, and Sea Lion Rock as a contiguous area. The primary incentive for this proposal is to have control and

zoning authority over nearby offshore areas and thereby increase the City's share of the State's revenue sharing funds from the state fishing business tax collected from floating processors operating within the area. It is anticipated that the development of port and harbor facilities would foster growth in the commercial fisheries and fishing-related industry both within and outside the harbor area. Unless the City limits are expanded to encompass these areas as well as the three mile limit offshore, it would not be able to secure any of the additional revenues expected to result from such development. However, the major landowner of these areas currently is the Tanadgusix Corporation which understandably is opposed to this move because it would be subject to taxation by the City. The TDX leadership currently perceives that such taxation would not be in its best interests.

Thus, as the local economy of St. Paul has fluctuated between prosperity and recession, conflicts between existing political entities have been shaped by competition for control over diminishing resources. By acting in the interests of its shareholders, TDX has assumed the role of the loyal opposition in the political process of the community with respect to the course and speed of economic development. Corporation management has traditionally been reticent about turning over property into the public domain. This is not because they are opposed to major infrastructure improvements or unwilling to put necessary land for services and infrastructure development into public lands. Rather, their perception of political control is that a balance is required between public and private Aleut interests. Although such a balance has traditionally been absent in St. Paul, TDX insists that such a balance is necessary for economic development to proceed and local control of the community's destiny to become a reality.

Other Local Political Institutions

Other institutions which have been involved in the political system of St. Paul include the Pribilof Islands School Board, St. Paul Community Health Board, and the Pribilof Interorganizational Council. The Pribilof Islands School Board is the policy making board for the independent school district with one school on each island, Three elected members from St. Paul and two from St. George comprise the Board, which administers state and federal education funds, develops an increasingly wide array of community education programs, and hires the Superintendent to manage the day-to-day affairs of the district.

The St. Paul Community Health Board began as an volunteer advisory board. By 1981, however, some of its members were elected and the Board became increasingly influential in the community. Its membership consists of the physician's assistant and community health aide from the Health Clinic, one representative from the City, a representative from the IRA Council, and three members-at-large. The Board plans and advises on a wide range of health and training programs through the Health Clinic, and works with the Aleutians/Pribilof Islands Association for the administration of federal, state, and community health programs (Orbach and Holmes 1983:121).

The Pribilof Interorganizational Council (PIOC) was f ormed in 1981 by the major institutions of the Pribilof Islands to plan for the economic transition with NMFS withdrawal. The PIOC negotiated the financial settlement with the federal government when NMFS withdrew. It has also been active in attracting private venture capital for economic development.

SOCIOCULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

Kinship and Informal Associations

Despite economic uncertainty and political conflict, the social organization of St. Paul has remained intact throughout the monitoring period. This organization is held together by two key components: kinship and ethnic identity. Traditional kinship bonds in St. Paul have remained strong as evidenced by household structure and residence patterns and the preponderance of exchange networks. Such exchange networks extend beyond St. Paul and reaffirm links with friends and relatives in other communities. Most of these links involve residents of St. George Island. Braund and his associates (1986:5-1 14) reported that these links are the result of several years of joint participation in the fur seal harvest and efforts by the federal government in the 1960s to relocate key St. George families and leaders in the belief that one Pribilof community would be easier and more efficient to administer than two. St. Paul residents also have a large number of relatives living in Anchorage and the lower forty-eight states. In a survey conducted in 1983 by Beverly Holmes (personal communication), the community of St. Paul had at least 113 relatives and family members living in Anchorage and the lower forty-eight states compared with seven or eight in the Aleutians-Alaska Peninsula area.

Households in St. Paul have traditionally been nuclear or extended in form. Extended households consist of spouses and their unmarried children and any other relative or relatives. Oftentimes, extended households in St. Paul have included a man and wife, one or more children and their spouses and children. Older relatives who are widowed and unable to care for themselves have also traditionally been an important part of extended households on the islands. Extended households were maintained by cultural values towards nurturance of children and respect of elders; by economic necessity (of pooling cash resources); and by a shortage of available housing. Nevertheless, as housing became more available and economic circumstances improved in the 1960s and 1970s, nuclear households consisting of spouses and unmarried children became more prominent.

The contemporary St. Paul household is considerably different today than it was in "traditional" (i.e. pre-World War II) times. Family and household have adjusted, as have other elements of local culture and society, to the exigencies of wage employment, government support, modern technology, improved transportation and communication facilities, and the general incursion of Euro-American culture and economy. In some respects these adjustments have clearly been beneficial; in other respects tremendous problems have been created (Orbach and Holmes 1983:45). Large families were more common in earlier times but family planning practices, better nutrition, lower death rates, higher living costs, and greater mobility and independence have combined to result in smaller families (Braund et al. 1986).

Although the social organization of St. Paul has remained relatively stable throughout the monitoring period, certain changes have been observed. Orbach and Holmes (1983), for instance, reported that young couples will sometimes move in with a single older person, creating the mutual benefits of a home for the young and company for the elder. However, this appears to be changing as outmigration has increased in the past few years and recent construction of HUD housing has helped to ease the pressure on housing availability. As noted in the earlier section on population, average household size has declined over the monitoring period.

A second change in the social organization of St. Paul during the monitoring period has been observed in the practice of taking in and raising foster children. According to Orbach and Holmes (1983), many families raise one or more foster children. This may be changing, however. During fieldwork, local social service administrators reported that it has become more and more difficult to place children into foster homes in the community. This has created a problem because community officials are reluctant to send these children off the island.

A third change observed during the monitoring period has been in the role of women in the community. Prior to the withdrawal of NMFS, the sexual division of labor was fairly well defined. Men participated in the annual fur seal harvest and women ran the household and cared for the children. In recent years, however, more and more employment opportunities have been made available to women. They have been moving out of the home and into the workplace. Wage-earning jobs are no longer strictly dominated by men (Braund et al. 1986:5-117).

More traditional informal institutions such as trading and mutual assistance partnerships have continued to be active throughout the monitoring period. Subsistence exchange takes place with relatives and friends, most often in St. George, Anchorage and in the villages of the Alaska Peninsula and Aleutian Chain, especially King Cove, Unalaska, and Akutan. As salmon is absent in the Pribilofs, it is a favorite item to receive in exchange for halibut, which is sent frozen, and fur seal meat and flippers, which are sent frozen or salted. Other items, such as sea lion and ducks are sent from the Pribilofs. St. Paul residents often send reindeer meat to exchange partners and relatives on St. George Island in exchange for cod and berry products (Veltre and Veltre 1981:202). Rather than being a reciprocal exchange, however, much of the shipment of subsistence products is direct gift-giving and may or may not be reciprocated (Orbach and Holmes 1983:143).

Braund and his associates also noted a change in the sealing profession during the monitoring period. Ever since the forced relocation of Aleuts from the Aleutian Islands by the Russians in the late eighteenth century, the sociocultural system of St. Paul has revolved around the commercial harvest of fur seals. Until 1985, the annual seal hunt was administered as a commercial operation with a well-defined hierarchy of workers and individuals who possessed a certain measure of social status by virtue of their skill at certain aspects of the harvesting activities. Although 1985 was the first year of a strictly subsistence harvest, it retained many of the aspects of the commercial model with its union or guild-like administration and hierarchy. As such, the subsistence seal harvest has become a blend of family food production and complex bureaucratic administration. This practice was repeated during the 1986 seal harvest although the level of participation and the number of seals harvested was much smaller than the 1985 harvest.

Voluntary Associations

There are numerous activities that involve different parts of the community and various agencies and organizations within them. Many of these organizations have been in St. Paul for several years. They include the Russian Orthodox Sisterhood, an informal sports club, the JOM Board, Health Board, Library Committee, Volunteer Fire Department/Search and Rescue, and Central Bering Sea Fishermen's Association. These organizations are distinguished by their history, their function, and level of participation. Some of these organizations such as the Russian Orthodox Sisterhood

and the Church Council have been in existence for several years and are tied to community cultural and religious institutions. Others including the Volunteer Fire Department/Search and Rescue, Library Committee, and JOM Board are more recent and based on their involvement in the community's infrastructure. A few of these associations have a certain measure of political influence in the community as they provide advice and direction as to the administration of grant funds. Others, such as the Central Bering Sea Fishermen's Association have both political and economic objectives in their efforts to lobby for regulatory changes that would favor the local halibut industry as well as assisting local fishermen in getting their catch to market (Braund et al. 1986:5-120). Some of these organizations are less active today than they have been in the past. The Russian Orthodox Sisterhood, for example, has been less active in the past few years and meetings are held infrequently. Membership has fluctuated between five and twenty women, including officers. Other organizations such as the sports club are more recent.

Organized recreation has become an important institution for social interaction over the course of the monitoring period. There has been a conscious and deliberate effort to provide organized recreation in the community which is focussed around the school and the recreation center in St. Paul, Basketball, volleyball, and softball teams are formed among students and adults, including the men from the US Coast Guard station. Races, roller skating, dances, and community field days take place on school grounds. The recreation center provides space, Pool and ping-pong tables, machines, and tables for other games. The recreation hall is managed by the Recreation Committee which organized, raised funds, and implemented the renovation and improvement of the old recreation hall with the participation of most of the community. The community has hosted region-wide athletic tournaments during the monitoring period involving teams from Unalaska, St. George, Akutan, King Cove, and Sand Point.

Recreational activities are perceived throughout the community as an important means of reducing boredom and the need to leave the island, especially among younger residents. This is considered to be important because it represents part of the effort to be self-sufficient and maintain a certain identifiable lifestyle that is grounded on a traditional sociocultural system.

Other community-wide events and activities include adult recreation classes, potluck dinners, the annual "Flea Market," community dances, secular festivals, celebrations such as the Fourth of July and end of the seal harvest, and community bingo games (Orbach and Holmes 1983). Community gatherings such as the Fourth of July, end of school year, or end of seal harvest often involve cook-out picnics, games and races, and dances in addition to private parties, going to the bar, and visiting.

Religious Organization

The religious organization of St. Paul remained relatively unchanged throughout the monitoring period. The chief religious institution on the island is the Russian Orthodox Church. Almost all Aleut residents of the island were baptized in the Russian Orthodox Church and are thus considered to be members even though active participation in regular church events is small and apparently declining. Field interviews indicated that even children are no longer required by parents to attend weekly services as much as they were ten years ago. This low level of participation should not be interpreted as reflecting a diminished role in the community, however. From its early days, the Church has been a stable and consistent

feature of the lives of St. Paul residents, helping to create a sense of community and cohesiveness during the periods of upheaval and stress. Today, one can see the continued pervasiveness of the Church in many aspects of daily life, although attendance at weekly services is typically small. The Church provides a large and active cycle of events, both religious and social, which bring people together to share common experiences. The major events in the life cycle of community residents--births, marriages, and deaths--all involve the church to one degree or another, The Church is viewed as a cohesive force, providing a source of strength and encouragement during the transition from federal control to self-determination. It is also seen as an important element in helping to maintain the "Aleutness" of the people in the face of real or incidental actions to change or absorb them into the larger surrounding society (Orbach and Holmes 1983:1 14). Recent subsidies by the St. Paul IRA Council for the support of church activities reflect the community's awareness of the church as a key cultural institution (Braund et al. 1986).

Prior to the withdrawal of the National Marine Fisheries Service in 1983, the Russian Orthodox Church was perceived to have a certain measure of political influence in the community because it represented the traditional sociocultural system of the Aleut residents, The Church Council was active in protecting community interests and attempting to see to it that elements of traditional Aleut culture were preserved in the faces of changes occurring after World War II through the 1970s. However, with the establishment of other local institutions such as the St. Paul IRA Council, Tanadgusix Corporation, and City of St. Paul, the Russian Orthodox Church began to lose its political influence. This decline in political influence became even more evident after 1983 when each of the other three local political institutions acquired a certain measure of political authority and financial clout.

The only other religious institution on St. Paul is the Assembly of God Church which was built in 1966. The congregation has largely consisted of Coast Guard personnel, teachers, and health care personnel, Relatively few Aleuts belong to the church because membership entails social ostracism and excommunication from the Russian Orthodox Church (Orbach and Holmes 1983:1 16). Some residents continue to criticize and resent the presence of this. "outside" institution, although it has managed to develop a niche for itself in the community and performs some important functions. In 1982, for instance, Orbach and Holmes (1983) reported a large attendance of St. Paul residents at a memorial service for a suicide victim held at the Assembly of God Church. Such a service would not have been permitted at the Russian Orthodox Church because of its attitude toward suicide in general.

Social Differentiation

The sealing profession has essentially established a precedent for social differentiation based on economic activities. Hence the impact of variation in activities and earned income has not been as profound in St. Paul as it has been elsewhere (Impact Assessment 1984). This, however, could change if employment opportunities are severely curtailed with the completion of existing construction projects unless local agencies and institutions are able to develop new economic opportunities or secure additional funds to complete existing projects.

A second basis for social differentiation has been ethnic identity. As noted above, the overwhelming majority of local residents are Aleut. Aleut identity has been an important marker of membership in the community throughout the monitoring period. That is not to say that long-term non-Native residents have been excluded

from community-wide social networks. Social relations between Natives and non-Native residents of St. Paul can be considered cordial. Aleut residents, however, make a distinction between the long-term non-Native residents of the community and the non-Native immigrants which could potentially reside in the community if economic development and community growth were not adequately controlled. Many of the elements of social life which are perceived as negative or disruptive are blamed on the larger Euro-American society. Experience with non-Native administrators and traders has understandably produced a certain measure of mistrust of outsiders on the part of the Aleut residents. Consequently, certain segments of the community such as the IRA Council and the TDX Corporation leadership have actively sought to regulate the influx of outsiders into the community. These institutions have sought to encourage economic development that does not require the presence of skilled non-Native workers or administrators from outside the community.

Finally, the changes which have occurred in the social system of St. Paul over the past six years reflect changes in the value system of the community. Some of which are subtle; others are more pronounced. Prior to the withdrawal of the National Marine Fisheries Service, the patterns of social interaction were fairly well established, having been based largely on traditional principles of kinship and subsistence exchange, and the hierarchy of work activities involved in the sealing profession. These patterns have recently been subjected to dramatic increases in income which alter the time and investment available for subsistence activities--in particular the fur seal harvest--and influence household size and, indirectly, patterns of household formation. The potential decline in wage-labor positions with the completion of current construction and development projects could also affect patterns of social interaction by forcing many local residents to move off the island in search of employment opportunities. The values which promote these changes in patterns of social interaction do not always conform to the values which dictate that residents remain on the island, display generosity to less fortunate relatives and friends, and exhibit unity in the face of outside influence and presence.

The transfer of control of the community and its economy to local institutions has also had an effect on the value system of community residents. The value placed on local control helped to motivate the growth of local institutions and the end of federal domination of the island's economy and political system. However, for many residents, the transfer of authority has produced mixed feelings ranging from relief to anxiety over the elimination of the traditional dependence on external political structures. Similarly, the new self-reliance in the political and economic arenas has affirmed traditional Aleut values on the one hand while generating a relatively "new" set of values on the other.

In sum, the value system of St. Paul residents today is a blend of old and new, Aleut and Euro-American, dependent and self-reliant. For the most part, these values are arranged so that they peacefully co-exist. At times, conflicts are generated leading to the development of different community factions with different priorities. Conflicting values may also be observed in the ambivalence toward outside influence which could potentially improve the local economic situation on the one hand but threaten to erode traditional social and cultural institutions on the other. Nevertheless, these values have guided the changes in community institutions over the past six years, and in turn are products of these institutional changes.

ECONOMY

The St. Paul Economic Strategies Plan (ESP), prepared in 1983, identifies the following four areas of potential regarding the long-term economic development of St. Paul:

> 1. St. Paul Island is located in one of the richest fishery areas in the world, which provides the opportunity for fishing and related support industries.
>
> 2. The island provides excellent habitat for a variety of arctic birds and marine mammals; these and other environmental and social attributes have facilitated a modest tourist industry that has some potential for growth.
>
> 3. The fur sealing industry may also be a contributor to the economy, although the federally supported fur sealing trade has not been profitable, at least during the past decade.
>
> 4. Finally, limited opportunity exists for the islands to serve as support bases for the oil and gas activity in the Bering Sea.
>
> (Source: Dames & Moore 1983:1-1)

These four areas continue to be the primary foci of current and projected development for the community. It is therefore both appropriate and necessary that our sociocultural monitoring efforts chart St. Paul's progress toward these development goals over the last three years (thirty-six months).

Fishery Development

In the Economic Strategies Plan, onshore processing was considered an important component of the first area of potential economic development. However, recent field visits indicated that the current strategy is to develop services to be a support base for the fishing industry. The links between "harbor facilities" and a successful onshore processing operation were tenuous at best anyway. While it is true that the North Pacific Fisheries Management Council (NPFMC) statistical records demonstrate a dramatic increase in the annual tonnage of bottomfish harvested by domestic vessels over the last five years, it would be incorrect to assume a similar increase in actual domestic processing, consumption, or sale of this product. Virtually the entire increase results not from increased U.S. involvement in the fishery but in the need for foreign catcher-processors to involve U.S. partners in joint ventures in order to fish in U.S. extended territorial waters. From the Japanese and Russian perspective, U.S. laws have simply increased the cost of doing business in U.S. waters. In order to secure a quota to fish U.S. waters they must

have one or more joint venture partners who actually do the trawling. But these vessels do nothing more that haul in and off load their catches onto the foreign processing vessel. Although the domestic vessels reap significant rewards from the association and effort there are no additional benefits from these arrangements. Fish processing can be expected to result in no onshore benefits from an increased tax base, local employment, secondary processing, transshipment or resale, and these are precisely the kinds of returns that are necessary to support a "fishing industry" in St. Paul or anywhere else. Development of support services for vessels operating throughout the region is expected to provide greater benefits due to the community's proximity to the Bering Sea fishing grounds.

Harbor Development

The first phase of a planned four-phase harbor development project began in spring 1984 with the construction of an 800-foot rubble mound breakwater at Village Cove. The original plan called for construction to proceed in four phases. The breakwater included a 650 foot berthing area with water depths up to twenty-five feet. Phase II was to involve the completion of the breakwater/wharf by extension to 1,700 feet to provide additional berthing and improved shelter. Funding for both the Phase I and Phase 11 projects were appropriated by the State of Alaska. The facilities will be managed by the City of St. Paul.

In late November and early December, barely two weeks after the conclusion of the 1984 construction season, storm waves caused caused substantial damage to the breakwater. The waves deposited virtually all the armor stone and core material above the mean tide level into an arc-shaped pattern on the harbor side of the original breakwater alignment (Tetra-Tech 1985). This and subsequent related events brought construction to an abrupt halt. Phase II was to have begun during the 1985 summer season but was delayed for a year and completed in September 1986 with the arrival of a cement caisson dock.

Several obstacles were held responsible for this delay including (1) inadequate state funding, (2) pending or potential litigation against the contractors who constructed the ill-fated Phase I portion of breakwater and the firms that performed the engineering feasibility studies, (3) the local unavailability of anchor and armor stone of adequate size to reconstruct the breakwater (these materials must be transported from Nome), and (4) the problems posed in clearing the harbor of debris deposited when the breakwater was damaged by the storm waves.

St. Paul is located in the midst of the richest underdeveloped fishery in the world and that the potential yield of this fishery is exceptional. The Economic Strategies Plan (Dames & Moore 1983) noted that St. Paul's lack of a boat harbor and onshore support have both made it impossible for St. Paul residents to enter the commercial bottomfishery, and prevented the use of St. Paul as a service base for foreign or domestic harvesting and processing vessels. However, the conclusion that once such facilities are in place, self-sustaining economic development would necessarily follow is based on several assumptions, only including: (1) that a sufficient number of transport and fishing vessels would find it worth their while to utilize the services, supplies or facilities provided by St. Paul's harbor; (2) that supplying such services would generate sufficient profit to maintain them; and (3) that onshore fishery-related activities would develop in response to the existence of the harbor and its facilities.

Each of these premises is open to question, however. First, the transportation and fishing projections on which the traffic forecasts are based routinely utilize best-case high traffic scenarios in order to support their conclusions regarding the economic viability and utility of the harbor. Moreover, even if all of the assumed OCS and commercial fishing vessels do pass within range of St. Paul it is difficult to conceive of a situation in which these vessels would routinely stop in St. Paul en route to and from oil tracts or remote fisheries. Thus, it is clear that this source of revenue may eventually fail to meet local expectations even if these vessels stop occasionally.

Second, the provision of support services and supplies to these larger high seas vessels has a significant economic risk. The costs of transporting goods and materials to St. Paul is significantly higher than to Unalaska. Moreover, vessel owners (fishermen in particular) have a very keen sense of when and where the most economical repairs and supplies are to be purchased. The economic savings in terms of travel time and opportunity costs achieved by vessels utilizing St. Paul instead of Unalaska would be insignificant. The exception to this preference for Unalaska would be in those circumstances when necessity might override economy (e.g., when a vessel is severely damaged and cannot proceed to Unalaska).

Third, the return on investment for the development of the dock, haul-outs, warehouses, bulk fuel storage, and so on would require many years, possibly decades, to break even, even under the most advantageous circumstances. The rate of return would depend on where the funds were obtained and how they are spent.

Fourth, the interrelated assumption that onshore fishery development would occur once the harbor were constructed overlooks some very profound obstacles including (1) the inherent superiority of offshore (floating) processing in terms of taxes, (2) facility construction or renovation, (3) lighterage and reshipment costs, and (4) efficiency. More importantly, it overlooks the vast differences in costs of labor between floating processors and their onshore competitors. Polish, Japanese, and Russian vessels, for example, pay their workers less than $2.00 an hour (some as low as $1.20 an hour). It is difficult to conceive of the residents of St. Paul competing directly against such low labor costs. One of the very few instances in which an onshore processor has achieved a modicum of success in Alaska, occurred in Akutan and was a result of importing Vietnamese, Filipino, and Mexican workers from the lower forty-eight to work eleven-months per year, twelve-hour shifts, seven days a week, at $6.00 an hour. Even this success is based not on “bottomfishing” as commonly understood, but on a very specialized target species (black cod) and a very specialized foreign market.

Finally, the economic environment in which the original projections were formulated was misleading. The future oil revenues of the State of Alaska were not being threatened, major cutbacks in state-funded development were not anticipated, federal support for rural Alaskan communities appeared stable and relatively secure, and OCS development activities gave promise of an active (if not always appreciated) economic environment for this region of Alaska. These conditions are no longer present.

Moreover, similar developments initiated during this same period in both Nome and St. George have borne fruit precisely where St. Paul’s efforts have so far failed. Nome has just completed its harbor facility and St. George, St. Paul’s nearest neighbor, has taken a very conservative and long-range approach to utilization of its harbor facilities which are well on their way to completion. Even

for Nome, however, whose harbor facilities cost barely thirty percent more than the estimated cost of St. Paul's harbor, the economic viability of the investment is questionable--and they have a population base of more than 3,000 residents, a viable mining and tourist industry, and a relatively well diversified and self-sustaining economic base. Nome, however, is not as strategically located with respect to the Bering Sea fishery as St. Paul.

However, certain important factors favor completion of the project. The state legislature fully recognizes that the economic viability of St. Paul depends to a large extent upon the successful completion and operation of the breakwater and harbor facilities. The state also has a significant vested interest in completing a project in which large sums of its revenue have already been invested. In addition, the breakwater is a critical feature of the long-term plans of the community and will continue to be the primary focus of its development efforts. Thus, the community leadership is not likely to rest until adequate funding is secured and the project completed.

Given the frustrations encountered in securing funding for completion of the breakwater, there has been a strong temptation to draw more heavily on the trust fund in support of efforts to secure state funding for the breakwater. It is generally agreed, however, that it would be counterproductive to spend most of the trust monies in the early stages of construction if it would leave nothing to develop the businesses and infrastructure which will ultimately make the harbor into a profit-making "venture.

Tourism

Tourism has provided a modest economic base for the St. Paul economy and has potential for growth. However, virtually the same constraints on the further development of this industry that existed in 1983, still apply today. The number and quality of the existing hotel and restaurant accommodations have not expanded significantly in the last five years. Even the relatively aggressive efforts of the State of Alaska to promote tourism have yielded little return. If the growth rate cited in the Economic Strategies Plan (750 tourist visits in 1977, 881 in 1978, and 1,039 in 1979) is accurate, then little if any growth has occurred in this sector of the economy in the last six years. (Local estimates still place total visits at between 1,000 and 1,100 per year.) The issue, however, may be less one of advertising and facilities than of market. The total number of wildlife enthusiasts able to afford the $2,000 to $3,000 required to travel to St. Paul for a week of bird and seal watching is extremely limited. In addition, it is arguable that the harvesting activities themselves indeed provided the most significant tourist draw of the summer season. Although the tourist industry today is stable with some growth possibility, without that annual event (see below), the future of the tourist industry is open to debate unless extraordinary measures are taken to ensure its revival.

Fur Seal Harvest

The Interim Convention on Conservation of North Pacific Fur Seals is the international agreement under which fur seals have been harvested commercially since 1957. This convention was signed by representatives of the Soviet Union, Canada, Japan, and the United States on October 14, 1957, and was the outgrowth of a long series of treaties dating back to 1891 which included the Fur Seal Treaty of 1911 and

provisional agreements between the United States and Canada. The convention was subsequently amended and extended by an additional protocol in 1963. The Fur Seal Act of 1966 (16 U.S.C. 1151, et seq.) implemented the convention, and subsequent protocols extended it until 1976 and then 1980. Finally, a protocol signed by the participating countries on October 14, 1980 extended the convention until 1984.

Even though the federal government withdrew from the sealing operations in 1983, the amendments provided for shared responsibility with TDX for the conduct of the 1984 commercial sealing harvest. This commercial harvest resulted in losses to both TDX and the government. The fur seal pelt market, in fact, remains depressed, and many of the furs from the 1984 harvest are still unsold.

On October 12, 1984 yet another protocol extending the convention for an additional four years was signed by representatives of the United States, Canada, Japan, and the Soviet Union. The United States Senate, however, refused to ratify this protocol. The underlying reasons for the Senate's refusal to ratify are complex and controversial. The results of the decision, however, are clear. In the absence of an international convention governing the harvest of fur seals, regulatory authority over the fur seal harvest devolved to the Marine Mammal Protection Act of 1972 (MMPA). This act governs the taking of marine mammals, including the northern fur seal, within the U.S. exclusive economic zone (EEZ). The removal of the fur seal from the protections afforded by the convention meant, in effect, that a commercial harvest for seal skins could not be held in 1985. This MMPA, in fact, makes it illegal to harvest or import any marine mammal within the jurisdiction of the United States.

An important exception to this rule, however, involves the taking of marine mammals for subsistence purposes, which applied directly to the Aleuts of the Pribilof Islands. In response to the need for a subsistence harvest of fur seals, the National Marine Fisheries Service published emergency regulations (50 FR 27914) on January 5, 1985 which permitted a strictly subsistence harvest of fur seals on St. Paul Island. The 1985 harvest represented the first time since 1916 that fur seals were harvested strictly for subsistence use.

This subsistence seal harvest began on July 8, 1985 and ended on August 6, 1985. A second subsistence harvest was conducted in the summer of 1986. Both the harvesting and processing were administered by the IRA Council which also paid wages to the participants. It is generally agreed that such a subsistence harvest will not be attempted again in the near future. These subsistence harvests failed for several reasons. First, the period of the subsistence harvest coincided and conflicted to certain extent with the highest rate of employment ever experienced by the community. Second, in order to participate in the harvest, residents had to forego comparatively high-paying construction jobs and other employment which was of a fixed and brief duration. Third, because those participating in the harvest had always been relatively well paid, residents demanded wages in order to conduct the 1985 "subsistence" harvest. Fourth, because the harvest was limited to about 3,300 fur seals (considerably less than the normal 22,000 seals) the amount of subsistence meat derived from the harvest was somewhat limited from a local perspective (even though more than 90,000 pounds of seal meat, or 180 pounds for every resident in the community, were collected). In addition, mishandling of storage resulted in some reduction in the amount of meat actually available. Finally, adding insult to injury, after conducting the harvest in the traditional fashion, drawing wages through TDX, and completing the processing requirements for storing and shipping the

fur seal pelts, the federal government intervened to prohibit the sale or further processing of the pelts. The government maintained that the fur seal pelts derived from the subsistence harvest could not be considered "traditional handicrafts" and could therefore not be sold or disposed of by the Pribilof Islanders. While TDX continues to appeal this, it is clear that a repeat of the 1985 subsistence harvest is not likely to occur in the 1980s. It should also be added that the failure of the U.S. Senate to ratify the convention, and the shift of control to the authority of the MMPA, have been considered major victories for "conservationists" who have adamantly opposed the continued harvest of fur seals (and, from the local perspective, this opposition has been without regard to the effects on the resource or human populations). It is the opinion of local leaders that once freed of the international sanction of the convention, "conservation" groups will now begin to work through the appeals and policy procedures required to first place the fur seals on the threatened species list and, ultimately, on the endangered species list under the Endangered Species Act of 1973. The Humane Society has already filed a petition to achieve the first goal.

From a purely economic perspective the fur seal harvest has not been a successful enterprise in two decades. Table 30 shows the declining revenue the government derived from the harvest between 1970 and 1983. Table 31 shows the level of subsidization required to maintain the island and NMFS operations between 1979 and 1985. As is clearly seen, the costs of the harvest have continually outweighed the returns,

Obviously, with the withdrawal of NMFS in October 1983, and the termination of the considerable set of subsidies NMFS support provided, the chances of having an economically viable commercial fur seal harvest became remote. TDX has made an extraordinary effort to maintain the commercial viability of the harvest. As always the problem is that the costs of production invariably exceed the returns from the sales. Labor costs, of course, are the main expense, but other fixed costs have also impeded the economic viability of the industry. For example, the Foulke Company, the fur processor which has historically controlled the final processing of furs, charges almost as much to tan the pelts as the Aleuts receive for harvesting and preprocessing them (a vastly more time consuming and labor intensive operation). This processor, however, holds a "secret" formula for the tanning process which has not been duplicated and, in a real sense, has thereby monopolized this aspect of the Pribilof fur seal industry. TDX leaders have argued, however, that the harvest need not necessarily result in a profit in order for it to be a "success."

Estimates of the total actual labor costs run between $400,000 and $450,000. Net economic returns from the sale of the pelts yields something below $400,000. This would, it is argued, result in acceptable losses since the corporation would spend less than $50,000 in order to generate $400,000 of employment income to the members of the corporation--and maintain a valued component of their culture and lives on the island.

In 1984, the National Marine Fisheries Service contracted with the Tanadgusix Corporation to perform the seal harvest in return for the sum of $500,000 and the 1981-83 harvested skins owned by the United States. TDX employees harvested 22,066 skins in 1984 and prepared them for shipment from the island (Department of Commerce 1985). By 1986, however, only 1,300 animals were harvested.

Table 30. Receipts from Skin Sales, 1970-1983

Fiscal year	Number of skins sold	Total proceeds from skin sales (in thousands)	Average sale price per skin	Amount received by U.S. Gov't (in thousands)	Average proceed to Gov'	Year skins were harvested
1970	46,878	3,255.1	69.44	2,226.7	47.50	62,65,67
1971	34,082	2,638.4	77.41	1,370.2	40.20	68,69,70
1972	35,733	2,974.5	83.24	1,621.5	45.38	65,66,68,69
1973	27,949	2,942.0	105.26	1,803.4	64.52	66,68,69,70
1974	26,275	2,931.7	111.58	1,850.0	70.41	70,71
1975	25,157	1,954.5	77.69	1,022.4	40.64	71,72,73
1976	36,693	3,189.3	86.92	1,677.5	45.72	72,73,74
1977	36,435	3,729.8	102.37	1,654.6	45.41	74,75,76
1978	15,772	1,619.3	102.67	740.9	46.98	76,77
1979	15,591	1,714.1	109.94	815.2	52.28	77
1980	18,145	2,028.8	111.81	993.4	54.75	78
1981	17,364	1,569.6	90.44	479.5	27.61	79,
1982	21,709	1,391.8	64.11	153.6	7.07	80,81
1983	9,571	647.3	67.63	143.5	15.00	81

(Department of Commerce, 1985: Table 14)

It is therefore fair although not very hopeful to say that the radical changes in political authority (the withdrawal of NMFS from the island) and in the political sentiment of Congress, combined with growing domestic U.S. opposition to the fur seal harvests in the Pribilof Islands, may well have succeeded in ending the commercial harvest of fur seals in St. Paul. One local informant, for instance, expressed the following opinion:

> Well, it seems to me that there may never be another commercial fur seal harvest. The IOC has not renewed the treaty and it looks like Japan and Canada will not be signing it anyway. We can still take seals for subsistence, but we cannot sell the furs. It's strange.

If so, this will be yet another untimely and disruptive event in the lives of St. Paul residents.

Table 31. NOAA Funding for the **Pribilof** Islands, 1979-1985

Fiscal Year	Actual Obligations
1979	4,149,600
1980	5,143,300
1981	5,328,200
1982(a)	5,473,800
1983(b)	5,949,500
1984(c)	1,377,600
1985(**d)(est.)**	2,556,000

a. Administration of the **Pribilof** Islands and conduct of the fur seal harvest. Does not include funding for fur seal research, which averaged approximately $330,000 annually.

b. A supplemental appropriation of $20 million was **also** provided for a special trust fund established by the Fur Seal Act Amendments of 1983, to promote a new economy **on** the **Pribilof** Islands.

c. **Pribilof** Island Program was terminated, including jobs and community services for island residents. FY84 obligations included termination costs less recoveries ($727,600), the harvest contract ($500,000), and continuing responsibilities in fur seal management and harvest oversight ($150,000).

d. Includes $2 million in supplemental funding for upgrading Federal facilities before transfer to island residents. Estimated remaining obligations limited to retirement and schools ($406,000) and fur seal harvest oversight ($150,000).

(Source: Department of Commerce, **1985:67)**

OCS Development

With regard to future OCS activity, the Economic Strategies Plan concludes that "Due to the uncertainty and low probability of use of St. Paul for oil and gas support activities, this development potential is not considered in this ESP" (Dames and Moore 1983:2-7). In this case, however, we do not need to speculate on the probable effects of such development in the vicinity of St. Paul. A support base for **Navarin** Basin exploratory activities was constructed near the St. Paul airport in summer 1985. The history of this event throws light on the actual decision-making processes and community consequences resulting from such activity in St. Paul.

St. Paul is perhaps the most suitably located community within range of projected OCS-related activities in the St. George and **Navarin** Basin lease sale areas, and agreement was reached in 1984 to construct a **Navarin** Basin support facility near the St. Paul airport. The **Pribilof** Offshore Support Services (POSS) facility was constructed between 1984 and 1985 at an estimated cost of between 8.5 and 10 million dollars. It was operated during the **Navarin** exploration phase by a'

consortium of oil firms which included EXXON, ARCO, and AMOCO (EAA). The facility was constructed on land leased by TDX to the Aleut Corporation which, in turn, subleased the property directly to the consortium. As many as fifteen St. Paul residents worked on the construction of the facility in 1984 and another thirteen individuals worked at the facility during the 1985 season until the operation was abruptly terminated by a federal injunction on further exploration. Some informants noted that other reasons could also have contributed to the decision of the oil companies to abandon the site. For instance, when asked why the consortium abandoned the project, one informant responded:

> Several reasons I guess. They were here only for limited operational purposes anyway. Just exploration. They stopped because they couldn't find any oil, because of the cost of maintaining their facilities during the inactive period, because the Aleut Corporation I think may have tried to gouge them, and because of the legal suits I think were filed against the government because of an inadequate subsistence EIS or something.

These opinions are clearly speculative and indicate only that there is considerable confusion concerning the "real" reason why they withdrew from the community.

The departure of the oil firms from the facility and from St. Paul occurred abruptly. Afterwards a problem arose with respect to lease payments and insurance costs (estimated at about $240,000 annually) which was finally resolved when the EAA simply signed over its interest in the $10 million property to the Aleut Corporation in exchange for an unconditional release. The Aleut Corporation, in order to cut its potential insurance and other costs, decided its best option was simply to sell the property improvements which included a sizable diesel generation system, three large helicopter hangars, miscellaneous equipment and supplies, eight to ten offices (including communications, radio, and security rooms), as well as a sixty-room boarding facility (for 120 men) complete with two fully equipped laundries. Within a few weeks of making this decision the improvements and associated equipment had been sold to local residents, the City, the IRA Council, and TDX Corporation, and carted off. As of April 1986 only the shell of the facility remained intact. This issue is far from being settled, however. TDX is seeking to have the 'tenant in a lease of corporation land live up to its agreements. In the face of abandonment, the assets of the facility have been subjected to disputed claims by the landlord (TDX) and other business interests on the island" (Ron Philemonoff, pers. comm.).

Infrastructure Development

In addition to the development of harbor and port facilities, a major concern during the last four years has been the need for improvement of other elements of the community infrastructure. Power generation, water and sewerage are all considered to be inadequate for the needs of the community.

One recent proposal for improving the power generating capacities of the community was developed by the Flowind Corporation, The Flowind project consisted of a wind turbine-diesel generation system which, if installed, would consist of two seventeen-meter turbines (175KW maximum output per turbine) and four nineteen-meter

turbines (300 KW maximum per turbine), along with the controls required to integrate the system with the existing diesel generation system. Flowind would be responsible for training St. Paul personnel in the operation and maintenance of the system and would provide adequate support to maintain the system until the City of St. Paul can assume operational responsibilities.

The Flowind Corporation offered to provide power to the City at 19.2 cents per KWH for the first 5,200 MWH of annual consumption, Electricity sold in excess of this amount would be priced at ten cents per KWH. The City of St. Paul, in turn, would agree to purchase all its electricity requirements for the duration of the fifteen-year contract period; extend its existing distribution system to the USCG Station: connect the Coast Guard, airport, the FAA, and the USWS facilities to the City utility using RERLF funds; and provide bulk fuel to Flowind at cost, The Alaska Power Authority, for its part, was to provide a grant of up to $400,000 to the City of St. Paul to purchase the new diesel generators required to support the new system and to meet existing demand. Much of the cost of the development, in effect, would be borne by Power Cost Equalization due to the loan's impact on consumer rates.

The system was originally scheduled for completion by December, 1985, but has been delayed because of funding problems and reconsideration of provision of performance guarantees with penalties for failure to complete the project, provide proper maintenance or insulate the City if the project failed.

Employment and Income

In the following figures and tables we chart the history of employment changes that have taken place over the course of the monitoring period. It is, however, concentrated primarily on the analysis of changes related to the transition from NMFS control to local self-government. As such, it is concerned with changes in the City of St. Paul's economic policy and philosophy. The employment history of St. Paul over the last five years has been extremely complex. In order to monitor changes over this period it was first necessary to disentangle the history of each individual employment option. The number and duration of each construction project, and corresponding changes in city, TDX, IRA and other employment had to be methodically charted in order to see the pattern and relative significance of each factor.

The following figures provide a graphic characterization of changes occurring in the St. Paul economy over the monitoring period, primarily the period between 1983 and the present. By charting the history of employment in the community since the withdrawal of NMFS, we have been able to document the changes in both component and total employment over the course of the last three years (little change occurred under NMFS during the preceding five or six years.)

The first graph portrays the traditional seasonal pattern of employment changes (and, loosely speaking, income) during the year 1980. When viewed in conjunction with Tables 32 which characterizes the on-island salaries and wages for St. Paul in 1979, and Table 33 which estimates all unearned income (i.e., welfare and transfer payments) for the community in 1979, we gain a fairly detailed portrait of the economy at the beginning of our monitoring period. Three factors are. immediately evident: first, the level of income in the community at this time was approximately $2.2 million while estimated unearned income was approximately $535,000. Such sources of income, therefore, amounted to almost exactly twenty percent of all St. Paul income. While this is a considerable sum, it is perhaps more important to note

that $325,800 of this amount was derived from civil service retirement. This figure has risen to approximately $540,000 over the monitoring period which continues to make St. Paul, relative to its population, one of the most heavily endowed communities in all of rural Alaska in terms of pensions and annuities. The role of this secure source of income in the event of a reversal of the community's high economic activity is certain to increase significantly.

The pattern revealed by these tables also applies fairly accurately to the years 1970 through 1979, and it is therefore used to represent the long-time traditional pattern of employment under the total control of NMFS.

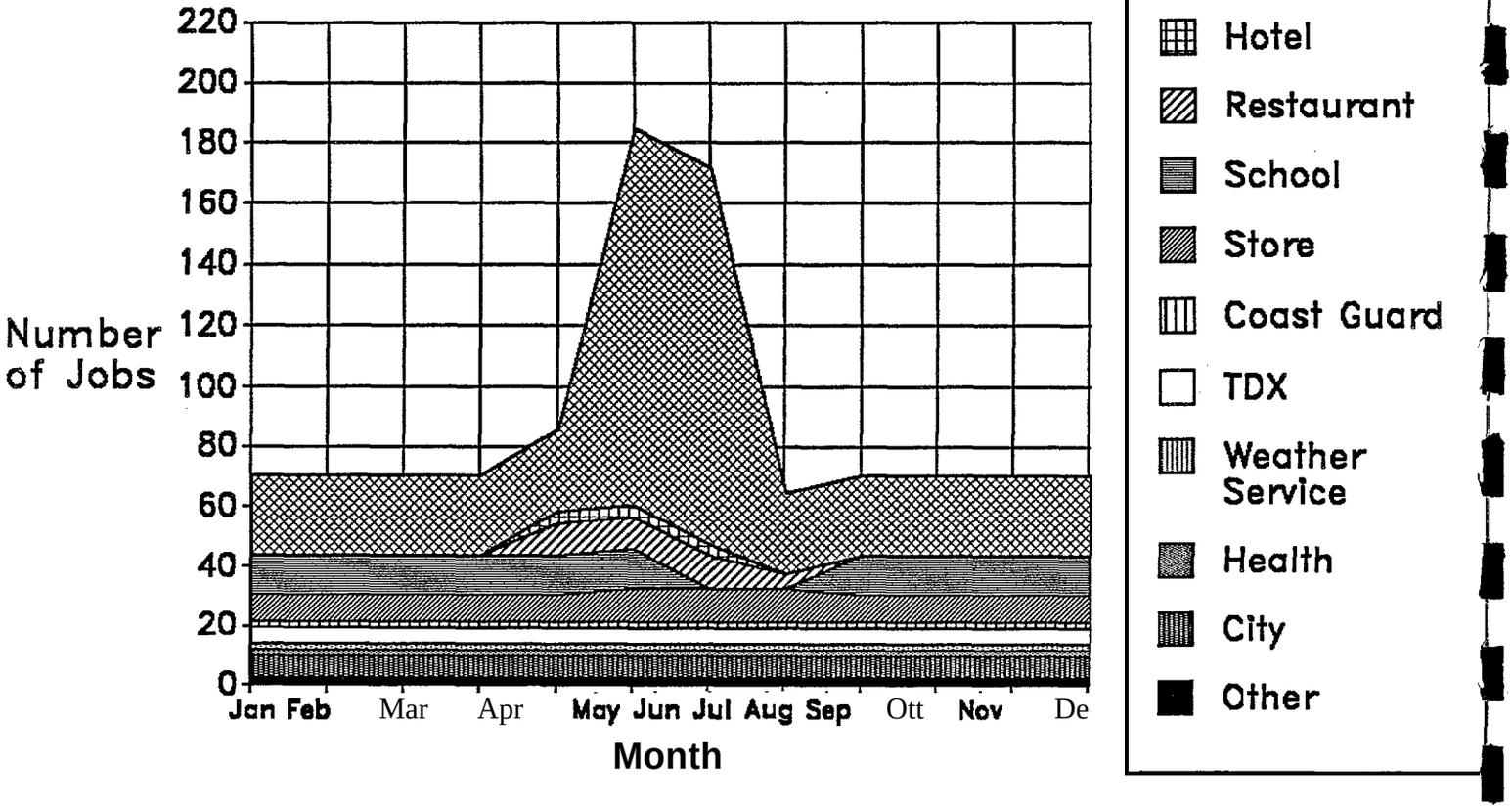
Table 34 provides a catalogue of the total employment by individual job in St. Paul in 1981 while Table 35 details both the jobs and the earnings of St. Paul residents in 1982. A comparison of Tables 32 and 35 reveals an aggregate increase in cash income between 1979 and 1982 of approximately $656,000 or a twenty-three percent increase. Unearned income however, during these years of rapid inflation, increased 31% to $700,000.

What is immediately evident in Figure 12 is the dramatic surge of employment during the fur seal harvest and tourist months of June and July, 1980. Total employment in these months reached as high as 180 individuals, and for many, summer seal harvesting was their only employment during the year. During the rest of the year the aggregate full-time equivalent (FTE) positions (the total full-time employment plus the long-term permanent part-time employment as computed for FTE) accounted for approximately seventy-two positions. Table 32 depicts the on-island salaries and wages in the community in 1979 and a catalogue of all employment positions in the community in 1981 are provided as a basis for the analysis of change over the five year monitoring period.

This pattern continued relatively unaffected until the federal pull-out in October 1983, just after the seal harvest. The aggregate FTE for the non-summer employment season only grew to approximately seventy-eight over this period. The graph of employment for 1983 is perhaps among the most interesting because it was during this year that the stage was set for the future change. The Economic Strategies Plan set out the object to establish a "transition labor force" for the federal withdrawal. This made each of the community's three major economic entities responsible for employment opportunities for a certain number of NMFS employees. It was also agreed by the federal government that employment in this labor force counted as direct government employment for purposes of pensions and retirement benefits. (This is an important point because in many of the decisions to follow, this consideration was often paramount). As depicted in the graph, the transition labor force was created at the same time as NMFS withdrew, with the vast majority of employees being assigned to the City of St. Paul.

The most important thing to be noticed about this period, however, and the most important event displayed in the graph, is the dramatic increase in the number of FTE positions created by the shift of part-time and temporary NMFS employees to these other primarily city-related jobs. Conversion to the transition labor force was marked by an aggregate increase of twenty-five FTE positions, a nearly thirty-three percent increase in full-time employment literally overnight. This was a momentous act, and one that has placed today's St. Paul economy in peril. In 1983 it did not appear risky because the federal government had agreed to provide transition funding during this period to offset most of the economic costs of the required

Figure 12
St. Paul Employment by Month: 1980



(Impact Assessment, Inc., 1987)

Table 32. On-Island Salaries and Wages: St. Paul, 1979

Tanadgusix		
Administration	106,678	
Directors Fees	5,225	
Hotel	11,905	
Restaurant	26,208	
		150,016
City		
Regular	159,900	
CETA	37,500	
		197,400
NMFS		
Administration	1,120,500	
Processing	232,950 (a)	
Repayment	45,700	
		1,399,150
IRA		
Store	160,000	
Tavern	11,000	
		180,000 (b)
Clinic		62,200 (C)
School		606,600 (d)
Reeve/Post Office		15,000 (e)
Weather Service/ Coast Guard		75,005 (e)
Total Salaries and Wages	2,685,366	
Less: Nonlocal Households	504,800	
Total Local Earned Income	2,180,566	

a. Total processing wages less percentage share for St. George and other nonlocal workers.

b. Estimated at 1976 levels plus 5 percent per year for 3 years.

c. Escalated from 1978 level.

d. Estimated from ratio of St. Paul employees to total employees.

e. Estimated based on average salaries.

(Source: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1980)

Table 33. Estimated Unearned Income: St. Paul, 1979

Type	Level	Basis for Estimate
Unemployment	56,300	Total monthly payments to Pribilofs from State Department of Employment allocated according to population.
Welfare	50,364	Average monthly payment provided by State Public Assistance. (see note)
Social Security	103,100	Total monthly payments to Aleutians from Social Security Commission allocated to population.
Civil Service Retirement	325,800	Based on number of retirees and average monthly check as estimated by local NMFS.
Total	535,564	

(Source: Pribilof Islands Services Plan, 1980)

Note: We assume these figures represent annual totals based on average monthly payments.

Table 34. City of St. Paul Employment: 1981

Position Title	Number of Positions	% Time	Hours Per Day	Days Per Year
IRA Employment				
Tribal Officer	1	Full	8	260
Store Manager	1	Full	8	260
Asst. Store Manager/ Bookkeeper	1	Full	8	260
Assistant Bookkeeper/Clerk	1	Full	8	260
Clerk Typist	1	Full	8	260
Floor Supervisor	1	Full	8	260
Clerk	1	Full	8	260
Cashier	2	Full	8	260
Butcher	1	Full	8	260
Maintenance Man	1	Full	8	260
Custodian	3	Part	3	260
Bartender	2	Part	3	260
City of St. Paul				
City Manager	1	Full	8	260
Billing Clerk/Bookkeeper	1	Full	8	260
Clerk Typist	1	Full	8	260
Public Works Superintendent/ Airport Manager	1	Full	8	260
Laborer 1	1	Full	8	260
Laborer 11	1	Full	8	260
Laborer 111	1	Full	8	260
Recreation Director	1	Full	8	260
Recreation Aide	1	Full	8	260
VPSO	2	Full	8	260
City Clerk	1	Part	4	260
TV Manager	1	Part	4	260
Custodian	1	Part	4	260
VPSO	2	Part	8	260

(Table 34 continues on next page)

(Table 34, City of St. Paul Employment: 1981, continued)

Position Title	Number of Positions	% Time	Perm/Temp
NMFS Employment			
Facilities and Equipment Maintenance and Operations Foreman	1	Full	Permanent
and Operations Leader, Sealer Foreman	1	Full	Permanent
Carpenter	1	Part	Temporary
Carpenter Worker	2	Part	Temporary
Carpenter Helper	5	Part	Temporary
Electrician Leader	1	Part	Temporary
Electrician Worker	2	Part	Temporary
Electrician Helper	3	Part	Temporary
Maintenance Worker	1	Full	Permanent
Mechanic:			
Generating Equipment Mechanic Leader	1	Full	Permanent
Generating Equipment Mechanic Leader	2	Full	Permanent
Generating Equipment Mechanic Helper	1	Part	Temporary
Heavy Mobile Equipment Mechanic Leader	1	Full	Permanent
Heavy Mobile Equipment Repairer	3	Full	Permanent
Mechanic Helper (Preventive Maintenance)	3	Full/Part	Perm/Temp
Operator:			
Heavy Equipment	1	Part	Temporary
Motor Vehicle (light)	5	Full/Part	Perm/Temp
Plumber Leader	1	Full	"Permanent
Plumbing Worker	1	Part	Temporary
Plumber Helper	4	Part	Temporary
Warehouseman	1	Full	Permanent
Administrative Assistant	1	Full	Permanent
Biological Technician	1	Part	Temporary
Painting Worker	1	Part	Temporary
Laborer	82	Part	Temporary
Housekeeper	2	Part	Temporary
Service Aide	2	Part	Temporary
Sealer Leader	6	Part	Temporary
Sealer 111	9	Part	Temporary
Sealer 11	17	Part	Temporary
Sealer 1	13	Part	Temporary

(Source: Smythe, 1981)

Table 35. 1982 ST. PAUL EMPLOYMENT AND EARNINGS(a)

	Full Time	Part Time	Wages
NMFS	15	158	$1,618,000
Public Health Service	1	2	59,000
School District	12 (12)	6	207,000
Store and Tavern	9	6	218,000
Community Council	1	0	19,000
City	8	3	189,000
Village Public Safety	2	2	34,000
U.S. Postal Service"	1	1	25,000
Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association	0	2	11,000
Reeve Aleutian Airways	0	2	20,000(b)
TDX Corporation Management	5	0	141,000
King Eider Hotel	0	7	22,000
Restaurant	0	16	38,000
Seal By-Products	0	7	15,000
Small Boat Fishery	0	6	15,000
Fish Processing Plant	0	4	7,000
U.S. Coast Guard	2 (1)	0	78,000
U.S. Weather Service	3 (2)	0	75,000
The Shelter	2	4	30,000(C)
Summer Youth Program	0	10	15,000
Total Earned Income			$2,836,000
Total Employment	61 "	226	
Unearned Income			$ 700,000(d)
Total Personal Income			$3,536,000

(a) Source: Smythe 1983. Numbers in parentheses indicate non-Native employment.
(b) Assumed; no information available.
(c) Emergency basis only due to funding.
(d) Based on ISER (undated) estimate of 1980 unearned income.

(Source: Dames & Moore 1983)

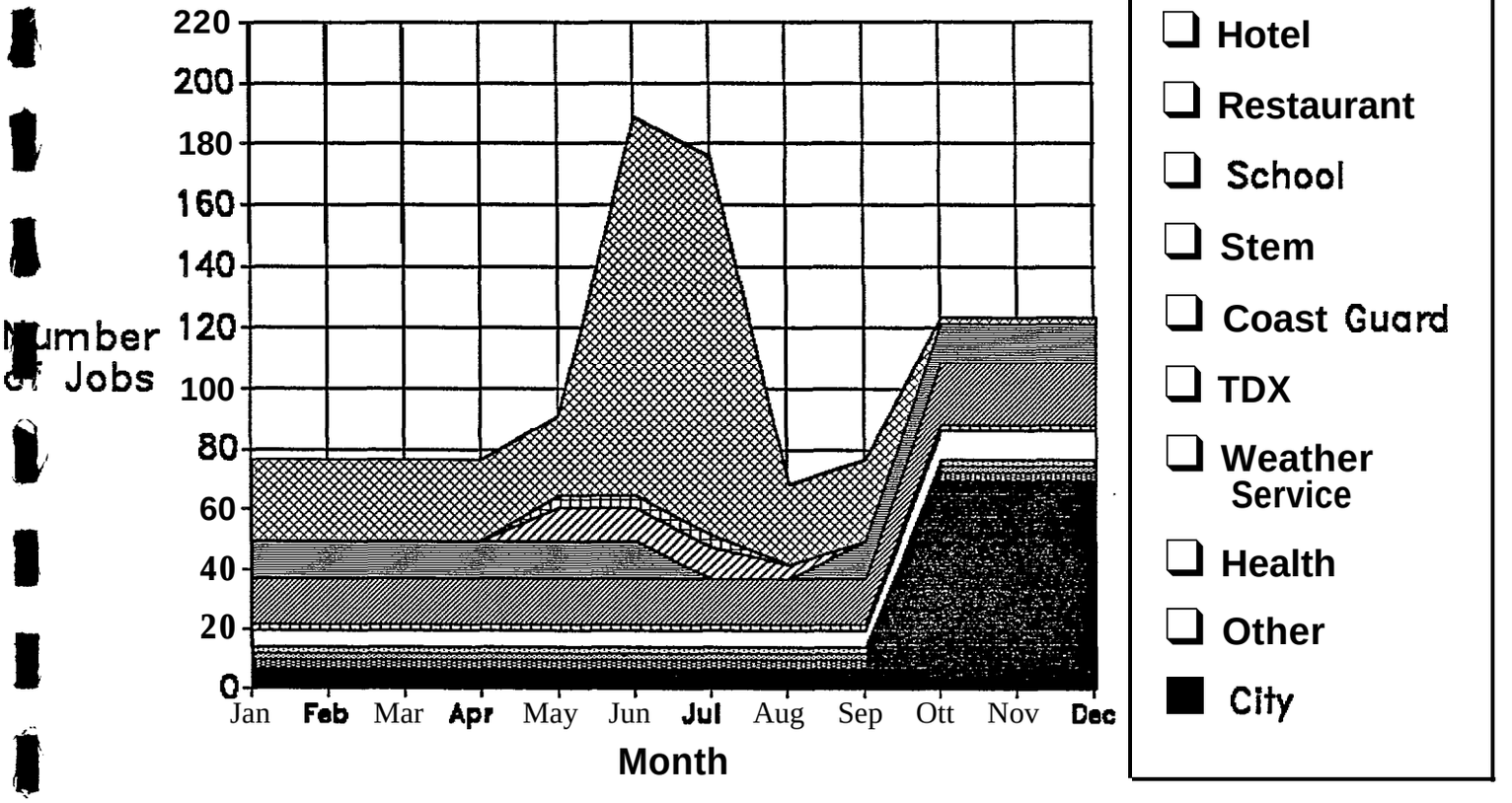
employment. In the analysis to follow, however, it should be remembered that this employment decision was made even before the withdrawal, and that it was based on number of assumptions regarding future development that have largely failed to materialize (see description of the overall economy).

The third graph (Figure 14), which shows employment in St. Paul in 1984, reveals the effects of a wide series of anticipated and unanticipated events that occurred in the months after the departure of NMFS. These events have, to a large extent, blurred the consequences of the radical changeover from federal economic and political control to local self government. The key employment changes shown on the chart are (1) those associated with the breakwater construction, (2) those associated with construction of the POSS facility, and (3) the emergence of a distinct and continuing pattern of city employment. The two major construction projects and other minor capital projects, combined with a somewhat scaled-down 1984 St. Paul employment version of the fur seal harvest, resulted in a rate of employment during the summer of 1984 that exceeded by at least five percent the traditional full-time employment for that period. However, it is critical to realize that this construction and construction-related employment was very different from fur seal harvest employment because it required different skills and, most importantly, paid two to three times the wages. Just nine months after the federal government had withdrawn, the community was in the midst of an economic boom. Full-time jobs were at an all-time high, wages were high, and annual incomes seemed astronomical. It is easy to see how such economic and employment factors would tend to mitigate the anxiety and fear associated with the abrupt termination of decades of federal control. In the face of all of such economic abundance, however, the indications of maladjustment were still evident. In this section, however, we will concentrate only on the employment picture.

The 1984 chart also clearly reveals this as the period during "which the cyclic pattern of city employment first evolved, a pattern which would continue through the 1985 season. As the summer construction season began, it quickly became evident that much higher paying jobs existed with the private firms involved in constructing the breakwater, POSS facility, and other projects. It was also evident that employment in the all-important fur seal harvest would require the participation of many currently employed city workers. The decision was made to allow city employees (including management) to take a leave of absence to participate in the harvest or construction activities with the understanding that at the completion of these activities they would be allowed to return to positions with the city. Resulting in only a minor curtailment of city services, this gave individuals the chance to take advantage of the temporary economic opportunities or traditional cultural subsistence activities available for the brief summer period while at the same time having the security of a full-time job to return to. Thus, the overall income resulting from this year exceeded by a factor of two or three the previous high aggregate income for the community. It should also be noted that both the aggregate and periodic employment in fur seal activities declined dramatically between 1983 and 1984. with a number of individuals opting to. take laboring jobs at twenty-four dollars per hour rather than fur seal harvesting jobs at nine dollars per hour.

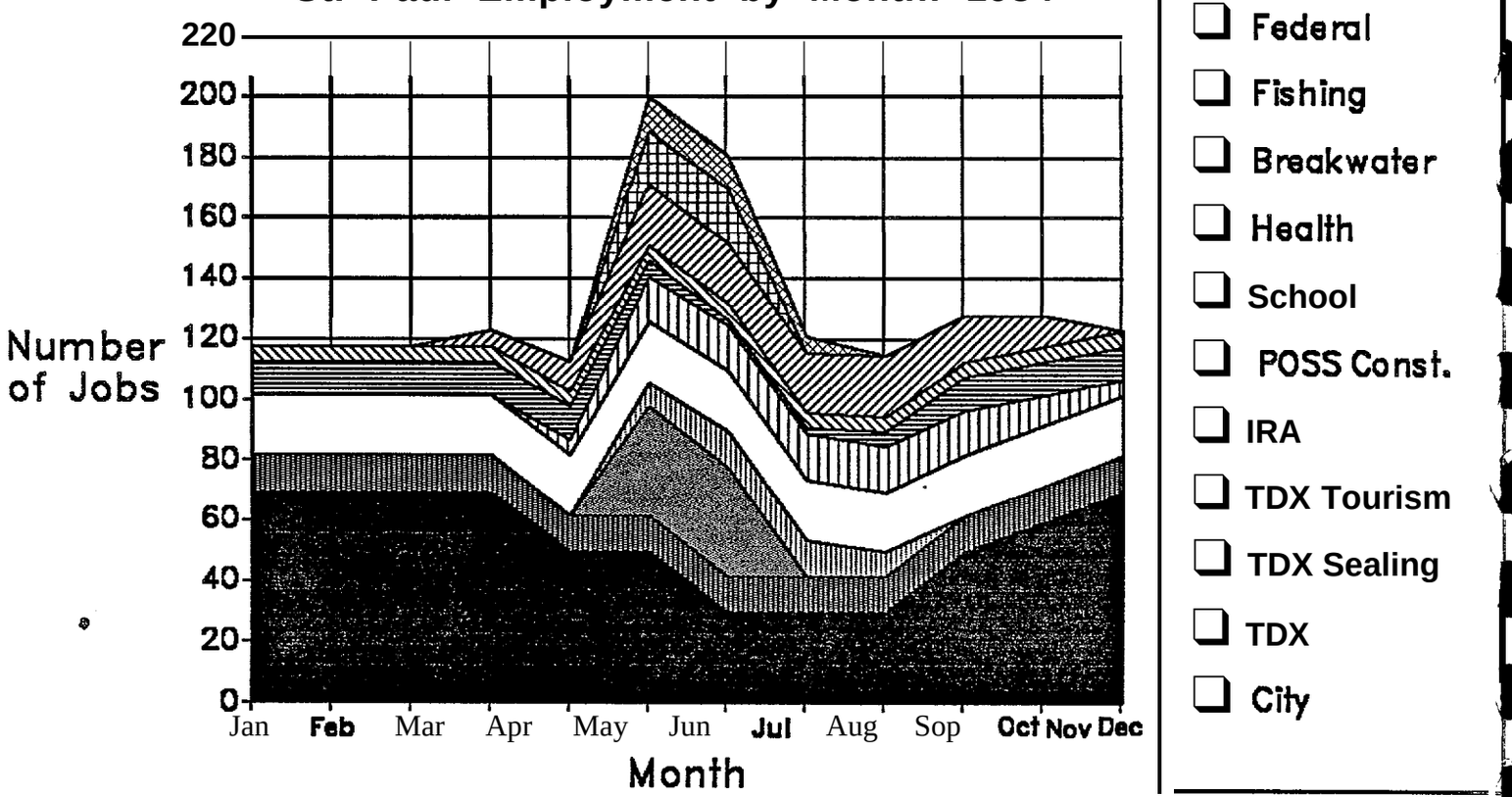
This period also marked the beginning of a phase of high job mobility during which some individuals would hold as many as five different jobs during the course of the year. Those with skills in particular demand commanded very high wages, frequent job offers, and relatively constant employment, while those

Figure 13
St. Paul Employment by Month: 1983



(Impact Assessment, Inc., 1987)

Figure 14
St. Paul Employment by Month: 1984



(Impact Assessment, Inc., 1987)

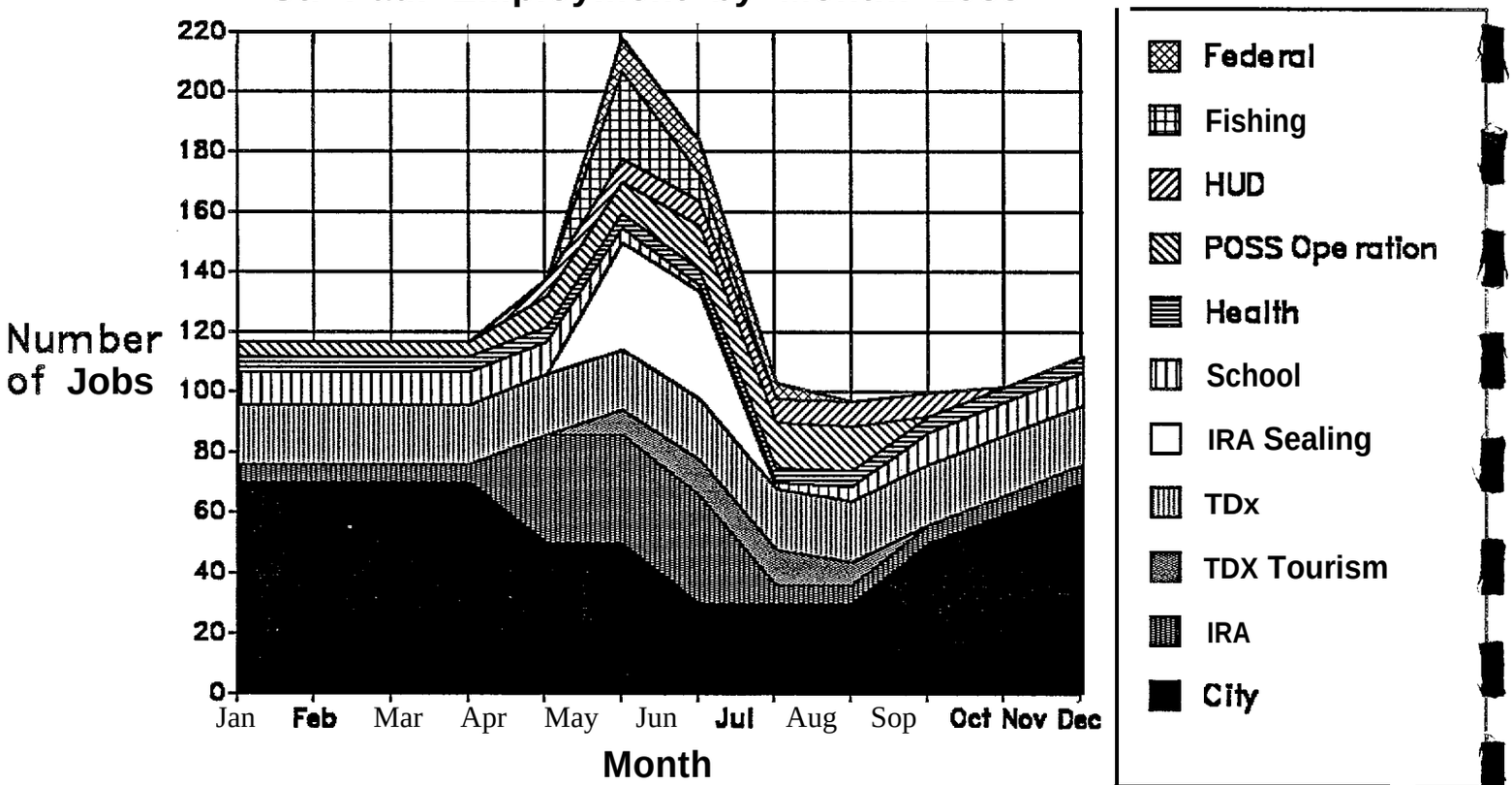
considered "unskilled" by construction standards were frequently unemployed. Thus, another important pattern that began to evolve around job distribution according to criteria other than those related to their previous government titles and roles. The result was a growing economic schism between those in skilled and managerial positions and those with only Sealer I, II, or III titles. City administration was also forced to respond to the economic climate by increasing its top employment wages and thus the process of economic stratification was off to a fast start.

The graph of employment for 1985 shows how this process was continued and, in many ways, accelerated in the following year. The 1985 employment period was the most active, most remunerative, and most complex in the history of the island. High-paying jobs were going unfilled. For those with the needed skills, earnings during the summer of 1985 exceeded all expectations. Even the unskilled workers were making extraordinary incomes. The 1984 pattern largely repeated itself with only the names of the projects being changed. The list includes HUD housing construction, retirement home construction, associated water and power projects, POSS base operations, and several other smaller projects which flooded the local labor market with jobs. The city responded as it had in 1984 by allowing its employees to take on these temporary jobs with the assurance that their permanent positions would be waiting for them when they returned.

The failure of the U.S. Senate to ratify a protocol extending the Fur Seal Convention placed the fur seal harvest of 1985 in jeopardy. After a very painful and acrimonious debate, the federal government ultimately determined that the subsistence needs of the community justified at least a subsistence harvest of fur seals. This harvest, as described elsewhere, had to be conducted in the traditional fashion and under close government scrutiny. This meant that an entire seal harvest had to be mounted in order to take the 3,300 seals permitted for subsistence purposes. In other words, in order to conduct the "subsistence" harvest in the "traditional" manner, the crews had to be compensated, especially in view of the competing economic opportunities then available. This was done in anticipation of the returns to be made from the sale of the 3,300 fur seal pelts which would be processed during the course of the season. Unfortunately, the federal government again stepped in to prevent the sale of these furs on the grounds that they did not represent traditional handicrafts and were unsalable under the MMPA. While it is true the community derived a significant subsistence meat benefit from the operation, the aggregate cost in lost wages (to be derived from other employment) and expended funds (the IRA lost nearly $70,000) was significant.

Table 36 is constructed from various sources of information. The 1980 employment was derived from the Gorsuch & Hull (1983), the 1982 employment was derived from Smythe (1983) and the 1985 employment was derived from Braund et al. (1986). The 1986 employment figures were derived from field interviews in April, 1986 (Impact Assessment, Inc.). The table is most appropriately used to point out the potential pitfalls of "job counts" and should not be used in a direct comparison for several reasons. First, the so-called "total employment" columns represent not employment but the total number of jobs occurring in the local economy over the entire year. An individual who works for the city for one month, on a TDX project for three weeks, for the IRA for two months, and finally, for an outside construction company for one month would account for four "employment" positions in all of these tables (including our own). This is highly misleading and would result in erroneous conclusions if an assessment of the effects of OCS development were attempted.

Figure 15
St. Paul Employment by Month: 1985



(Impact Assessment, Inc., 1987)

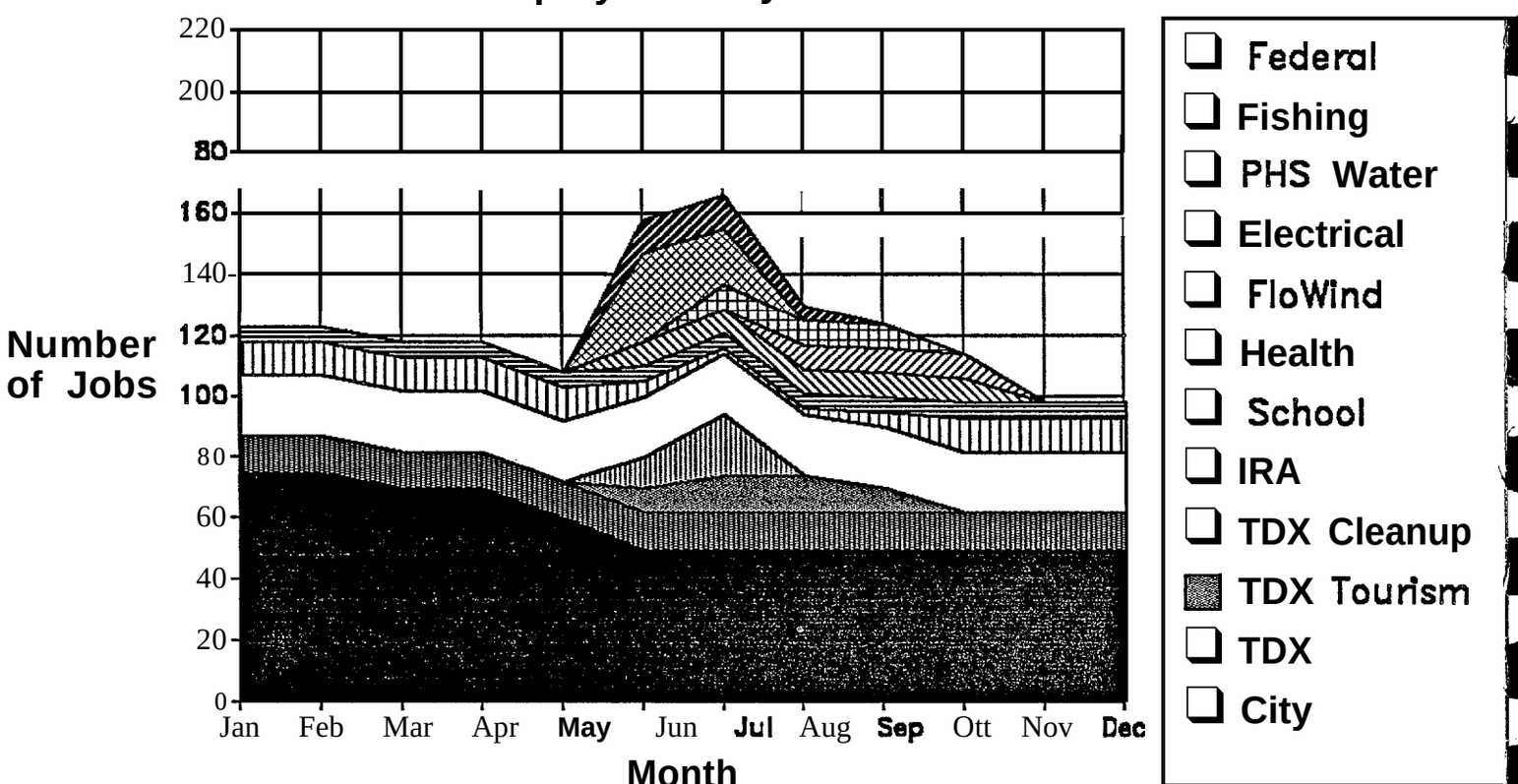
Table 36 St. Paul Employment History; 1980-1986

	A 1980 Total Employment	B 1980 F.T.E. Employment	C 1982 Total Employment	D 1985 Total Employment	D 1985 F.T.E. Employment	E 1986 Total Employment	E 1986 F.T.E. Employment
National Marine Fisheries Service	135	91.0	173	3	1.0	3	2.0
Us. Post office	2	1.5	4	2	2.0	2	2.0
National Oceanic & Atmospheric Admin.	2	2.0	3	3	1.0	3	1.0
Federal District Court	NA	NA	N A	1	0.5	1	0.5
Fish and Wildlife Service	NA	NA	NA	3	1.0	3	0.5
Federal Aviation Administration	NA	NA	NA	3	3.0	3	.5
Coast Guard	2	2.0	2	2	2.0	2	(19) 2.0
City of St. Paul	10	8.5	11	72	72.0	75	58.0
IRA Community Council	NA	NA	1	8	8.0	4	4.0
Gas Station	1	1.0	1	1	1.0	1	1.0
Store and Tavern	13	13.0	15	15	15.0	15	15.0
Seal Harvest	NA	NA	NA	30	4.0	0	0
Tanadgusix Corporation	6	6.0	5	20	20.0	12	12.0
Hotel	4	l.O	7	7	2.5	7	2.0
Seal Processing	20	2.0	7	20	4.0	0	0
Antler Processing	15	1.0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Restaurant	NA	NA	NA	9	3.5	10	3.0
Auto Shop	NA	NA	NA	3	2.0	2	1.5
Catering	o	o	o	7	7.0	5	4.0
Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Assoc.	NA	NA	2	1	1.0	1	1.0
Clinic	4	3.5	3	6	6.0	6	5.0
Public Safety	NA	NA	4	4	3.5	4	2.0
Pribilof School District	13	13.0	18	32	31.0	22	15.0
Tourism	NA	NA	2	2	1.0	NA	NA
Airlines	NA	NA	2	5	4.5	6	4.0
Restaurants	15	3.5	16	7	3.0	6	2.5
Ocs	NA	NA	NA	25	19.0	NA	NA
Construction	NA	NA	NA	50	19.0	24	10.0
Other	NA	NA	21	5	2.0	NA	NA
	242	149.0	287	346	240.5	217	148.5

A. ISER undated.
B. Computation of F.T.E. from ISER undated and Dames and Moore, 1983a.
C. Smythe (1983), as cited in Braund et al. 1986.
D. Braund et al. 1986.
E. Impact Assessment, Inc. survey.

(Impact Assessment, Inc. 1987)

Figure 16
St. Paul Employment by Month: 1986



(*Impact Assessment, Inc.*, 1987)

Table 37. St. Paul Unearned Income Sources: 1985

Source	Persons Assisted	Type of Benefit
AFDC	8	Depends on number of children $657 = 1 mother/1 child $740 = 1 mother/2 children $823 = 1 mother/3 children $906 = 1 mother/4 children $83 = each additional child
Energy Assistance	28	$600-900 one time only.
Food Stamps	9	Depends on number of children, income.
Medicaid	3	For qualified applicants Medicaid pays for trip to ANCH, hospital, or convalescent home. Program has experienced major cutbacks in funding, fewer medivacs, etc. PHS still does flyouts for emergencies.
Permanent Fund	5	Few applicants, taxable income.
Social Security/SSI	6	$314 for single, $472 per couple (expect increase in near future).
Extended Unemploy	1	Extension of unemployment insurance.
WIC	2	Women, infants and children (food for mothers and children).
Unemployment	23	$116 per week, or a weekly total of $2668
Longevity Bonus	12	(est.) Alaska resident, 25 years or more and 65 or older.
Retirement	32	Varies in amounts.

(Impact Assessment, Inc. 1987)

Table 38. St. **Paul** Unearned Income: **1985** "

Source	Claim	s Total	Computation	Basis of Estimate
AFDC	8	71040	8 X 7 4 0 X 1 2	(modal estimate)
Energy Assistance	28	22400	28 X 800	(most recipients receive full benefit)
Food Stamps	9	30996	9 X 2 8 7 X 1 2	(using 3 member household/year)
Medicaid	3	2100	3 x 700	(estimate only)
Longevity Bonus	15	10000	5 x 2000	(1,500-3,000)
State Tax Dividend	30	9330	3 0 X 311	(1985 dividend, under-reported)
Permanent Fund	5	12500	5 X 2500	(modal estimate)
Social Security/SSI	6	31680	6 X 4 4 0 X 1 2	(averaged, range between $314-472)
Extended Unemploy	1	1400	1 x 1400	(1/2 initial entitlement)
WIC	2	2640	2 X 1 1 0 X 1 2	(estimated duration)
Unemployment	23	46000	23 X 2000	(entitlement: 2800, modal estimate)
Retirement	32	576000	32 X 18000	(est., range $10-30,000)
Aleut Dividend	80	22000	200 x 110	(estimated actual income from source)
Total Unearned Income		838,086		

(Impact Assessment, Inc. 1987)

Second, the critical component of the 1985 figures, the Full Time Equivalent (FTE) column, contains significant miscalculated values (some based on erroneous employment estimates). City employment is accurately estimated at seventy-two individuals but the corresponding FTE can be no larger than fifty-eight given the significant drop in city employment resulting from individuals taking part in summer construction projects and participating in the subsistence fur seal harvest. School employment is estimated at thirty-two (perhaps including the teachers on St. George) whereas actual total employment is twenty-two (eleven teachers, one special education teacher, five teachers aides, one superintendent, one secretary, one finance officer, and two janitors). In no case, however, would the FTE be equal to the total employment since none of the teachers or teachers aides work during the summer months. Thus, a more accurate FTE for the St. Paul teaching and support staff works out to about 15.0. Finally, the tendency to overstate the FTE is reflected in virtually all of the 1985 figures and results in an aggregate FTE far in excess of actual employment levels in St. Paul, even under the highly anomalous boom conditions of 1985.

Table 37 presents a summary of the kinds of unearned income sources currently utilized by St. Paul residents and a brief summary of the qualifications for receiving benefits, and the kinds of benefits available under each alternative, Given the anticipated increase in utilization of these resources we have provided a more complete description of the qualifications and benefit scales for each of the programs in Appendix A. Table 38 reflects our effort to quantify actual 1985 utilization by type of resource, the kinds of assumptions made to compute benefits, and aggregate utilization.

This brings us to the 1986 employment graph (Figure 16). This graph is a combination of the real and the projected since the information it contains was collected in April of 1986. It is perhaps important, however, that we discuss the 1986 summer season as it is currently shaping up. First, the abundance of capital improvement projects on the agenda for the City of St. Paul has come to halt, at least temporarily. No major projects are anticipated for this construction season, although the potential exists at the time of writing for several smaller projects which cumulatively could mean an active summer, although it would not seriously rival the summers of 1984 and 1985. It should be noted, moreover, that the FloWind project is unlikely to get the go ahead--the electrical project can be given a fifty percent chance, the PHS water about a seventy-five percent chance, and the TDX clean up about a ninety percent chance of occurring. What is important to notice in this chart, however, is not the projected summer employment activity but the decline in projected post-summer employment with the city.

A few summary remarks on employment changes over the monitoring period are in order here. St. Paul workers find the prospect of intermittent employment and relative inactivity unpleasant. As one local informant noted:

> People are getting worried now. People are more and more trying to collect old debts from their friends and relatives, and there have been many law suits to get loaned money back. Some pretty negative things are happening in the community right now. Wages are being garnished and this is really affecting some people who have never had this happen to them before, and they are made to feel very powerless. Like they are working for someone else, under a cloud or a threat.

For many currently employed individuals interviewed in spring 1986, the pre-1983 social and economic situation was more appealing than today's apparent economic boom conditions. Not so much in financial terms, since everyone appears pleased with the increase in cash income, but in terms of social and cultural security and the knowledge that the following year would be much the same as the present and the future would promise definable if limited expectations. This sense of stability is what is most keenly perceived to be absent in today's economy. Employees miss the security of knowing that they will have a job next year, will be able to pay their bills next year, or will even be a resident in the community next year.

Tanadgusix Corporation

During the monitoring period, TDX has been involved in several business and development activities, including the King Eider Hotel in St. Paul, a restaurant and gift shop, and a land lease to the Aleut Corporation for the POSS facility. The Corporation also owns a share of the Anchorage International Inn. Excluding the latter, the corporation earned $2.8 million in FY 1984, most of which was derived from sale of the bird rookeries to the federal government and from seal harvesting (Braund et al. 1986:5-32). An estimated thirty percent of its expenditures is contributed to the St. Paul economy, including over $700,000 in wages and salaries to local residents in FY 1984,

Corporate activities in 1986 focused on the analysis of profitability of existing activities, and planning uses for waterfront holdings on St. Paul. Aside from fuel storage and wholesale distribution, the corporation has sought private investment and risk sharing for waterfront properties and plans to develop support ventures to accompany groundfishing use of the harbor/port facilities. Accommodations and lodging, warehousing and cold storage, crab pot storage, and marine sales and services are viewed as less risky ventures in which the corporation could derive steady profitable operations and provide jobs for shareholders.

Despite these ventures, however, TDX has consistently been "in the red" throughout the monitoring period as, expenditures exceeded revenues. Consequently, the corporation was forced to institute several budget cuts in 1986. As of July 30, 1986, all TDX employees went to a seven-hour work day, effectively resulting in a 12.5 percent reduction in pay. In the Operations Department, the corporation laid off three employees for the winter and were considering additional lay-offs. The Board of Directors also reduced their fee expenses by twenty percent. Further, each operation was given responsibility for its own expenses and unprofitable operations, such as the Auto Shop, were closed down (Tanadgusix Corporation 1986).

Aleut Community of St. Paul

The Aleut Community of St. Paul (the IRA Council) provides direct employment for six individuals in the community: one president, one secretary, one administrator, two maintenance personnel (on government grants working on Point Warehouse and renovating the IRA building), and one temporary person working at the store. The IRA Council is still in negotiation with TDX regarding the purchase of its halibut processing operations. TDX has always maintained that it was merely interested in demonstrating the feasibility of a day-boat fishery and small onshore processing facility and not in developing the fishery itself. The IRA has focused

primarily on this aspect of development in the community. Of the $8.5 million settlement with the federal government (the "corned beef" monies), $1.7 million were retained by the IRA with the express intent of assisting in the development of a self-sustaining fishery in St. Paul. Approximately $500,000 of these monies have been used as direct loans to purchase fishing boats, while some have been placed in a bank account as collateral for bank loans. This collateral will be released when a specified portion of the existing loans are paid off by the St. Paul fishermen. Of the $8.5 million settlement, eighty percent was paid in cash directly to the residents of St. Paul and St. George.

Several members of the IRA council expressed concern that unless the breakwater were completed, the "downfall of the community would be inevitable" since no other base for the economic growth of the community existed.

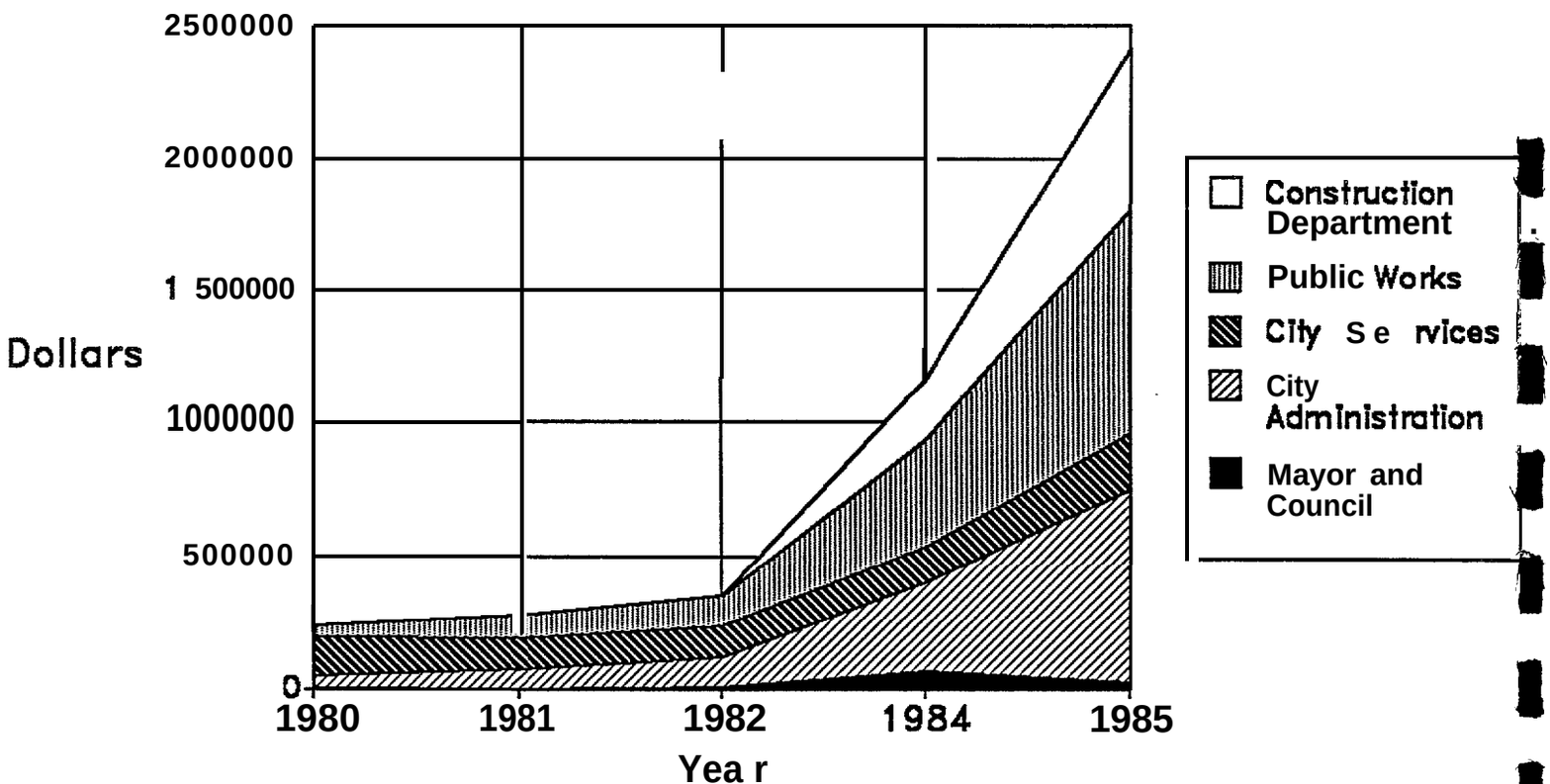
> Everything in our future hinges on the completion of the breakwater--and it is at least 3-4 years down the line--maybe it won't ever be done the way things have been going. Nothing will be done on the breakwater this summer. Some money is available but not enough to get the breakwater to the point where the Army Corps of Engineers will take over. [1400 feet must be finished before the Army Corps of Engineers will complete the breakwater out the required 2200 feet].

The IRA supported the 1986 subsistence harvest which had to be carried out in the traditional commercial fashion with paid wages in order to compete with multitude of alternative employment opportunities. The IRA contributed $75,000 toward the 1985 subsistence harvest of just ,3,300 seals. (discussed in detail below). Its current efforts are concentrated on developing banking facilities on the island, upgrading present IRA facilities and businesses, and continuing to train key personnel in business management.

City Administration

The City of St. Paul has assumed the dominant political and economic role in the community since the departure of NMFS. Through a multitude of grants, construction contracts, and draws against the St. Paul Trust, the city administration has managed to generate more full-time jobs, and higher paying jobs, than had ever been the case under NMFS administration. This pattern, in concept, follows a plan accepted by its leaders in anticipation of the federal pull out. What may not have been intended, however, was the de facto assumption of the authority and economic dominance once maintained by NMFS, though this could probably have been predicted. The growth of the city administration of St. Paul, as portrayed in preceding figures is the most significant feature of the last three years of economic change in the community. As a result of this growth the City of St. Paul has outstripped NMFS in its control over the economic sustenance of the community. City employment itself accounts for over sixty-two percent of the full-time employment of the community. This is a figure between five and ten times the size of municipal governments in other communities of a similar size and complexity.

Figure 17
St. Paul City Expenditure History: 1980– 1985



(Impact Assessment, Inc., 1987)

The costs of maintaining this level of city operations have grown in tandem with the increase in expenditures. Figure 17 depicts the City of St. Paul expenditure history over the last five years (note that the year 1983 is unavailable since the city budget for that period was never completed). City expenditures rose from about $350,000 in 1982 to nearly $2,400,000 in 1985. The graph makes clear that this increase was not simply a result of capital project construction, special projects or other unique situations. The bulk of the increase was expended on (1) public works, (2) city services, and (3) city administration which accounted for seventy percent of the increase ($1.45 of $2.05 million).

Two related graphs are presented in figures 18 and 19 in order to describe the revenue sources employed to fuel this employment activity. The first figure provides a picture of the sources and revenue derived from all major income sources of the community, by year, over the entire monitoring period. What is striking about this graph is the prominence of "revenue" derived from the St. Paul Trust. Such revenue dwarfs by a factor of two the total income derived from all other revenue sources.

The "Trust", as it is referred to, has become the economic lifeblood of the community. Simply stated, without the money borrowed from the St. Paul Trust each year the City would be bankrupt. Approximately half the full-time employees in the community as a whole derived their income indirectly from the Trust. Nearly two-thirds of the City employees would be unemployed today were it not for money drawn into the City coffers from the Trust. These trust monies have been depleted significantly in the thirty months since its creation.

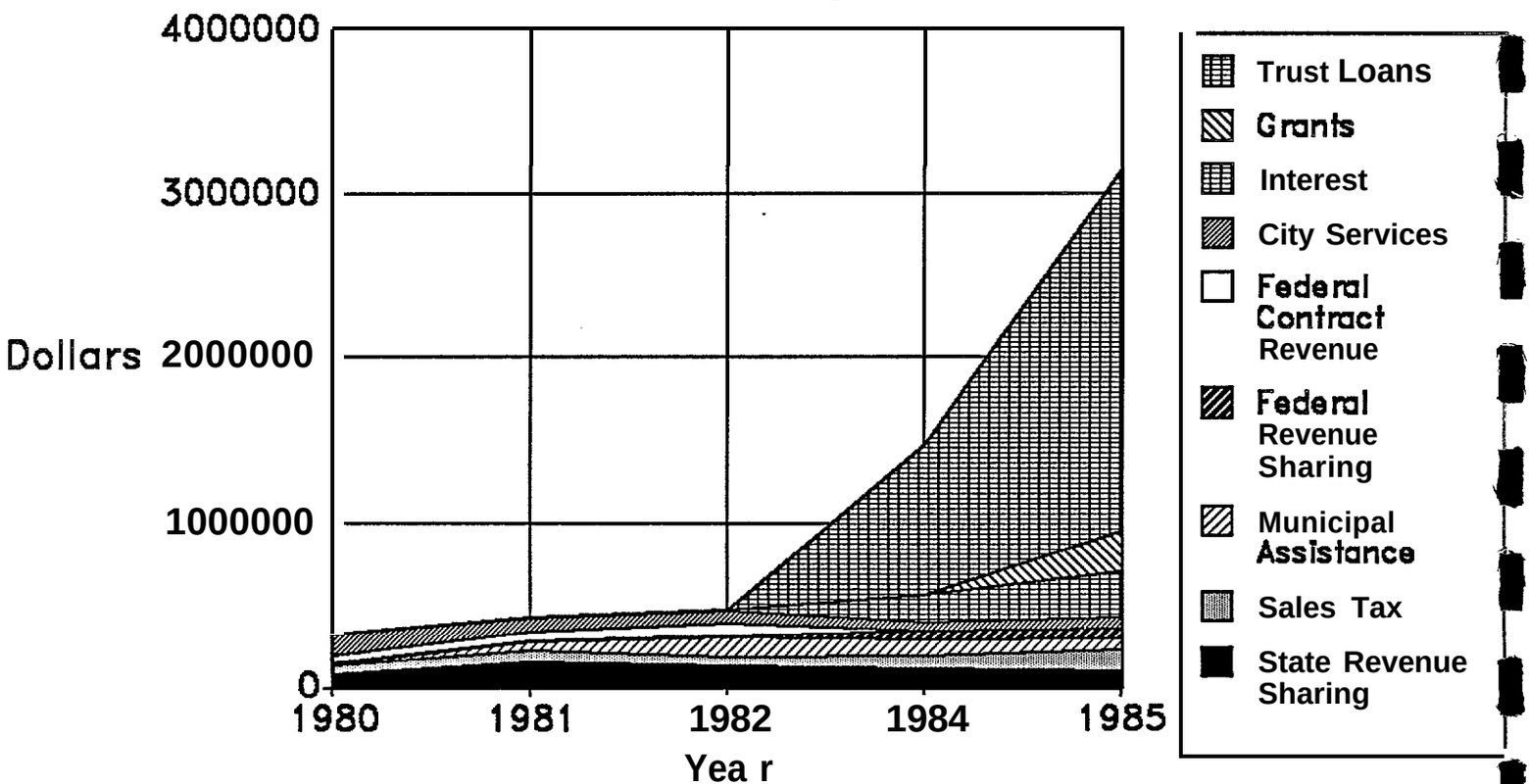
The Trust, as discussed in detail elsewhere, consisted of $12,000,000 in January of 1984. The following table, Table 39, is drawn from the Trustee's annual report for March 1985. Since that time, of course, continued draws against the Trust have further reduced the fund level.

What this table indicates is that the trust has been depleted from $12,000,000 on October 13, 1983 to just over $10,000,000 seventeen months later on March 31, 1985. It should be pointed out, however, that this represents far more than a $2,000,000 decline in the value of the fund. During that year more than $1,1003000 of interest and investment returns on the fund were also earned. Thus, in the course of its first year in operation the fund was depleted by more than $3,000,000. Tables 40 and 41 display Trust figures for 1985 and 1986 in tabular form.

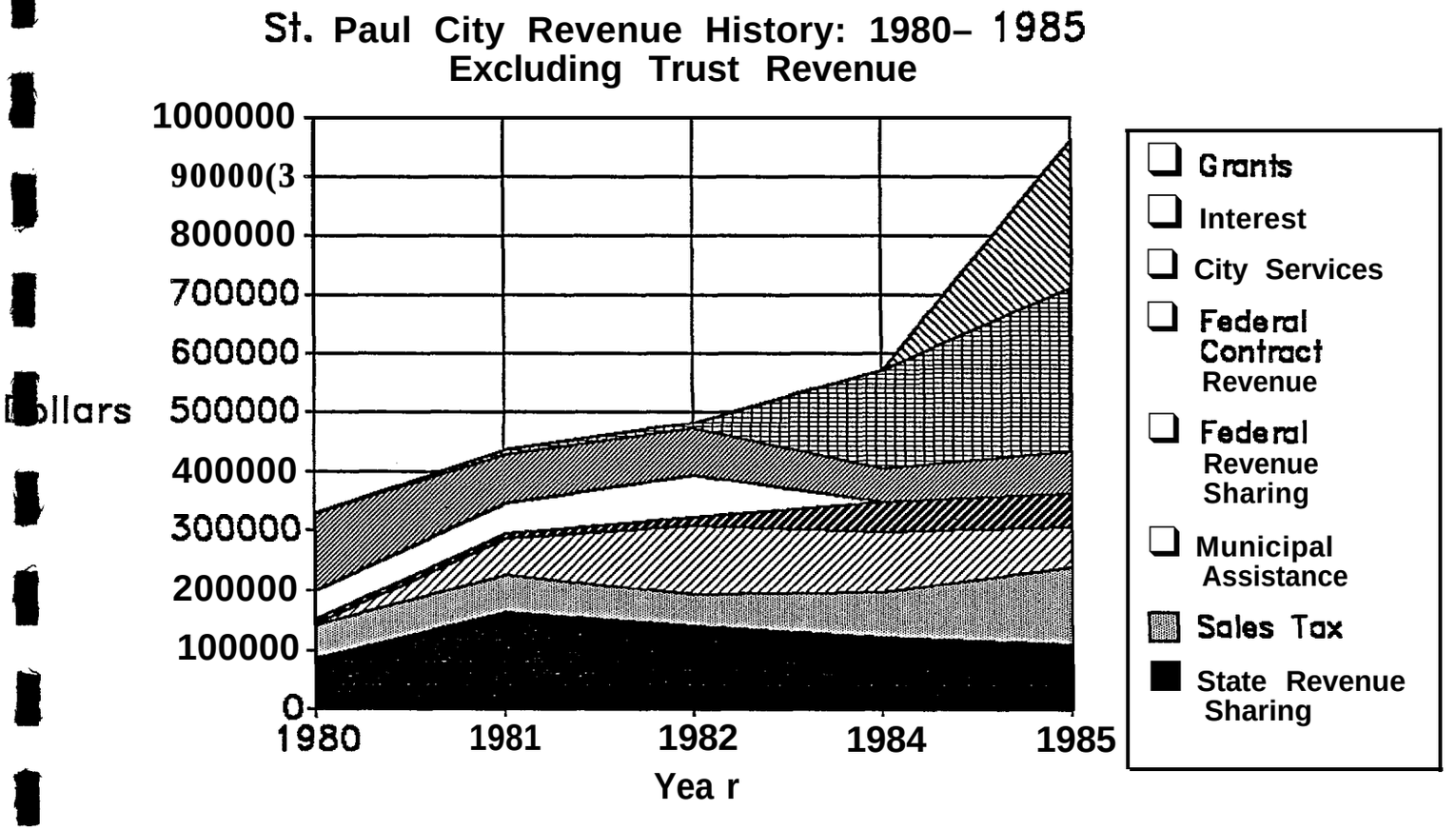
The city could expend the fund at the current rate for only a few more years before completely depleting the Trust. This is precisely the problem presently facing the government of St. Paul. To what extent does the City utilize the fund for present purposes and to what extent they try to protect the long term viability of the fund--and, by extension, the viability of the community. This is, of course, the classic economic question that must be answered by any enterprise and the decisions taken over the next year will determine in large part the course of social change in the community the remainder of the 1980s.

The trust has not, of course, been the sole source of city revenue over the five year period. However, in order to portray the role of these other sources a second figure has been created which excludes the so-called "Trust revenues" from the picture of City revenues. Figure 19, then, represents all other major sources of revenue for the community.

Figure 18
St. " Paul Revenue History: 1980–1 985



(*Impact Assessment, Inc.*, 1987)



(Impact Assessment, Inc., 1987)

Table 39. Saint Paul Island Trust

Balance Statement: 1985-1986

Consolidated Statement of Assets, Liabilities and **Fund Balance**

Assets

	March 31, 1986	1985
Investments	$7,829,999	$10,151,890
Cash	28,400	15,906
Restricted cash	77,000	77,000
Interest receivable	81,170	51,354
Note receivable	107,404	---
Prepaid insurance	11,139	8,805
Deposits	1,778	1,778
	8,136,890	10,306,733

Liabilities and Fund Balance

Accounts Payable	16,931	13,029
Fund Balance	8,119,959	10,293,704
	8,136,890	10,306,733

(Source: St. Paul Island Trust 1986)

Table 40. Saint Paul Island Trust

Statement of Revenues, Expenses and Change in Fund Balance

Year Ending March 31, 1985

Revenue	
Interest Income	$1,124,013
Gain of Sale of Investments	24,039
Total Revenues	1,118,052
Expenses	
Grant - Rural Education Office	50,000
Grant - Aleut Community of Saint Paul	90,109
Disbursements to City of Saint Paul	2,131,838
Expenses Incurred in Search for Trustee	23,506
Pre-Trust Expenses Reimbursed to Beneficiaries	254,758
Insurance	17,613
Rent	9,967
Office Expense	4,842
Telephone	1,867
Travel and Lodging	23,631
Legal and Professional	27,630
Advisor Expense	335
Trustee Compensation	80,000
Investment Fees	58,741
Total Expenses	2,774,837
Net Excess of Expenses Over Revenues	(1,626.785)
Fund Balance: March 31, 1984	11,920,489
Fund Balance: March 31, 1985	$10,293,704

Note: ***During the Year ending March 31, 1985 the Trust made eleven loans to the City, totaling $2,131,838. Repayment of these loans is contingent on the ability of the City to develop a self-sufficient economy not dependent on sealing.***

(Source St. Paul Island Trust 1986)

Table 41. St. Paul Island Trust

Consolidated Statements: 1985 and 1986

Revenues, Expenditures, and Changes in Fund Balance

	Year Ended March 31,	
	1986	1985
Revenues	$ 842,913	$1,124,013
Interest and dividend income from investments	339,710	24,039
Net gain of sale of investments	1,182,623	1,148,052
Expenditures		
Grant - City of St. Paul Weatherization Program	288,196	
Pribilof Island Orientation and Industrial Development Film	10,000	
Grant - Rural Education Office		50,000
Grant - Aleut Community of St. Paul		90,109
Disbursements to City of St. Paul	2,819,305	2,131,838
Expenses incurred in search for Trustee	---	23,506
Pre-trust expenses reimburse to beneficiaries	---	254,758
Insurance	27,756	17,613
Rent	10,545	9,967
Office expense	7,167	4,842
Telephone	2,637	1,867
Travel and lodging	25,467	23,631
Legal and professional	19,989	27,630
Advisor expense	1,800	335
Trustee compensation	80,000	80,000
Investment fees	45,506	58,741
Consulting fees	18,000	---
Total Expenses	3,356,368	2,774,837
Net excess of expenditures over revenues	(2,173,745)	(1,626,785)
Fund balance - beginning of year	10,293,704	11,920,489
Fund balance - end of year	8,119,959	10,293,704

(Source St. Paul Island Trust 1986)

Once the trust income has been deleted it becomes clear that other significant changes in the revenue history of the City of St. Paul have occurred over the monitoring period. First, it can be seen that the role of state revenue sharing, municipal assistance, city services, and federal revenue sharing income have remained relatively constant over the entire monitoring period. It can also be observed that the contribution of local sales tax to city operations have nearly doubled in the last year after holding fairly steady over the period 1980-1984. Though the effect of this increase is minor with respect to the aggregate income and expenditures of the city, it does reflect a significant increase in total sales in the community and is otherwise a useful indicator of consumption changes resulting from higher incomes over the last year or two of the projection period. Federal contract revenues, derived from airport maintenance, security and operations contracts with the U.S. government ended with NMFS withdrawal in 1983 and have played no role in the subsequent income picture of the community.

Revenue elements that have shown dramatic increases over the monitoring period include the categories "interest" and "grants". As is indicated in the graphic, interest income derived from investments of monies advanced to the city for capital improvement projects, grants, and special projects in money market and other interest bearing accounts, resulted in significant revenue to the city over the period 1984 and 1985. The second significant change involved the increasing role of grants to the economy of St, Paul. Grant funds represented approximately twenty-five percent of the total non-Trust monies received by the community in 1985. The City participates in a number of federal and state grants, the principal of which are the General Revenue Sharing, U.S. Department of Commerce - Economic Development Administration Dock grant, and the State Transfer of Responsibility Agreement (harbor construction grant) (City of St. Paul 1985). This underlines the growing importance of grantsmanship to the continued operation of city government in St. Paul.

Subsistence Activities

The economy of rural Alaskan communities has frequently been viewed in a dichotomous fashion as containing a commercial and a subsistence component. The interrelations between the two components have been viewed from the perspective of the labor hours required, costs of subsistence production, and return in labor investment in the form of consumables (Huskey et al. 1982). From this perspective, the subsistence economy of St. Paul has traditionally been subservient to the commercial economy. In contrast to other Aleut communities, subsistence has played only a minor role in the community's economy. As Young observes:

> St. Paul and St. George are not traditional Native communities. They were created by Russian fur traders during the late 18th and early 19th centuries to facilitate the commercial harvest of fur seals. From the start, therefore, the basis of the local economy has been sealing. Nor is the contemporary character of the communities conducive to the adoption of a traditional subsistence lifestyle. The residents of the islands are clustered in two villages featuring modern housing, sophisticated heating and electrical systems, and a full range of municipal services. What is more, the subsistence activities that do take place are capital intensive, relying on modern rifles, mechanized ground

> transportation, and outboard motors on boats. All this means that the residents of St. Paul and St. George are deeply involved in a cash economy; a typical family must receive a substantial cash income in order to survive comfortably on the Pribilofs today (1984:19).

However, the subsistence activities practiced by St. Paul residents must also be examined in light of their social and cultural importance to the entire community. Most of the Aleuts in the community and some of the non-Natives make use of a variety of subsistence items, and through a network of sharing, even households with no active hunters or fishers obtain a regular supply of subsistence foods. In a 1981 survey conducted by the Tanadgusix Corporation, for instance, approximately fifty percent of the households surveyed reported both giving halibut to and receiving halibut from other households, indicating the strong reciprocal nature of subsistence sharing in the Pribilofs. Over eighty percent of the households surveyed reported that they shared halibut with others (Veltre and Veltre 1981:122). Subsistence use of seal meat has traditionally been incidental to the commercial harvest. However, exchange of seal meat plays an important role in the maintenance of kin networks within the community as well as ties to kin members residing elsewhere. Thus, seal meat is frequently exchanged with relatives or exchange partners residing in other communities such as King Cove, Akutan, and Anchorage. .

Subsistence is also tied to conditions in the cash economy as well. With employment cutbacks in the Pribilofs and continually rising prices, reliance on subsistence resources is increasing and can be expected to become more important to the community. An increase in the percentage of the diet made up of subsistence foods from thirty to fifty percent between 1979 and 1981 was reported by Veltre and Veltre (1981:188). However, as Young notes above, one's ability to engage in subsistence pursuits is based in part on his ability to financially support those activities through wage-employment. Moreover, the most important subsistence activity on the island, the annual fur seal harvest, has always been incidental to the commercial harvest of this resource. Although the 1985 harvest was conducted strictly for subsistence purposes, local residents continued to receive wages for their participation. This was done because of the expectations of local residents that such an activity entailed the earning of wages, and because the Aleut Community of St. Paul could not hope to compete with ongoing construction projects that offered high wages in attracting enough local labor to conduct the harvest. Hence, the value system of the Aleut residents of St. Paul has inextricably linked together the subsistence and commercial components of the same set of activities.

The most important subsistence item and dietary staple of local Aleuts since their arrival on the islands in the late 1700s has been the meat of the fur seal. Prior to refrigeration, seal meat was either dried or salted for year-round use. A rough estimate by the Tanadgusix corporation of the amount of fur seal meat consumed per household on St. Paul was as follows: during the summer months, about fourteen to twenty pounds were used weekly by each of 125 households. In winter, each household consumed an average of fifteen to twenty seals weighing approximately thirty-five pounds each, or about 2,000 seals totaling 7,000 pounds for the entire community (Veltre and Veltre 1981:84). Although the 1985 subsistence harvest of fur seals totaled over 3,300 fur seals, the reported harvest of fur seals in 1986 was only 1,600 animals, indicating a decline in the amount of seal meat available during the monitoring period. Halibut and reindeer are also important subsistence resources

for local residents. The Tanadgusix Corporation survey indicated that an average of 2.02 halibut were caught per family in 1979, and of the eighty-seven reindeer hunting permits issued to St. Paul residents during the 1980-81 season, twenty-three kill reports were returned (Veltre and Veltre 1981:1 15).

HEALTH

Introduction

The health and social welfare indices available for St. Paul residents during this period provide a vivid representation of the overwhelming impact of changes associated with the withdrawal of NMFS on the health and social well being of the community. The increase in crime rates, mortality rate, alcohol-related illnesses, depression, and numbers of individuals on public assistance all occurred in the years preceding and immediately following the changeover from NMFS administration to local control of the community's political and economic systems. These indices all displayed a uniform decline in rates in 1985 with the introduction of new employment opportunities and the prospect of continued economic development associated with the construction of a harbor and commercial port facilities. Health indices appear to have stabilized somewhat since the period immediately following NMFS withdrawal. However, as this development has either come to an end or has been postponed indefinitely, it is very likely that these indices will once again rise dramatically and with lasting impact.

Social Welfare

Public Safety Indices

The maintenance of social control has been a prominent objective of both federal and community administrations. Throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s police authority was exercised through VPSOs. Between 1970 and 1981 the number of public safety officers remained relatively constant. Even by local standards, the incidence of criminal behavior, arrests, and prosecutions over this period was exceptionally low. The number of violent crimes committed began to rise dramatically in 1982, however, and with this rise came the need for additional public safety personnel.

Since 1983 responsibility for public safety and social control in St. Paul has been assumed by the St. Paul Police Department. In 1983 an Alaska state trooper was assigned to the island as well. (The Alaska state trooper position was withdrawn from St. Paul in 1986 due to state budget cut-backs.) The police department is currently comprised of one constable, supplemented by VPSOs. The Village Public Safety Officers are funded jointly by the City of St. Paul and the A/PIA. The City provides portions of the annual salary for two full-time VPSO positions and also funds two intermittent positions, which are utilized when the full-time individuals are away from the community, or when additional assistance is needed. While law-enforcement manpower is considered sufficient, the present jail facility, however, is inadequate and does not meet the state's standard for the proper design of a holding facility (Norgaard 1984).

An index of the level of criminal activity during the monitoring period is provided by the case records of the local court. A listing of cases prosecuted in Table 42 reveals that there was a 689 percent increase in the total number of cases in 1982 and a seventy-nine percent increase in 1984. In each of these years the number of assaults also rose by 114 and 186 percent respectively. The total number of prosecuted cases declined in 1985, a year of high employment activity. Nevertheless, the overall trend for the monitoring period as a whole was a significant increase in the numbers of criminal and civil offenses during this period. The number of crimes recorded in the community over the last five or six years has not been merely an artifact of changes in arrest procedures, prosecution preferences, isolation, or increased police scrutiny. According the the local magistrate, 1984, the first year subsequent to the withdrawal of NMFS from the island and the end of federal control, was the worst year in the island's history for both social and physical crime. In addition to the twenty cases of assault involving different individuals, there were several cases not reflected in these figures that went unprosecuted.

Table 42. Cases Prosecuted in the St. Paul Court

Category	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986(a)
Assaults	7	7	15	7	20	15	6
Homicides	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Thefts	0	0	7	0	0	6	0
Burglaries	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Sexual Abuse	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
DWI	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Minor in Possession	0	0	0	1	3	10	4
Other Crimes (b)	10	3	14	7	12	30	6
Civil Offenses	0	0	33	46	78	0	7
Total Cases	18	9	71	63	113	63	24

(a) Through April.
(b) Includes trespass, criminal mischief, reckless driving, harassment, reckless abandonment, resisting arrest, narcotics, disorderly conduct, reckless endangerment, and vandalism.

Several factors account for the increase in criminal activity during this period. Chief among them has been the stress and uncertainty resulting from the changes in the community's political and economic subsystems with the withdrawal of the federal government and the replacement of the role of NMFS by City government and local Native organizations. Removal from the security provided by a relatively stable social, economic, and political organization has raised the anxiety of local residents. As has been the case in other rural Alaskan communities, the atmosphere

of anxiety and uncertainty associated with rapid economic and sociocultural change has resulted in a confluence of factors which in the aggregate have led to increased alcohol-related criminal behavior (Impact Assessment 1983a). Established patterns of social relations become disrupted and informal mechanisms of social control show signs of decreased effectiveness.

At the root of most of the criminal activities during this period, in addition to the increase in morbidity and mortality rates to be discussed below, is a significant and continuing community-wide problem with alcohol abuse. Beer has been available for sale in the community since 1964. Wine became available in 1980. In that same year, a petition was circulated to established a local ordinance banning the sale of alcohol, but it failed to secure the required number of signatures. Since then, alcohol abuse has become one of the major problems in the community and is perceived by local residents as increasing in incidence and severity. A recent study (Essick, n.d.) indicated that 25,000 cases of beer were consumed on the island in one year, an average of four beers per day for every man, woman and child on the island. It is a widespread belief in St. Paul that every crime and social problem is somehow related to alcohol. This belief is at least partially confirmed by the fact that almost all of the arrests made in the community involve alcohol in some way. Moreover, since 1981, bootlegging has become a significant problem as well which not only adds to the quantity of alcohol consumed by local residents but to the aggregate cost since illicitly imported alcohol is sold locally at between sixty and one-hundred dollars a bottle.

In addition to the fear and uncertainty associated with NMFS withdrawal, social disorganization during this period may also be attributed to a sudden increase in income levels associated with the construction activity and numerous other employment opportunities which existed throughout much of this period. Increasing crime rates have been viewed by some residents as resulting from an inability to deal with larger incomes, especially among adolescents and young adults. Residents had little experience in handling the extraordinary incomes generated from construction work, and the windfall returns from the "corned beef" settlement. According to one local employer:

> My people are not experienced in budgeting money. They get it and spend it as quickly as possible. Then they get depressed. Maybe they don't come back to work right away and they get fired. Then they threaten to end it all. It's a vicious cycle.

A review the cases listed in Table 42, however, also indicates that in many instances these crimes involved unemployed individuals and others in search of "quick money" to buy alcohol or some other item they could not otherwise afford. Thus the increase in the crime rate during this period appears to be the result of a combination of factors involving higher incomes, higher expectations, and restricted access to desired items.

St. Paul also appears to be confronting a problem of domestic violence, including spouse abuse and child neglect. Over the last two years, three children have been removed from their homes because of child abuse or neglect and many of the assault cases prosecuted in the local court involve spousal abuse. Almost all of these cases are alcohol-related.

Social Services

Almost all of the existing social service entities in the community are funded by outside agencies and, in many instances, are based outside the community. The major responsibility for counseling and family services is handled by the regional representative for the state Department of Health and Social Services, Division of Family and Youth Services and the clinical psychologist hired by the Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association. The social worker representing the state Department of Health and Social Services is based in Unalaska, however, and is responsible for the entire Aleutian Chain as well as the Pribilof Islands. Her primary duties include individual and family counseling and referral, particularly in cases of spouse and child abuse, crisis intervention, and referral. The clinical psychologist is also based in Unalaska and provides counseling and therapy. Although he is responsible for the entire region, because of his location in Unalaska he devotes the bulk of his time to providing services to residents of that community.

As noted above in the discussion of the local economy, there has been a definite increase in the number of applications for various federal and state social welfare programs. Currently, eight households receive AFDC payments; thirty-two residents receive some form of retirement benefits; twenty-eight receive some form of emergency energy assistance; nine households receive foodstamps; three residents receive some form of medicaid; five residents reported receiving payments from the state permanent fund on their income tax returns; six receive social security benefits; and twenty-three residents receive unemployment benefits. The number of residents receiving retirement benefits is larger than comparably sized rural Alaskan communities because most of these individuals are former employees of NMFS. As noted above, these retirement benefits comprise a sizable portion of the community's total income.

Physical Health

Facilities, Services and Staff

Medical services on St. Paul are provided at a hospital/clinic facility. The clinic is staffed by a physician's assistant, community health aide, and five health assistants who provide a wide range of minor medical care. A locally-elected Health Board oversees the operation of the clinic. The A/PIA also funds a custodian, nurse's aide, Community Health Specialist, and Community Health Representative who provides health education, counseling, and agency referral for local residents. Residents requiring surgical and other major medical cases are flown to Anchorage for treatment. The clinic operates on an annual budget of $850,000 per year, all of which is funded by the Public Health Service. This appears to be extremely high in comparison with clinics in other rural Alaskan communities. For instance, Sand Point's clinic, as noted above, provides services to a community twice the size of St. Paul on a budget of $250,000. The comparatively high budget of the St. Paul Clinic, however, reflects a high level of need as well as the history of federal involvement in that community. The transition from federal to local control, therefore, is partially responsible for these costs. In St. Paul, service is provided free of charge to Natives while non-Natives are charged a fee. However, with the decline in federal funding for health care and the recent policy of the Indian Health Service to restrict medical evacuations to Anchorage, the structure of health care in the community may undergo a change in the near future.

Emergency medical services in St. Paul are handled by the resident Physician's Assistant who operates out of the clinic and who in turn is aided in the field by volunteer EMS workers. In the past two to three years, there have been twelve qualified EMTs and ETTs (emergency trauma technicians) serving the community in the EMS system. However, many of these individuals reported dissatisfaction with the relatively low level of community support (i.e., verbal assaults and abuse by local residents when responding to emergency situations). As a result, their numbers have declined to five active EMTs, all but one of which are new. EMS operations are housed at the clinic, and the service operates an ambulance. EMS operates as a nonprofit corporation sponsored through funding from the State and the City (Braund et al. 1986:5-107).

Patient Load

Use of the health clinic appears to have increased during the monitoring period from an estimated 300 visits per month in 1980 to approximately 1,000 visits per month in 1984. Twelve patient visits per person per year were reported in the study by Braund et al. (1986) compared to 2.2 nationwide.

Morbidity and Mortality

Unfortunately, complete and concise data on the rates of morbidity and mortality among St. Paul residents during the monitoring period were unavailable for analysis, Some data on the number of deaths in the community were available for the 1980-1984 period, however. This information is provided in Table 43. Although the numbers are too small to provide any statistical significance, the mortality rate displayed an increase in 1984, the year 'after NMFS withdrawal. Most of the deaths during this period were attributed to accidental and violent injuries, including a number of suicides which occurred in the 1982-1984 period. Several informants noted that the incidence of self-abusive and threatened self-abusive behaviors (e.g., suicide) reached its peak in 1984, though the entire period between 1980 and 1984 is considered to have been highly problematic for this kind of behavior.

Table 43. Death Rate for St. Paul Residents, 1980-1984

Year	Deaths	Rate per 100,000
1980	5	907.4
1981	8	1353.6
1982	7	1176.5
1983	5	947.0
1984	8	1478.7

Source: Braund et al. 1986:5-3.

Self-inflicted injuries, assaults, and accidental injuries also comprised the second leading cause of patient visits to the Public Health Clinic during this period (Norgaard 1984:6). Most of these cases were alcohol-related. Although there are no statistics to document this phenomenon, local residents claim that depression was widespread in the period immediately prior to and following NMFS withdrawal. A total of twelve different residents have attempted suicide in the last two years alone, four or five of them have tried several-times each. Much of this behavior assumes the form of a chain reaction after a successful suicide occurs.

EDUCATION

Introduction

Relative to the other components of the sociocultural system of St. Paul during the monitoring period of 1980-1985, the educational system has been an island of stability. It has provided a secure and consistent environment in which expectations and goals are clearly defined and achievable. Moreover, the educational system has increased in importance as the social and economic environment of the community has become increasingly complex and variable. On the one hand, the educational system provides skills which will eventually prove to be invaluable should economic development proceed. On the other hand, the educational system provides local residents with the opportunity of leaving the community should economic development be postponed indefinitely.

Facilities. Services and Staff

St. Paul is served by the Pribilof Islands School District, an independent school district which is governed by a locally-elected school board. A district superintendent serves as the chief administrator. Educational services are provided to students in grades kindergarten through ten. Most high school juniors and seniors attend school in Anchorage, Sitka, or the Matanuska-Susitna area. Prior to 1985 the school district provided courses for eleventh grade students and the prevailing philosophy was to keep school age children from having to leave the island by providing complete services in the community, With the decline in the local economy however and the uncertainty following NMFS withdrawal, however, the school board has changed its policy and is now encouraging students to spend their last two years off the island in order to prepare them for the possibility of living off the island and attending college or technical school elsewhere.

The student-teacher ratio has remained relatively constant throughout the monitoring period, averaging about ten students to every teacher. Teachers and administrative personnel are all outsiders hired on one year contracts with the district. It is anticipated that the number of teachers will have to be reduced from twelve to eleven for the 1986-1987 school year in keeping with legislative cutbacks for education in the forthcoming fiscal year budget.

The present St. Paul school was constructed in 1973 and remodeled in 1978. A vocational educational wing was added in 1980 and provides instructional area for auto mechanics, woodworking, arts and crafts, photography, and other visual arts. Since 1980, the structure of available educational facilities has remained relatively

unchanged. There are nine classrooms, an art room, a bilingual education room, two special education rooms, a library (which also houses the community library), a television room, and a multipurpose room/gym.

In addition to regular academic courses, the school district has provided federally subsidized special programs, including off-island travel and educational opportunities for fifth through ninth grade students, during the past five years. The St. Paul School District also offers an Adult Basic Education Program in conjunction with the Alaska Department of Education, providing local residents with the opportunity to earn a G.E.D. as well as giving them access to many career options and courses for personal enrichment. This program also provides a forum for social interaction among local residents.

Teacher turnover has been generally quite low throughout the monitoring period, and teachers interviewed during the course of fieldwork appeared to have been quite satisfied with the progress made by the school programs during the past five years. A few teachers with apparently unrealistic expectations about what they could accomplish appear to have been disillusioned soon after their arrival in the community. According to one local informant:

> One of the problems with bringing teachers up from the lower forty-eight is that they come up with expectations of saving the community, of bringing the children overnight into the twentieth century, to try to prepare them for a life outside the community. This can be a problem when confronted with the very strong cultural beliefs of the community.

Teachers continue to be regarded as outsiders, however, and are perceived to be isolated from the rest of the community in a social sense as well as in terms of . residence (most teachers live in newly constructed homes apart from the rest of the community).

The University of Alaska operates a Rural Education Program in St. Paul and offers a variety of continuing education and training programs related to carpentry, office practices, computer skills, business management, mechanics, marine engine repair, and fisheries practices and operations. This program has been funded by the State of Alaska, U.S. Economic Development grants, and contributions by local organizations and the St. Paul Trust. Course work over the past few years has focused on preparing local residents for participation in construction activities and onshore development related to OCS activities. Two-thirds of the students in the seventeen to forty years of age category enrolled in a Building Maintenance Technology course while the remaining one-third enrolled in a Heavy Equipment Maintenance Technology course. A. total of fifty-four students were enrolled in these courses for the 1985-86 school year, twenty-three of whom received certificates of satisfactory completion. An essential component of this project is that graduates of the program are provided with jobs on the island, primarily with the City but also with TDX and the St. Paul IRA Council, for a minimum period of thirty days. All of the enrolled students participated on a stipend from local employers, attending classes at half pay for a half day. Three-fourths of the students were provided by the City of St. Paul.

The IRA Council receives Johnson-O'Malley funds from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to conduct a preschool program which runs for three hours each day from October through May. The city donates the use of the Civic Center and provides utilities at no charge. Although the future of this program is dependent upon continued federal funding, the city has expressed a willingness to assume responsibility y for the program (Braund, et al. 1986).

Enrollment

Student enrollment on St. Paul Island peaked in 1975 with 155 students. Since that time, there has been a steady decline. A small increase in enrollment from 129 to 144 students was observed during the period from 1979 to 1981, but the long-term trend has been one of. declining enrollments. Enrollment figures for the last three school years are provided in Table 44. One of the most notable changes during this period has been the increasing gap between enrollments at the beginning and end of each school year, In 1984, the school had nine fewer students than it had at the beginning of the school year. In 1986, there were nineteen fewer students by the end of the 1985-86 school year.

Table 44. St. Paul School Enrollment

Grade	1983-1984	1984-1985	1985-1986
K	15	13	15
1	12	13	15
2	12	13	11
3	13	9	13
4	5	12	10
5	9	7	13
6	10	6	8
7	15	10	6
8	18	15	9
9	10	14	12
10	11	10	9
11	10	9	2
11-12C	5	2	3
Starting Enrollment	149	143	140
Average Daily Membership (excludes correspondence)	134	129	124
Ending Enrollment	140	131	121

Source: Pribilof Islands School District 1985

Thus, although the number of students entering the school at the kindergarten level has remained relatively constant during this period, the total number of students has declined. Much of this can be attributed to the high rate of withdrawals, transfers, and dropouts reflecting outmigration of students from the community as demonstrated by the figures in Table 45. The student population during this period can be characterized as highly transient. The number of dropouts has remained high except for the 1985 school year. The number of returning students, on the other hand, has been even lower than historical averages. The decline in enrollment has also had implications for funding levels and availability of staff and other educational resources.

Given current levels of alcohol abuse, uncertainty, and disruption of social organization throughout the community, one would expect that student discipline would become an issue of increasing significance in the school district. However, school administrators maintain that discipline has not been a major problem. While some students have been subjected to abuse and neglect at home or may have experimented with drugs and alcohol, these problems do not appear to intrude on their school attendance.

Table 45. St. Paul School Enrollment Rates

Grade Level	Starting	Dropouts	Returns	Ending
1983-1984				
K	15	3	3	15
1-6	65	9	5	61
7-11	69	9	4	64
Total	149	21	12	140
1984-1985				
K	16	3	0	13
1-6	66	6	0	60
7-11	61	4	1	58
Total	143	13	1	131
1985-1986				
K	18	4	1	15
1-6	78	8	0	70
7-1o	44	10	2	36
Total	140	22	3	121

Source: Pribilof Islands School District 1985

Post-Secondary Education

Despite the emphasis on leaving the community to attend eleventh and twelfth grades elsewhere and the concern for preparing students to eventually leave the island, there has been relatively little emphasis on post-secondary education. About four or five children from the community have left each year during the monitoring period to attend college elsewhere (Orbach and Holmes 1983). All but one of these individuals have since returned to St. Paul.

Local residents appear to hold conflicting attitudes and values related to post-secondary education, however. On the one hand, the shortage of trained workers in certain positions and the desire to train younger residents for eventual positions of leadership in politics and business has led to the encouragement and support of students to continue studies or training beyond high school. On the other hand, the fear that students who leave to attend college outside the community will be attracted by other economic opportunities or an improved quality of life has led the community to emphasize educational programs within the community and some family heads to actively 'discourage their children from leaving the community to attend college.

Role of Institutions in Community

The St. Paul School exercises two very different roles in the community. In one respect, the facilities have served as a center for social interaction in the community. The school gym is used several times a week during the winter by the entire community. School children and young adults use the facilities for basketball and volleyball games. Rollerskating and exercise classes are also held year-round. In the summer, teams of community residents use the facilities for baseball, basketball, and volleyball. These games. also provide opportunities for social interaction with residents from other communities.

Second, the school has played a critical role in preparing students for dealing with sociocultural change. It has done so by not only providing them with marketable skills which they may exercise on the island in the likelihood of continued economic development or off the island should they choose to leave, but also providing a stable and secure environment for learning and growth. As local development has proceeded, there has been a perceived need to keep the young people on the islands, to educate, train and make use of their abilities as future leaders and workers in business and technology, politics and economics. There is an almost desperate need to expand the present small force of trained personnel in the business and political arenas, for instance. Local school programs, the work-study program with local businesses, and the encouragement and support for students to continue study or training beyond high school illustrates the awareness and effort in this direction (Beverly Holmes, pers. commun.).

School morale has generally been considered by administrators and residents alike as quite high throughout the monitoring period except for the years 1982-1984. While several teachers noted that many of the community's youth continue to be more apprehensive about the future than students in other communities, the current level of anxiety is less severe than it was two or three years ago. During the 1982-1984 period, evidence of maladjustment and low morale was to be seen in an increasing student dropout rate, declining test scores, a series of student conflicts and the overt nature of student frustration, and an unusual number of suicides among school-

age youth. This closely parallels the sequence of events and general malaise evident throughout the community during the two years preceding and year following the termination of NMFS operations on the island and the withdrawal of their personnel, economic support, and political control.

The St. Paul school has placed considerable emphasis on vocational education throughout most the the monitoring period in the belief that local residents required certain skills in order to participate in the economic development occurring and expected to occur on the island. With the termination of some aspects of this development and the postponement of other development projects, however, there has been an emphasis on returning to "basics." The highest priority has been placed on the reading ability of students, followed by an emphasis on mathematics.

One of the indicators of the declining position of the school is the projected decrease in the number of teachers. If everything goes according to plan (i.e., if budget cuts do not exceed expectations), there will be a reduction in the number of teachers from the current figure of twelve to eleven in the 1986-1987 school year. If the budget is reduced by more than ten percent, and cuts as high as twenty percent have been discussed, then the number of teachers will be reduced to ten (or even nine). Cutbacks in the number of teaching assistants and janitorial staff are also under consideration for the coming school year.

CONCLUSION

As noted in the introduction, the key event underlying most of the institutional changes in St. Paul during the monitoring period was the withdrawal of the National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS) in 1983. Among the institutional changes associated with this withdrawal are the following: (1) diversification of the commercial economy; (2) development of the community infrastructure, especially the port/harbor facilities; (3) transfer of administrative responsibilities from the Federal Government to local institutions; (4) increased importance of voluntary associations associated with infrastructure support and economic development, coupled with the decline in authority of traditional institutions such as the Russian Orthodox Church; (5) changes in educational institutions designed to keep youth at home and train them to participate in the local economy and political process; and (6) changes in land ownership patterns.

The transition from federal to local control must be understood in terms of three specific aspects of the community's sociocultural system: the values attached to local control; the values attached to wage-labor; and the values attached to economic security, or uncertainty in the absence of such security. Each of these will be examined in turn.

The values associated with local control are a product of the community's history of domination by outside commercial and political institutions. Local efforts to assert control over the community began in the 1950s and continued into the 1970s with the incorporation of: (1) the Aleut Community of St. Paul, under the terms and conditions of the Indian Reorganization Act; (2) the City of St. Paul, under the terms and conditions of Alaska state statutes; and (3) the Tanadgusix Corporation, under the terms and conditions of ANCSA. This control reached its apex

with the withdrawal of NMFS. It proved to be a mixed blessing, however, because while certain economic resources were provided (i.e., the St. Paul Trust and the "corned beef" settlement), others were taken away (i.e., the commercial fur seal harvest). While the community sought to develop and diversify its economy, it also initiated efforts to protect itself from exploitation by outside interests. Consequently, the community became caught in a conflict over the extent to which outside interests should be involved in local development and the degree to which outsiders should be restricted in, or excluded from, the community. Local control also brought with it conflicts over the use of existing resources, particularly revenues, for development purposes. Finally, the value placed on local control and self-determination has been associated with the importance placed on preserving a traditional lifestyle. This has been evident in the efforts in education and recreation designed to keep younger residents from moving away permanently. It is also evident in the attempts by local institutions to maintain the annual fur seal harvest, whether for commercial or subsistence purposes or both.

As noted above, St. Paul has traditionally been dependent upon commercial activities, especially those associated with the commercial harvesting and processing of fur seals. This dependence has made cash income and wage labor valued commodities. The high value attached to cash income in turn has directed institutional change in several ways. These changes have included (1) efforts of local institutions to attract or provide high-paying construction jobs; (2) changes in local educational institutions to provide training for such jobs; (3) changes in local political institutions to provide time to pursue such employment opportunities; and (4) payment for the 1985 and 1986 subsistence fur seal harvests because of the traditional association between this activity and wage labor. The value placed on wage labor, combined with increase income opportunities associated with recent development projects, has also resulted in changes in social institutions; status has begun to gain importance in the community as skilled workers are able to earn higher wages and unskilled residents are frequently unemployed or underemployed. Finally, the movement of women into the marketplace has been a consequence of the combined value placed on wage labor and recent employment opportunities, affecting household organization and the gender roles within the "community.

The value placed on economic security has led to a certain amount of ambivalence regarding the transfer from federal to local control. The Federal Government is seen by some residents as having provided a secure, if not altogether desirable, environment. Local political and economic institutions have provided the community with self-determination and economic growth but primarily in the form of short-term construction and development projects recently completed or nearing completion. The local mood, therefore, is characterized by uncertainty, ranging from unbridled pessimism to cautious optimism. This uncertainty has been stressful, resulting in an increase in morbidity and mortality and a potentially adverse strain on the community's health and social welfare institutions.

While each of the institutional changes described above must be understood in terms of the community's value system as it existed at the beginning of the monitoring period, it is important to realize that the value system itself has undergone changes and shifts in priorities. The desire to preserve a traditional lifestyle in St. Paul remains strong and continues to influence much of the behavior of local institutions. Informal social institutions have undergone changes (i.e., and increase of women in the marketplace, a decrease in the placement of foster

children, a reduction in household size, etc.), but traditional values attached to family and kinship remain intact and still dominate social life in the community. A potential conflict has emerged between the value placed on wage-labor participation and the value placed on local ties, more specifically, if opportunities for wage labor decline to any appreciable degree in the near future (with the completion of current construction projects and development programs) individuals would be faced with the choice of either being unemployed locally or seeking employment elsewhere, Given the changes in local political and economic institutions, however, this conflict may never come to fruition.

CHAPTER 6: COMPARISON OF SOCIOCULTURAL CHANGE AND INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE IN THE STUDY COMMUNITIES

INTRODUCTION

Up to this point, we have focused on the analysis of institutional response and sociocultural change in each of four communities in the Aleutian-Pribilof region. This was accomplished by applying the same methodological schema for monitoring sociocultural change in each community. Two further tasks remain, however. The first is to evaluate the reliability of the methodology by comparing and contrasting its application across the four communities. The second is a simultaneous examination of the results of the analysis of all four communities to determine what may be said about sociocultural change and institutional response throughout the region as a whole.

This concluding chapter will compare and contrast the results of each community analysis to provide an overview of institutional response and sociocultural change for the entire Aleutian-Pribilof region between 1980 and 1985. It will also determine which patterns are common to all four communities and those which are unique to each. In doing so, we can determine the extent to which the methodology may describe region-wide phenomena of change, as well as its limitations. It must be remembered, however, that we are examining the experiences of four separate communities, not of the entire region, and while these four communities were selected to represent all four geographic and analytic subregions, they do not encompass the entirety of the Aleutian-Pribilof region. Rather, they reflect the *range* of institutional response throughout the region, This comparison is also employed to demonstrate how the methodology addresses processes of institutional response and sociocultural change shared by all communities and the processes which are unique to each community.

Our approach in this comparative analysis will be to examine each of the major institutions as defined by the monitoring methodology--population, land, political control, sociocultural institutions, economy, health and social welfare, and education--and summarize the major trends in each community. Our analysis is predicated on two basic assumptions. First, the institutions of each community are interrelated and one must understand changes in all institutions in order to completely understand causal relationships involving any particular one. Second, the pattern of institutional response is determined by the existing ideology of the community (i.e., the value system and world view as it existed at the beginning of the monitoring period) and by the resources and demands placed on local institutions by the sociocultural environment (such as availability of natural resources, funding from federal and state agencies, world market conditions, etc.). In monitoring changes in the communities it is, of course, much easier to observe and document changes in local institutions than changes in values or world view. In turn, the institutional response affects, to varying degrees, the values of local residents and the sociocultural patterns in which these values are embedded.

POPULATION

"One of the most noticeable aspects of change in the populations of the four communities is the wide variation in the growth rate over the monitoring period. Sand Point, for instance, grew at a rate of 1.5 percent per year during the past six years. In contrast, Unalaska lost a number of residents. The populations of Atka and St. Paul have been quite stable by comparison; the natural rate of increase in these two communities has been offset by an equivalent rate of emigration.

In all four communities, the rate of change in population has been tied to economic conditions. In Sand Point, the increase in population has resulted from the years of prosperity in the commercial fishing industry. The decline in the commercial crab fishery is equally responsible for the decline in Unalaska's population. As these two examples indicate, economic conditions can affect population size in two ways. One way is by encouraging outsiders to move into the community, as in the case of Sand Point, thus affecting the rate of immigration. Economic conditions can also affect the rate of emigration. In Sand Point, the growth and diversification of the local economy has served as an incentive to remain in the community. In Atka, the lack of available wage labor jobs has served as an incentive to leave the community. The potential reduction in the number of wage labor positions resulting from the completion of existing construction and development projects could have a similar effect on the rate of emigration in St. Paul, In this instance, informants report that the pressure of strong traditional ties to the community prevents many from leaving, but it appears that this generates, or perpetuates, a conflict in values.

Rates of emigration and immigration also affect the ethnic distribution in each community, but to varying degrees. Atka is least affected because it is an ethnically homogeneous community with only two permanent non-Native residents. Unalaska is the most affected because the influx of non-Native outsiders in the late 1970s and early 1980s made the Aleut segment of the population a minority in their own community. Sand Point has also experienced a proportional decline in the Aleut segment of its population.

Change in the ethnic distribution of each of these communities has important implications for other aspects of the sociocultural system. With the shift in population from an Aleut majority to a non-Native majority, there has also been a shift in the dominant ideology of the community, especially in the case of Unalaska and Sand Point. This shift includes: (1) the increasing importance given to commercial profit versus subsistence production and distribution; (2) voluntary associations versus social relations based on kinship ties; and (3) a tolerance of outside economic interests and opportunities versus the perceived need to preserve local resources and a traditional way of life. A change in the ethnic balance of a population also has implications for the distribution of political power within a community. This is most evident in the varying patterns of relations between the municipal government and local Native corporation. The changing ethnic distribution also affects the direction of economic development, particularly from the standpoint of the willingness to commercially exploit local resources versus the need to preserve them in an effort of maintaining a traditional way of life. This trend has been particularly evident in political issues focussed on land use in Unalaska. Finally, changes in ethnic distribution affect social relations between Natives and non-Natives. There is a common perception of Natives as residents and non-Natives as "outsiders," even though there are non-Native permanent residents with long-standing community ties in each of the four communities. Relations between Natives and non-Natives are also characterized in some communities by a high level of cooperation and

in other communities by a degree of political and social conflict, based on different interests and values. Cooperation between the two groups appears to be more evident in Sand Point, where each group comprises roughly half" the population. In Unalaska, however, the increase in the number of non-Natives has contributed to a certain degree of social distance and a measure of political conflict among Natives and non-Natives or, at a minimum, has made these phenomena more overt.

Household size is another aspect of population affected by the presence of outsiders and changes in other sociocultural institutions. Household size can increase if the rate of increase in population exceeds the availability of housing. In each of the study communities, extended families have resided in the same household because of the shortage in available housing. In Atka, Sand Point, and St. Paul, however, average household size has declined over the monitoring period due to the construction of HUD housing by the Aleutian Housing Authority and, for Sand Point at least, an increase in income available for construction of privately financed housing. Both of these factors appear to have decreased average household size in Unalaska as well, although precise data are lacking and there are a number of compounding factors at work simultaneously. The trend appears to be strongest among the permanent residents of the community. This decline, in turn, has had an effect on patterns of residence and social interaction based on kinship, a point we will examine in greater detail below. The new HUD housing has had effects on the "geosocial" complexion of the communities as well. New homes in Atka, St. Paul, and Unalaska have been constructed away from the main areas of the community, lowering the population density and rearranging the relative proximity of kin and friends. In Unalaska, the construction of both HUD and private housing away from the downtown area has created ethnically differentiated residential neighborhoods where there were none before. In Atka, the new housing additionally differentiated the community by age, as the new houses, located approximately a mile from the existing village site, were taken primarily by young families.

Finally, changes in population during the monitoring period have also been evident in the distribution of residents based on age and sex. In Sand Point, for instance, the percentage of males has increased over the past six years while the percentage of residents eighteen years of age and younger has declined. This reflects the influx of transient males in response to the recent growth in the commercial fishery. The male population of Unalaska is becoming less dominant, as the male transient portion of the population has decreased with the overall decline in the economy. In St. Paul, the sex distribution has remained constant over the monitoring period. There has been a decline, however, in the proportion of St. Paul residents nineteen years of age and younger.

These changes in the age and sex distributions have implications for other components of the sociocultural system as well. They reflect a change in values associated with younger versus older residents, males versus females, and residents versus transients. As the population becomes dominated by transients and younger residents, traditional Aleut values appear to give way in terms of impact on the community to modern, Euro-American values and moral precepts. This has been particularly evident in Sand Point and Unalaska. Changes in the age and sex distribution also have an impact in terms of political representation, the need for educational services, and the structure of health and social welfare institutions. An increase in the number of younger residents, for instance, creates a demand for expanded educational facilities and improved educational programs. It may also affect the types of problems and illnesses treated by local social service and health care providers.

LAND

Over the monitoring period, the major issue involving land has been ownership of land within and surrounding each of the study communities. The transfer of ownership during the monitoring period is an indicator of institutional response to changes in social, cultural, and economic priorities. Property transfer is also the product of changes in the political arena of each study community. The ownership of land has important implications for its use and the ideology guiding that use.

In all four study communities, the local Native corporations are the major landowners. There have been variations in the distribution of property, however. In Unalaska and Sand Point, for instance, the local Native corporations have already reconveyed ownership of property to their respective City governments under the conditions of Section 14(c)(3) of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. In St. Paul, however, the local Native corporation has yet to make a similar transfer of property to the City. The Federal Government's presence as a landowner is more evident in some communities (such as St. Paul) than in others. Atka has a close relationship to the Federal Government on land regulation issues as well, as all of the land in and around the village lies within the Alaska Maritime National Wildlife Refuge and is administered by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. In Sand Point, there has been a willingness on the part of the Shumagin Corporation to sell off some of its property to individual residents, both shareholders and non-shareholders. Finally, in Sand Point and Unalaska, non-Native individuals and commercial interests are significant and even major landowners; this is not the case in either Atka or St. Paul, where no non-Natives own land.

Ownership of land within and surrounding each study community is an important criteria for local control of the community's future. Land ownership is seen as a means of retaining local control over commercial resources and economic development. It is also a means of retaining local control over subsistence resources. There is a difference in strategies for retaining local control, however. For example, in St. Paul, the Tanadgusix Corporation has retained control of all land not held by the Federal Government (not counting home-sites deeded to individual shareholders), while in Sand Point, the Shumagin Corporation has transferred control of some of its property to the City government as well as to individual residents.

These patterns of institutional change in land ownership over the course of the monitoring period reflect different strategies toward the attainment of common goals. They also reflect different priorities, however. For instance, preservation of subsistence resources in and around Sand Point, while an important objective, appears to be secondary to control of commercial and residential development. In this instance, the City and Native corporation appear to have similar priorities and share a similar world view. In Atka, preservation of subsistence resources and retention of local control maintaining local ownership are equally high (and mutually reinforcing) priorities. In St. Paul, on the other hand, efforts by TDX and the IRA Council to block annexation of islands and offshore areas by the City of St. Paul reflect a divergence in interests and priorities. The City wants the area to maximize taxable revenues and other benefits associated with commercial development while TDX wants to protect its ownership rights and the IRA Council wants to preserve subsistence resources. Some individuals in the Ounalashka Corporation had similar ownership and subsistence concerns when the City of Unalaska first proposed annexation of additional lands, though this annexation took place without major opposition in early 1986.

These different strategies, in turn, have affected the course and speed of economic development in each community. In Sand Point, transfer of property to the City and individual residents by the Shumagin Corporation has made both institutions active participants in economic development. Local residents perceive themselves to have vested interest in such development, and ownership of land reinforces their commitment to the community. In Unalaska, particularly in the early years of the monitoring period when the commercial fishery was still attempting to expand, the Ounalashka Corporation's control of the land and attitude toward control of the land, were perceived by many to be an impediment to economic expansion. In Atka, rate of development appears to be primarily related to factors other than land status; land ownership is not a significant issue in the changes that have taken place during the monitoring period. In St. Paul, economic development is perceived to be constrained by the lack of clear title to land. The City of St. Paul is a major participant in local economic development, yet it owns no property in the community. The interest in economic development among local residents is based on a traditional view of land ownership (i.e., not owned by individuals).

These differing strategies have also affected patterns of land use. In Sand Point, St. Paul, and Unalaska, the amount of land developed for commercial use has grown while land developed for industrial use (i.e., processing) has remained constant *over* the course of the monitoring period. Harbor facilities development has been a top priority in all three communities. and all three have had State harbor development projects occur during the monitoring period. Residential land use has increased while land available for municipal use has been affected by differences in land ownership patterns in each community. In all four study communities, housing financed by the Aleutian Housing Authority has contributed to the increase in residential land use. Privately financed housing construction has only been significant in changing use patterns in Sand Point and Unalaska, however.

Finally, the institutional responses seen in changing patterns of land ownership, or patterns of land utilization, reflect similarities and differences with respect to the value system underlying these responses. The extent to which land and sea are perceived as commercial and subsistence resources differs from one community to the next. To some extent, land and sea are viewed as both commercial and subsistence resources; however, they are viewed more as a subsistence resource in Atka and more as a commercial resource in Unalaska and Sand Point. The balance of the two value systems supporting either perspective in turn has an effect on patterns of economic development, political control and conflict, and social differentiation. These effects will be addressed below.

POLITICAL CONTROL

Several changes have occurred in the political institutions of the four study communities, reflecting various levels of response to outside forces and institutions in the face of the high value placed on local control and self-determination. For instance, there has been a trend toward the proliferation and formalization or bureaucratization of political institutions during the monitoring period. This trend has occurred in response to demands placed on local governments by external political and economic forces and the needs of community residents. There has also been a trend toward wider participation among community residents in the political process in Sand Point and St. Paul. In Unalaska, interest in local politics during the monitoring period peaked in 1982-83 and has declined since, while

involvement appears to have been steady in Atka. The character of political processes in the communities of Sand Point, St. Paul, and Unalaska has changed as the communities themselves have changed. Increases in political participation appear to be due to two different factors: (1) concern for local control of economic development; and (2) increasing heterogeneity of the local population, especially in Sand Point and Unalaska, which has resulted in the formation of significant population segments with different values and cultural backgrounds that have become politically mobilized to pursue their divergent interests.

One of the most visible examples of these two trends (proliferation/ formalization of institutions and broadening of political participation) over the course of the monitoring period has been the increase in the number of and importance attached to local boards and committees. The planning and zoning boards in Sand Point and Unalaska, for example, have acquired increased political clout, as have the local school boards of these two communities (because they set policy and advise the city government on funding priorities). Sand Point's health board has had an increase in political power as well, and the community of St. Paul has experienced a proliferation of committees in several political arenas. In this capacity, boards and committees are able to influence the direction and rate of change in the local economy and community infrastructure. Economic lobbying groups such as the Peninsula Marketing Association and Central Bering Sea Fishermen's Association have entered the political arena to protect the interests of their members. A relatively new entrant on the regional level of organization is the Southwest Alaska Municipal Conference. This, perhaps, represents a broadening of the local political process beyond individual community boundaries, however this particular entity is still in the early stages of development, so its long-term role in the region remains to be determined.

The growing participation of local Native Corporations in the political life of the study communities is another example of these two trends. The local Native corporations have become major participants in the political arena of each community by virtue of their status as the major local landowner and their involvement in local economic development. Native non-profit institutions have also been active participants in the political process. The Aleut Community of St. Paul and the Village Council of Atka, for instance, exert political influence by virtue of their authority under the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934. In St. Paul, the political influence of the IRA Council is enhanced by its control of the Indian Claims Commission settlement (i.e., the "corned beef" money). In Unalaska, the local nonprofit Native corporation, the Unalaska Aleut Development Corporation, serves as a conduit for federal funding, although it is otherwise largely inactive in the political life of the community. In the small communities throughout the region where a large political organization or community infrastructure is absent, the Aleutians/Pribilof Islands Association (A/PIA) has filled the role by providing community services and acting as an advocate for its clients in the regional and state (and, indeed, national) political arenas. The A/PIA has been been fundamental to the provision of basic governmental services in these communities as well as social services.

In some instances, such as Sand Point, participation in the political arena by Native profit and nonprofit institutions has been characterized by cooperation with the city government. In other instances, such as St. Paul and Unalaska, this participation has, at times, been characterized by competition and conflict. This competition is based on several different factors. In St. Paul, for instance, the City, TDX, and IRA Council differ on the extent to which they favor outside involvement in local development. These differences have run along kinship lines, leading to the formation of kin-based political factions. Ethnicity and length of

residency are also general factors in certain forms of political competition, as in the case of the conflict between the Ounalashka Corporation and the City of Unalaska, which, in several instances over the monitoring period, has run along these lines. Most often, however, political competition and conflict has been based on competing claims to political authority and control of resources. In the case of St. Paul, TDX owns the land, the City has been the major employer by virtue of its control of the St. Paul Island Trust, and the IRA Council controls the "corned beef" settlement fund. Part of the conflict is perhaps inherent in the differing histories of the institutions: the IRA Council is the oldest local political institution on the island, while TDX and the City incorporated relatively recently, and current relationships are predicated on their interaction over the years. Although their structures are different, and each has a different organizational purpose, as resources dwindle, each institution must compete with the others for available resources.

These resources provide the basis for political power in the study communities. Traditional authority based on age and kinship remains strong in some communities, especially Atka and St. Paul, but much less so in Unalaska and Sand Point. In the latter two communities, this authority has been supplanted by land ownership, employment of local residents, and access to outside resources (such as federal and state revenues for infrastructure development, health and social services, and education). This shift in the basis of political authority has brought with it changes in leadership styles and requirements. Greater administrative skills and expertise are required to manage increasingly complex political institutions, especially in the areas of grantsmanship and negotiation. Leaders, with the possible exception of Atka, must also appeal to an increasingly heterogeneous constituency and must adjust their leadership at different times to appeal to different audiences. In Unalaska, the internal shift of leadership styles has been most apparent among the Aleut portion of the population. While leadership styles in the non-Aleut portion of the population have changed over the years, and dramatically so within some departments in the City government, typically this is the result of a new constituency and a new set of leaders coming to the community, and not a shift within an otherwise stable population or a change in style on the part of individuals.

The control of local resources and the struggle for self-determination has been the driving force behind changes in the political institutions over the last six years. Several changes have occurred which were motivated by the high value placed on local control. In Sand Point, for instance, the establishment of an independent school district led to the community's incorporation as a first-class city. The City's reliance on the sales tax to generate municipal revenues, local initiatives in health care, and cooperation between city government and Shumagin Corporation are all responses to the priority attached to self-determination in the face of outside commercial interests and the threat of uncontrolled economic development. In Unalaska, a feeling that the local population was not in control of localized developments that immediately affected them, particularly the moves of the oil industry, led directly to the annexation of lands around the city. In St. Paul, the struggle to wrest control of the community from the hands of the Federal Government began well before the monitoring period, with the establishment of the IRA Council in the 1950s and the incorporation of the city government and the village profit Native corporation in the 1970s. Development efforts since the withdrawal of the National Marine Fisheries Service in 1983 have been directed toward making the community independent of outside interests and economically self-sufficient. Atkan's desire to

retain local control has been the guiding principle in the development of a local commercial fishery, and the planning processes for both the village council and the Atxam Corporation.

During the monitoring period, the emergence of regional forms of government represents a new strategy in the effort to control local resources and seek a measure of self-determination for individual communities. This has been true for Unalaska and Sand Point but not for Atka and St. Paul. In the case of Sand Point, the struggle for self-determination and value placed on local control has contributed to local efforts to form a borough and organize a regional hospital. The regionalization of political control is based on the recognition of the historical links among the communities in the Aleutians East CRSA, the common dependence on commercial fishing as the basis for economic development, and the necessity of unified action in order to maintain political control. Unalaska has been active in seeking a position in a CRSA and has been actively involved with the Southwest Alaska Municipal Conference, as mentioned previously.

Despite the efforts at local political control and self-determination, the state and federal governments retain varying degrees of control in the political systems of each community. This control is based on several different factors, including land ownership; ownership of facilities (such as roads and airports); provision of revenues for the administration of municipal services, health, education, and social services (as well as economic development projects); employment of local residents; and regulations, such as the legislation (or lack of legislation) ending the commercial harvesting of fur seals on the Pribilof Islands, the selling of offshore oil leases, or the commercial fisheries quotas which affect all four communities. The influence and control exerted by the federal and state governments in these communities has been affected by changes in these areas of involvement, however. The most dramatic instance of the change in federal influence was the NMFS withdrawal from St. Paul in 1983, Nevertheless, the failure of the U.S. Senate to ratify the protocol extending the Interim Convention on North Pacific Fur Seals, and the unwillingness of the Federal Government to allow the sale of subsistence-harvested seal pelts has all but ended the community's commercial involvement with fur seal harvests. Despite the transfer of certain responsibilities from the NMFS to local institutions, therefore, the Federal Government continues to exert substantial influence in the political arena of St. Paul. The decline in federal revenues and projected cutbacks in the number of federal and state employees in each of the study communities also threatens to have substantial direct and indirect impact on the political institutions of each community. In general, however, rather than discouraging these communities and their leaders, these changes have served to reinforce the value system placed on local control and self-determination.

SOCIOCULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

An evaluation of the changes in sociocultural institutions must be made on the basis of information on the "traditional" sociocultural systems of the study communities and the baseline description of these systems as they existed in 1980, the beginning of the monitoring period. For instance, the traditional sociocultural systems of the study communities may all be said to have been Aleut in origin with varying degrees of Euro-American influence. While this influence is less apparent in the Aleut community of Atka than it is in Sand Point, Unalaska, or St. Paul, it is nevertheless pervasive even there. The communities of Sand Point, Unalaska, and St.

Paul can all trace their ***origins*** to the commercial activities of early Russian traders and (in the case of Sand Point) Scandinavian fishermen, and their *maintenance* of their present sites to continuing "outside" activities or influence. However, Atka (also the site of Russian activity) has been without the strong continual influence of subsequent commercial non-Aleut enterprises. There is a much greater tradition of involvement in the commercial economy in Sand Point and St. Paul than there is in Unalaska and Atka, although in recent times Aleut Unalaskans have been heavily involved in commercial enterprises as well.

Another factor distinguishing each of the study communities in characterizing baseline conditions at the onset of the monitoring period was the representation of Aleuts in the population. At the beginning of the monitoring period, Aleuts represented the majority of the population in the communities of Atka, St. Paul, and Sand Point. However, Aleuts were in the minority in Unalaska at the beginning of the monitoring period in 1980 because of the dramatic growth in the fishing industry during the 1970s. This difference between the communities is often remarked upon within the region, and Unalaska is a popular example of what can go wrong with development. The phrase "We don't want to be another Dutch Harbor [Unalaska]" is another way of expressing the negative perception of loss of control over a community by the indigenous population and long-term residents.

Throughout most of post-contact history, the dominant religious tradition in all four communities was the Russian Orthodox Church. While this pattern has remained in Atka, by 1980 there were competing religious traditions in Sand Point, Unalaska, and, to a lesser extent, in St. Paul. While these new religious institutions had Aleut members, they were largely associated with Euro-American newcomers. The Aleut/non-Aleut division on religious grounds is perhaps seen in sharpest relief in Unalaska. Today, the most active religious organization in the community of Unalaska is the Unalaska Christian Fellowship, which counts only a handful of Aleuts among its members; the Russian Orthodox Church, on the other hand, continues to appeal to virtually the entire Aleut population, and to very few non-Aleuts. In Sand Point, the Russian Orthodox Church is now by-in-large inactive.

Patterns of social organization in all four communities have become increasingly formal and complex during the monitoring period, but not all to the same degree. Atka and, to a lesser extent, St. Paul remain more homogeneous than Sand Point and Unalaska. The social systems of these latter two communities have become more diversified as new categories of residents have emerged, with these categories organized around the dimensions of length and type of residence, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and age. Some of these classifications, such as the distinctions between Native and non-Native and resident and "outsider," are found in all four communities. Other classifications, based on neighborhood and income status, are found in Sand Point, Unalaska, and St. Paul, but these are not nearly as salient in Atka. These classifications reflect the emergence of a new set of values which govern social interaction. (How things will change in Atka as the result of the establishment of new housing in an area away from the main body of the village remains to be seen.)

As social relations have increased in variety, so have they also become more formal and stratified. In all four communities, the traditional institutions (such as kinship groups, trading partnerships, and the Russian Orthodox Church) continue to dominate patterns of social interaction and the values regulating these patterns, at least among the permanent residents of the community. In the case of Sand Point, Unalaska, and (to a smaller extent) St. Paul, numerous voluntary associations have emerged, each comprising a specific segment of the community, and

each with a specific set of recreational, social service, religious, or political objectives. In Unalaska it must be remembered that for a very substantial portion of the population there are no "traditional relations" or "traditional institutions" to build social interaction upon, given the transient nature of their lives.

Several factors have combined to influence the rate and direction of change in these four communities. One such factor is the nature of participation in the commercial economy. Sand Point's ability to exploit the region's commercial fisheries, for instance, has led to a dramatic increase in income for some (i.e., highliners) but not all local fishermen. Unalaska's recent history has included a boom-and-bust cycle in the commercial crab fishery, but the "bust" was tempered by a diversification of the economy. Unalaska has had, for the last ninety years or so, a commercial economy that moved in cycles in response to focussed efforts to extract a single resource at various points in time, and perhaps the recent diversification will temper the extremes of the pendulum swing in the future. St. Paul has moved from a commercial economy dominated by a single industry (fur seal harvesting and processing) to one characterized by several different activities and variations in work experience and job skills have led to differences in income-earning potential. The entry of women in the region into the marketplace has also affected the traditional division of household labor. Atka's level of participation in the commercial economy of the region is strongly influenced by several factors, including its small population, its remoteness from regional population and commercial centers, and its low level of infrastructure development.

Another factor in general sociocultural change has been the change in population in some, but not all, of the communities. In Sand Point, for instance, the commercial fisheries have attracted new residents representing different cultural traditions, patterns of residence, political and economic objectives, and social expectations. A similar experience occurred in Unalaska during the beginning of the monitoring period; however, the decline in the commercial crab fishery also brought with it a decline in the number of transient residents. Against these fluctuations within the transient segments of the population, Unalaska's permanent resident population has, over the monitoring years, decreased and then increased in relative terms, but in absolute terms, Unalaska's permanent population appears to have grown steadily. Atka and St. Paul have been comparatively stable communities, and while sociocultural changes have occurred, they have resulted from factors other than population.

The degree of local political control over economic development has also contributed to the variation in changes in sociocultural institutions. In Sand Point, social distinctions have emerged according to whether individuals contribute to local control or threaten it (with respect to relations with outside commercial interests, political objectives, etc.). In Unalaska, long-term residents often question the political and economic motives of those they perceive as short-term residents, even if the public goals appear to be of benefit to the whole community. For instance, when the desirability of financially committing the city to supporting the expansion of Unalaska's airfield and air terminal facilities was being debated, permanent residents at planning meetings raised the questions of who locally was going to pay for the facilities and who were the real beneficiaries of the expansion. In St. Paul, "outsiders" are perceived by some but not all segments of the community as threatening local control over economic development, thus reinforcing the distinction between residents and outsiders. The transfer of authority from federal to local institutions in St. Paul, as noted in the last chapter, has also weakened the political authority of the local Russian Orthodox Church. Atka, over the past several decades, has not attracted outsiders intent on local economic development.

Other factors have also contributed to changes in local sociocultural institutions. 'Construction of new housing in each community has resulted in a decline in average household size which in turn has affected patterns of household formation and social interaction. The number of extended-family households declined in Sand Point, Atka, and St. Paul during the monitoring period as a result of the availability of new housing, and appears to have done so in Unalaska as well. Education has also had an effect on local sociocultural institutions. Divergence in the hierarchy of values among age groups, especially in Unalaska and Sand Point, can largely be attributed to the central role that educational institutions have played in the processes of enculturation and socialization in these two communities.

Each of these changes in sociocultural institutions have, in turn, led to the emergence of new values or, perhaps more accurately, a shift in the hierarchy of values expressed within the communities. For instance, a greater emphasis on, and amount of prestige associated with, income and residence has emerged in Sand Point and Unalaska. Income is also becoming increasingly important in St. Paul as the difference in employment opportunities between skilled and unskilled residents becomes more evident. In Atka, differences in levels of income among those who are regularly employed are not as sharp as in the other three communities, but because there are only a small number of full-time employment positions within the community, it makes employment and income levels salient issues within the village, In addition, social groups have become distinguished by the extent of their local power and political representation, particularly in Sand Point, Unalaska, and St. Paul, which is largely the consequence of the processes of centralization and promotion. In St. Paul, this power is intimately tied to membership in particular kin groups.

Nevertheless, many of the "traditional" values continue to dominate social life. Kinship and subsistence exchange remain important criteria for social interaction among the Aleut residents of each community. Although the institutions themselves may have experienced some change, the values, and hierarchies of values, have by-in-large remained unchanged. Similarly, the Russian Orthodox Church continues to be an important sociocultural institution in all of the communities, except Sand Point, where it is relatively inactive. Although regular church attendance is typically infrequent in Unalaska, there is a stable core of attendees which swells at holiday times. As exemplified in the villages of Atka and St. Paul, religion provides an important marker of ethnic identity and is a measure of cultural continuity to each of these communities in a changing environment.

ECONOMY

Several changes have occurred in the economic organization of each of the study communities during the past six years. The increasing diversification of economic organization has been observed throughout the region. This diversification is found in the growth of the service sector in St. Paul, Unalaska, and Sand Point, and is evidenced in the patterns of local Native corporation investments, which have moved beyond land ownership and leasing to the development of commercial, retail, industrial, and service sectors of local and regional economies. Atka has seen the development of a small commercial fishery, the beginning of which was funded by a loan from the local Native corporation.

Political institutions have also come to play a greater role in economic organization during the monitoring period. The management of a developing infrastructure has become a necessary prerequisite for commercial development throughout the region. The decline in federal and state revenues in all communities has resulted in changes in available revenues for local economic development as well as provision of community services. In the case of Sand Point, local government has increasingly relied on locally generated revenues for such development. Similarly, in Unalaska the City moved to increase its tax base through expansion of the city boundaries, and has attempted to aid in the rebound of the commercial fishery through temporary local tax rate cuts for the industry.

Throughout the region, the commercial fisheries have also experienced substantial change in organization due to processes of diversification and linearization. On the one hand, there has been a decline in, or elimination of, certain traditional commercial activities, such as the fur seal harvests in St. Paul and the crab fishery in Unalaska. On the other hand, there have been initial efforts among fishermen in St. Paul, Unalaska, and Sand Point to participate in the region's groundfishery despite widespread pessimism over the prospects of such participation and the perceived disadvantages in competing with better-organized, better-equipped, domestic-foreign enterprises. Correspondingly, Atka has targeted halibut for the development of a commercial fishery and faces similar disadvantages. Among these 'disadvantages are the inability of existing processors and fishermen to compete with joint-venture operations because of labor and equipment costs and the lack of commercial experience in this fishery. Simultaneously occurring with this trend toward diversification has been a trend in the direction of linearization in the fisheries, where increasing formalization is seen accompanied by a movement of the decision-making process from lower-order to higher-order controls. The cooperative decision-making found within the newly formalized Atka Fishermen's Association is one example of this.

OCS activity has occurred in the region during the monitoring period but has not equally affected all of the study communities, by any means. Unalaska and St. Paul both experienced significant effects, while Sand Point and Atka have hardly been affected at all. OCS-related activities or developments on St. Paul Island resulted in the construction and operation of an oil development enclave, but this activity was terminated, however, when a federal injunction postponed exploratory drilling indefinitely, resulting in the sale and dismantling of the Pribilof Offshore Support Systems facility. The direct effects of the oil industry in Unalaska were limited to a two-year span during which an offshore marine operations support facility was active in Captain's Bay. However, indirect effects were experienced in Unalaska for several years before the construction of the Captain's Bay facility through sale of goods and services to the oil exploration fleet, which, for several enterprises in the community, amounted to a considerable volume of business. The community also experienced direct contact with the oil companies during the times that oil rigs (in transit) sheltered in Unalaska Bay for varying periods of time. Some of these interactions were seen to be positive encounters by the community, while others clearly were not; one such contact resulting in direct conflict between an oil rig and its tenders and a local, small-scale, commercial fishery.

Subsistence activities remained an important part of the sociocultural systems in all four study communities, despite a trend toward greater participation in the wage labor economy. Given the resources provided by wage labor (i.e., cash) and the demands that this form of economic activity has placed on leisure time, subsistence activities throughout the region have become more capital-intensive.

Cash is used to purchase items such as skiffs, fishing gear, three-wheelers, four-wheel drive vehicles, and firearms and is also used to charter aircraft. These purchases enable local residents to harvest more subsistence items, over a wider geographical area, and in a shorter period of time than was previously possible. Subsistence resources are still exchanged by the long-term permanent residents of commercially oriented Unalaska. Subsistence activities retain a very central role in the village life of Atka, but are disproportionately significant compared to the other three study communities.

It is difficult to identify general economic trends which consistently apply to all four communities, as each community is distinguished from the others in terms of the rate and direction of change. These distinctions, as they occurred during the period from 1980 to 1985 are illustrated in Figure 20. The factors leading to the variations in rate and direction of change shown in this figure are discussed below.

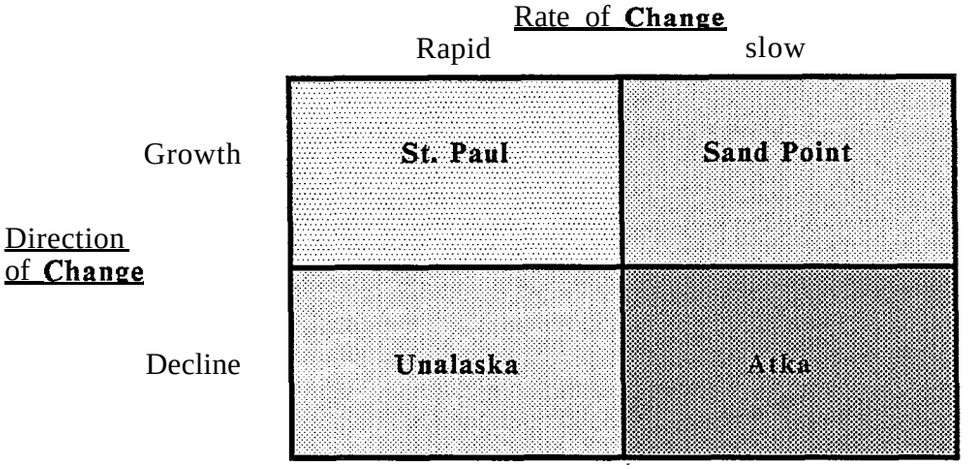
Two qualifications must be kept in mind when reviewing the relationships presented in Figure 20. First, these distinctions are ***relative;*** each community is given a certain classification in this schema only in relation to the experience of the other three communities. Second, these classifications (as to rate and direction of economic change) reflect a ***summary*** of the overall pattern of change during the past six years. They do not indicate patterns of change which have begun to occur after 1986 or might be expected to occur in the future. Thus, the rate of economic growth in Sand Point has begun to pick up, while continued rapid economic growth in St. Paul has become problematic and without a new and significant source of income may even experience a reversal in trend.

Change in the economy of each community is tied to several different factors, including the community's ability to exploit commercial resources. In Sand Point, for instance, local harbor facilities, processing facilities, and the possession of a relatively large number of purse-seine, limited-entry permits for salmon fishing, enabled the community to exploit the successful seasons of the late 1970s and early 1980s. Unalaska's magnificent natural port and its existing harbor facilities, have served to further its role in the commercial crab fishery and oil exploration in the Bering Sea. In contrast, St. Paul's commercial fishery was only recently developed. Regulations imposed on halibut fishing in the Bering Sea by the North Pacific Fisheries Management Council have placed local fishermen at a disadvantage to the large joint-venture enterprises operating in the region. Until recently, St. Paul also lacked adequate harbor facilities to provide support services to the Bering Sea commercial fishery. In Unalaska, the infrastructure and industrial capability for commercial activity continue to be present; however, the decline in crab stocks and profit margin of groundfish processing have depressed the industry. In Atka, distance from markets and a lack of harbor facilities have limited opportunities for local development.

Another factor contributing to variations in the rate and direction of change in economic institutions has been the community's willingness to exploit commercial resources at the expense of subsistence resources, or at the exclusion of the pursuit of subsistence resources. The perceived incompatibility between exploitation of commercial fisheries (or involvement in OCS-related development) and protection of, and control over, land and subsistence resources appears to hold greater weight in local development in some communities than it does in others. Residents of all of the study communities express a concern over exploitation by "outsiders" and the loss of traditional subsistence resources. Nevertheless, this

Figure 20

Rate and Direction of Change in Economic Institutions
in the Four Study Communities, 1980-1985



concern appears to be greater in Atka and St. Paul than in Sand Point or Unalaska. Although, in the latter two communities, concern is often expressed over local access to nearby commercial resources.

Variations in rate and direction of change are also due to the differences in the occupational skills and training of local residents. In St. Paul, for instance, those with necessary skills were able to take their pick of available construction- and development-related jobs from 1984 to the present, while unskilled laborers were often unemployed. Unalaska and Sand Point residents had extensive training and experience as commercial fishermen at the beginning of the monitoring period; St. Paul residents, however, lacked both training and experience. A program established by TDX in conjunction with the University of Alaska Extension has helped to provide this training during the monitoring period. An additional factor in differential response is the fact that present Unalaska residents, because they come from such a wide array of home communities and backgrounds, have a very large range of skills and training, which enables the entrepreneurial sector of the local economy to flourish. In Atka, on the other hand, job opportunities for skilled and unskilled workers alike are few and depend in large part on factors not particularly subject to local control, such as state funding.

Differences in sources of income and employment also contributed to differences in rate and direction of change. In Sand Point, income is largely tied to the price of salmon and the number of pounds landed. The earnings of local fishermen, the number of employees hired by local processors, the availability of support services for local fishermen, and the municipal revenues derived from local shares of the state fish tax are all tied to these conditions. In St. Paul, income is linked to construction- and development-related employment, which only very recently (in 1984) filled the void left by the withdrawal of NMFS in 1983, St. Paul's income is also linked to the increasing importance of unearned income (retirement benefits, public assistance) as a source of revenue. In Atka, to a very

large extent, income and employment are dependent upon federal and state revenues, which declined throughout the monitoring period. In Unalaska, income and employment are tied to the commercial fishery, the value of which has declined primarily due to a reduction in the supply of king crab.

Finally, variations in the relationships between the municipal government and the local Native profit corporations have contributed to differences in the rate and course of change in economic institutions. In Sand Point, the city government and local Native corporation have worked together to plan for economic development. In St. Paul and Unalaska, however, the two institutions have often assumed an adversarial role, differing in strategies and objectives of economic development. In Atka, little conflict is apparent between the Atxam Corporation and the IRA Council.

HEALTH

As noted in Chapter Two of this study, the institutional response to issues and aspects of health and social welfare in a community provide a barometer of sociocultural change in two respects. First, the components of the sociocultural system concerned with the provision of health care and social services are linked to community priorities, experience in economic development, ability of the political system to acquire new resources, and development objectives. Second, these institutions also respond to indices of community well-being, which are tied to the personal experience of sociocultural change among local residents. Each of these relationships will be examined in turn.

In some of the study communities, components of the sociocultural system concerned with the provision of health and social services have become diversified and formalized in the Euro-American sense of the term. In "Sand Point, Unalaska, and St. Paul, for instance, there has been a proliferation of social services and increasing institutionalization into varying degrees of formal organization. New health and social service institutions with more specialized services, such as the A/PIA-sponsored regional psychologist based in Unalaska, have emerged to meet the perception of increasing needs of local residents. Variations in these processes of diversification and formalization may be attributed to several different factors in each community. In Sand Point and Unalaska, these processes are related to the continuing development of these communities as regional service centers. There is also a concern for local control of these institutions, especially with respect to public safety and health care. Population increase and diversification, changes in the economic base of the communities, local perceptions of stress brought about by change, and influx of residents with Euro-American values have also contributed to this process.

Diversification may also be attributed to the increasing need for these services on the part of local residents. Available data point to an increase in criminal activity and rates of morbidity and mortality in Sand Point and St. Paul. Although rates of patient visits have increased in Unalaska, they appear to be holding steady, while crime rates (both felonies and total criminal cases) have dropped consistently during each of the first four years of the monitoring period and then increased in 1985. Although precise data are unavailable for Atka, the impression obtained during field interviews is that these indices have remained constant in that community.

For all of the communities, in the instances where rates of criminal activity, morbidity, and mortality have increased, they are attributed by local experts to the stresses associated with sociocultural change. However, with changes in rates of criminal activity, this relationship is confounded by fluctuations in the number of public safety personnel and as well as changes in morale, policy, and style within the public safety agencies. Rates also fluctuate in response to changes in the policy and personnel in the locally based court systems.

In all of the communities, the overwhelming majority of the crimes and problems associated with domestic violence are alcohol-related. Alcohol is also very closely associated with the high rate of accidental and self-inflicted injuries and deaths in all the communities, especially in Unalaska and St. Paul. In addition, alcohol is related specifically to certain forms of morbidity (such as cirrhosis of the liver) and is cited by health care workers as a contributing factor to many other patient contacts. While alcohol abuse is a widespread phenomena throughout rural Alaska and appears to be more of a problem among Natives than among non-Natives, it appears to be related to a combination of sociocultural needs, socioeconomic stresses, and disproportional distribution of Natives among the various residential categories in the study communities. While generalizations about the complex nature of the phenomenon of alcohol abuse and its relation to social factors are difficult to support, the disproportional abuse of alcohol by Aleuts is often locally attributed to stresses related to rapid changes in economic conditions (both "positive" and "negative") and to the influx of resident outsiders and their values.

EDUCATION

The educational institutions of the study communities may be viewed as a sociocultural paradox: in all four communities, there has been an effort to expand educational programs and facilities in the face of declining enrollments. In Unalaska, Sand Point, and St. Paul, morale is high among both teachers and students as evidenced by a low rate of teacher turnover and declining student absentee rates over the course of the monitoring period. In Atka, student retention is very high, however, teachers typically remain in the community only a year or two. In Atka and St. Paul, teachers continue to be regarded as "outsiders." Students are also caught between pressures and incentives to leave the communities in search of a college education or employment opportunities, and social, cultural, and economic pressures and incentives to remain in the community. In Sand Point, the Scandinavian heritage of many local residents places a high value on education, thus encouraging students to leave the community for college. However, the prospect of earning a lucrative income by participating in the commercial fishery serves as an incentive for remaining in Sand Point. In St. Paul, on the other hand, the need for certain job and leadership skills and the prospects of a reduction in the number of wage labor positions are factors which encourage local students to leave the community. However, the strong kinship ties and efforts of the community as a whole to keep their children from permanently leaving the island, serve to constrain the rate of emigration. In Unalaska, the level of incentive to remain in the community varies widely by residence group. In general, Aleut families encourage their children to stay in the community, or return to it once education or training programs are completed. However, within long-term transient or semi-permanent residence groups, whole families frequently leave the community when the children reach high-school age, in order for those children to complete college preparatory courses and begin to build their own lives outside of the community. In Atka, strong kinship bonds and

incentives to remain in the community are at times offset by the realization that the local economy is unlikely to expand dramatically in the near future, and that the lack of jobs is problematic to the young people.

In all four study communities, institutional response of local educational systems are interrelated to changes in values, patterns of social interaction, and economic activities. In all communities, they represent the integration of Euro-American and traditional values. The extent of this integration differs from one community to the next, however. For instance, Aleut language classes are offered in Atka, Unalaska, and St. Paul but not in Sand Point. There is less community concern about the impact on values and traditional culture of what is taught in Sand Point, Unalaska, and St. Paul than there is in Atka. In all communities, the school is a focus for social interaction, especially in Sand Point, Unalaska, and St. Paul, where school facilities are used for public meetings, dinners, and community festivals. For these three communities in particular, school athletic events and recreational leagues are important forms of social interaction among community residents and" between locals and the residents of different communities.

In all communities, educational institutions are seen as critical in preparing younger residents for sociocultural change. For instance, there has been an emphasis on vocational programs in all four communities, and in Sand Point, Unalaska, and St. Paul this emphasis has been guided by the desire to provide young people with the necessary skills to fill development-related employment positions. In St, Paul, and to a lesser degree in the other three communities, educational activities are seen as a means of keeping local students from moving away permanently. However, post-secondary education of the type only available outside of the region is also perceived as being important as a means of training local students to assume leadership positions in the local political and economic institutions.

CONCLUSION

The sociocultural systems of all four study communities have undergone considerable change within the past six years. These changes are reflected within the major institutions of each community, In this report, we have examined population, land, political control, sociocultural institutions, economy, health, and education, and how they have responded to environmental and sociocultural changes evident throughout the region. On the one hand, this institutional response is the result of changes in the social, political, and economic environment over the monitoring period. New opportunities have become available to these communities; new demands have also been exerted by outside forces. On the other hand, the value systems which regulate patterns of behavior comprising each of the major institutions have themselves undergone change. These value systems primarily trace their origins to the traditional Aleut culture of the region (as well as the Russian-Aleut contact period) and the larger Euro-American sociocultural system associated with people and places "outside" the region. These two value systems have been integrated through conscious effort and unconscious design to meet the needs of the region's residents and to respond as effectively as possible to the pressures and opportunities of the external environment.

The response of institutions to sociocultural and environmental change, however, has not been entirely uniform throughout the region. Although certain trends of change found in all four study communities have been identified in this report, there have also been important differences in the rate and direction of

change in each of the major institutions. Some of the institutions in certain communities have grown at a faster rate than the same institutions in other communities. Other institutions have experienced stagnation due to pressures exerted by the environment or cultural values which place certain limits on growth. As this report has indicated, these variations in rate and direction of change can be attributed to two major considerations: the differences in sociocultural systems as they existed at the beginning of the monitoring period and differences in the environment of each community.

In each of the study communities, these two considerations combine to determine the character of sociocultural change and institutional response. The monitoring methodology applied in this study has enabled us to identify this character and to highlight similarities and differences in the character of change between communities. The methodology carries with it certain limitations as well. Many of these limitations have been made explicit throughout this report, while others have been left implicit. Further refinement of the methodology, however, can only proceed with further analysis and application to other communities in other parts of Alaska.

APPENDIXA

Program Eligibility and Benefit Criteria

PROGRAM:

Survivors and Disability Insurance

Eligibility Requirements

Aged:	65 or older
Blind:	No better than 20/200 or limited field of 20°
Disabled:	Physical or mental impairment last 12 months or more or result in death
Resource limits:	$1,500 individual; $2,500 couple
Income limits:	Under $304/month individual
Disabled:	Must accept vocational rehabilitation

Medicaid

Eligibility Requirements

Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Alaska Public Assistance, Survivors and Disability Insurance, and children in the custody of Alaska Department of Social Services

Social Security

Eligibility Requirements

Work credit and reduced family earnings from retirement, disability or death

If you reach age 62 in:	Years of credit need
1981	7.5
1982	7.75
1983	8
1987	9
1991 or later	10

(Appendix A continues on next page)

Food Stamps

Eligibility Requirements

Asset and Income Standards

Household Size	Maximum Gross Monthly Income	Maximum Net Monthly Income	Thrifty Food Plan
1	$ 659	507	109
2	887	701	200
3	1,114	857	287
4	1,342	1,032	365
5	1,569	1,207	433
6	1,797	1,382	520
7	2,024	1,557	575
8	2,252	1,732	657

BIA General Assistance

Eligibility Requirements and Benefit Rate

Adult/Children	Monthly Payment
1	597
2	436
1/1	597
1/2	674
1/3	751
1/4	828
1/5	905
2/1	674
2/2	751
2/3	828
2/4	905
2/5	982

(Appendix A continues on next page)

Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)

Eligibility Requirements and Benefit Rate

Youths under 18 who have one absent, disabled or dead parent.

Benefit rates and computations:

$657 = 1 mother/1 child
$740 = 1 mother/2 children
$823 = 1 mother/3 children
$906 = 1 mother/4 children
$83 = each additional child

Alaska Public Assistance (APA)

Eligibility Requirements and Benefit Rate

Blind, disabled and old age assistance based on financial need: property and resource limitations $1,500/individual, $2,250/couple, excluding home and most household goods.

1. Individual, in another's household	466
2. Individual living independently	566
3. Couple, in another's house	683
4. Couple, living independently	830

Energy Assistance Program (EAP)

Eligibility Requirements and Benefit Rates

Income eligibility for the energy assistance program is based on average gross monthly income for the past 90 days. Benefit is a one-time only payment of $700-925.

Household Size	Maximum Monthly Gross Income
1	932
2	1,218
3	1,505
4	1,792
5	2,078
6	2,365

(Appendix A continues on next page)

General Relief (GR)

Eligibility Requirements

No other resources to satisfy an unmet need for a subsistence item.

Adult only Households	Benefit
1	300
2	400
3	500
4	600
5	700

Adult/Child Households	Benefit
1/1	300
1/2	350
1/3	400
1/4	450
1/5	500
1/6	550
1/7	600

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