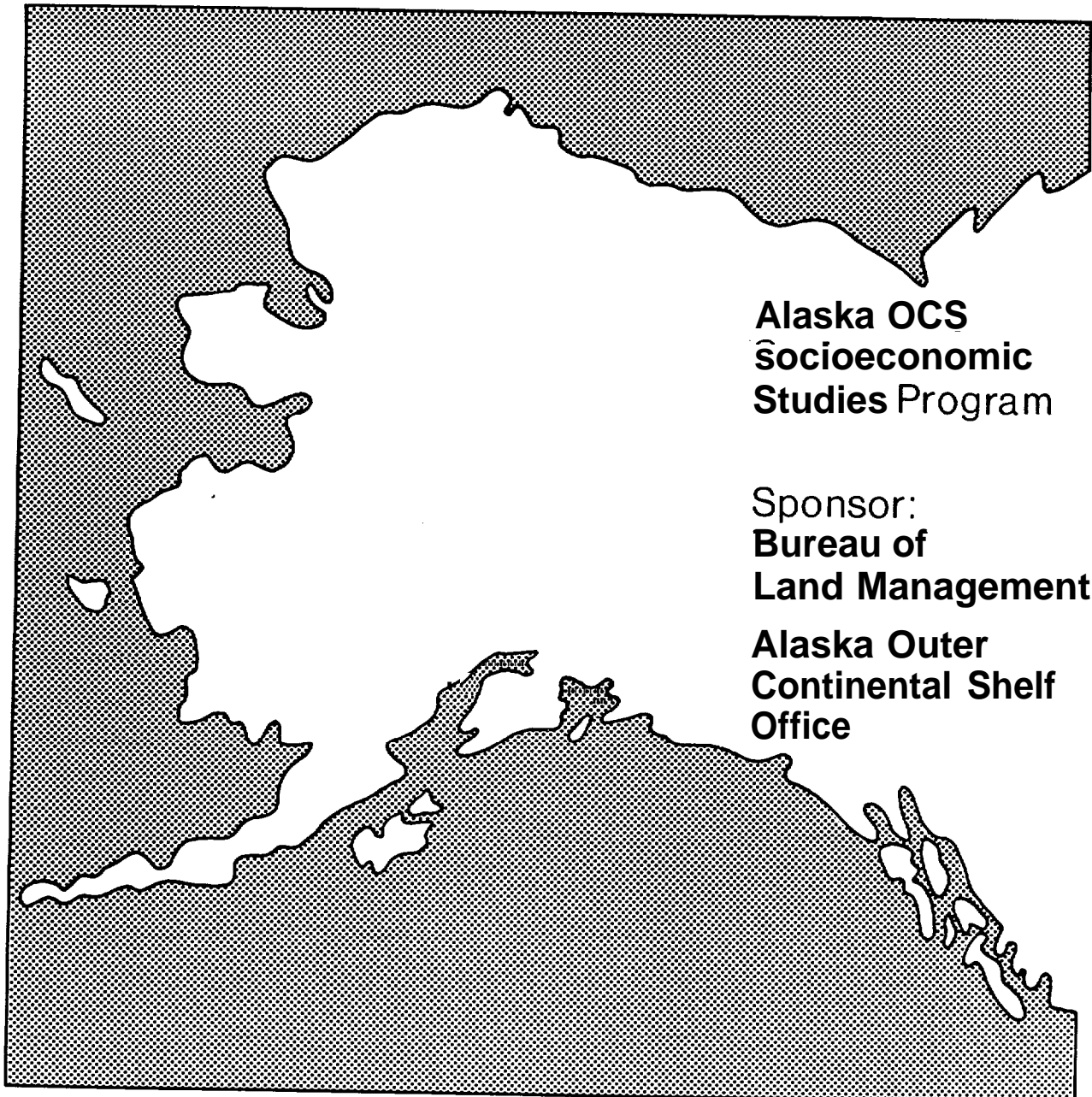


Technical Report
Number 41



Western Gulf of Alaska
Petroleum Development Scenarios
Kodiak Native **Sociocultural** Impacts

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

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

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

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

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

Technical Report No. 41

Contract No. AA550-CT6-61

ALASKA OCS SOCIOECONOMIC STUDIES PROGRAM

WESTERN GULF OF ALASKA
PETROLEUM DEVELOPMENT SCENARIOS

KODIAK NATIVE SOCIOCULTURAL IMPACTS

Prepared by

NANCY YAW DAVIS

CULTURAL DYNAMICS

Prepared for

BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

ALASKA OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELF OFFICE

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October 1979

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Alaska OCS Socioeconomic Studies Program
Western Gulf of Alaska
Petroleum Development Scenarios
Kodiak Native **Sociocultural** Impacts

Prepared by
Nancy Yaw Davis, Cultural Dynamics, for Peat, Marwick,
Mitchell & Co.

October 1979

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report is dedicated to the Natives of the Kodiak area. They are among those local people who will be directly effected by what happens in the Western Gulf. It is hoped this **study** will assist in their preparation for those future events, whatever they may be.

The support and patience of the staff of the sponsors of the research, the Alaska OCS Office, and the prime contractors, Peat, **Marwick**, Mitchell and Co., is appreciated, especially the suggestions and encouragement offered by Dick Schmidt and Dean **Yoesting**. Together we have **all** come to better understand how difficult, and challenging, this kind of research and reporting is.

Tina **Monigold**, born in Afognak, resident of Kodiak, and research assistant for a part of this project, contributed to the report in many ways. Her knowledge, insights and interest led to my making a much greater effort to understand, think, and write than I ever intended. Another assistant, Carolyn Sadler, rigorously researched the libraries in the Washington, D. C. area, gleaning whatever could be found concerning the **Koniag**. She and a third assistant, Susan **Heasley**, patiently waded through volumes of newspapers, deriving independent insights through that media resource. William E. Davis literally rescued some of the draft manuscript by editing and by urging that it not be **disgarded**.

The officers and staff of **Koniag**, Inc. and Kodiak Area Native Association added a great deal to this study, both directly through discussions and documents, and indirectly by not inhibiting what I have written. I value their trust and confidence. As author of this report, I am of course fully responsible for what is included.

The residents in the villages I visited are thanked for their patience and their efforts to educate me, one more visitor **who** came **for** far **too** short a time. Their warm hospitality will **always** be remembered.

Here in alphabetic order are the names of some of the many individuals who contributed to this research, sometimes through a formal discussion, other times through an informal exchange, a spontaneous comment, or a shared question. They include: Nancy Anderson, Karl Armstrong, Marsha Bennett, Zack Chichenoff, Hank Eaton, Sven **Haakanson**, Andrew Kahutak, **Wayne** Marshall, Margaret Nelson, Lone Norton, Pete Olson, Allen **Panamaroff**, Jim Payne, Annie Peterson, Bob Peterson, Frank Peterson, Nick Peterson, Jerome **Selby**, Gene Sundberg, Betty **Wallin**, Janet Wente, Jack Wick, Corinne Wilson, and Ron **Zieger**.

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

The Alaska Outer Continental Shelf Socioeconomic Studies Program is a multi-year research effort which includes, among other things, developing information about the unique cultural differences in Alaska. This particular report is directed toward understanding potential changes among the Native populations in the Western Gulf area as a result of the proposed Outer Continental Shelf (OCS) Lease sale #46 scheduled for December 1980. The specific objectives of this study also include:

- Presenting background information on the **sociocultural** systems of the Kodiak Native populations and
- Developing a methodology for addressing issues **concerning** what might happen in the future, given certain hypothetical circumstances relating to different levels of projected petroleum development.

Two organizing principles contribute to the content, presentation, and findings. One is external and involves relating this paper to the other studies in the Socioeconomic Studies Program. The other is internal and involves the process of ordering data, integrating new research, and coordinating the ideas from the hypothetical future situations. The study seeks to synthesize available information and present it in a logical progression.

Four major elements organize the report. First, the discussion of method identifies how the research proceeded, how the internal steps were taken, and how externally-introduced information was incorporated. Second, the

baseline information concerning the Native populations and contemporary issues provides the foundation necessary for thinking about the future. The third section addresses a projected, hypothetical future without OCS exploration or development. Fourth, following the discussion concerning likely events of a **non-OCS** future, the final and principal focus of the research is presented: the hypothetical impacts of future OCS development in the Western Gulf area on the Native populations of Kodiak Island. The prime factor directing the process is consciously to develop, research, incorporate, and integrate these four major sections into a document usable for planning and decision-making by the governments and peoples involved.

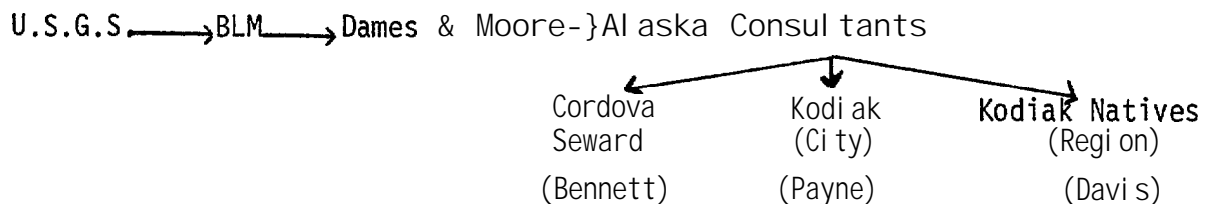
Relation of this study to others in the OCS series

This report is one of a series of studies addressing the Western Gulf of Alaska. The sequence has been as follows: The U.S. Geological Survey provided information about possible oil and gas reserves to the Bureau of Land Management. That information was analyzed by Dames and Moore (1979) who prepared petroleum development scenarios. These scenarios translate the geological data into possible development schemes, including employment figures according to tasks related to hypothetical levels of potential petroleum finds. These technical scenarios were then given to Alaska Consultants, Inc. (1979) who further developed the information to allow for impact analysis of local socioeconomic and physical systems again for different projected levels of discovery. This report on the Kodiak Native populations draws on the specifics provided by the Alaska Consultants report, integrates their findings

with projections generated independently, and presents the combined analysis.

Other studies relevant to this one were concurrently **being** conducted. Bennett (1979) investigated the **towns** of Cordova and Seward as part of the Northern Gulf area OCS studies, and Payne (1979) addressed the non-Native **sociocultural** systems of Kodiak. Both went through a process similar to that followed for this study, collecting baseline data, developing a methodology appropriate to the communities, and incorporating the special perspectives they, as researchers, brought to the project. They too used the information provided by Alaska Consultants, Inc. for **sociocultural** impact analysis.

The sequence can be sketched like this:



This study differs from the town-oriented reports in that it concentrates on the Regional Kodiak Native populations. These groups are presumed to be culturally distinctive and therefore may respond to future events in significantly different ways than non-Native populations. The work began not with geological, but with **sociocultural** data. Library research identified sources for historical depth, field trips provided current information and trends, a methods paper (technical memorandum #32) forced a conscious ordering of information, and a working paper (#7) presented the baseline. The projections are the result of both hypothetical impacts

derived from the internal processes, and those **developed** in response to the specific information provided through the other studies.

Format

The first seven chapters of this report incorporate the two previous papers written under this contract and include comments provided by the Bureau of Land Management and Peat, **Marwick, Mitchell and Co.** **concerning** the earlier drafts. Chapter 2 presents part of the methods paper prepared in response to the request in the scope of work to **explain** and document the assumptions, methods, and standards to be used **in** predicting and evaluating future Native population **socio-**cultural systems and related regional linkage outcomes. It is included here because the exercise itself played an important part in the impact analysis process, and it explains how the research eventually reached some conclusions and related hypothetical projections.

Chapters 3 through 7 constitute the baseline study in response to the request to identify "significant factors affecting change, cause and effect of change, and to explain in detail why specific conditions exist or are **likely** to change over time." The **scope** of work specifies further that the subcontractor "collect, synthesize, and analyze the available data for the Western Gulf lease sale area and consolidate this material" including the concerns of the identified population and their regional linkages.

Chapter 8 builds upon the contemporary trends established in the baseline

and makes hypothetical projections concerning how the future may develop without the lease sale. This is called the Base Case, or the **no-OCS** scenario which assumes there will be no exploration or development in the Western Gulf. This chapter addresses the question: what is likely to happen if no lease sale takes place?

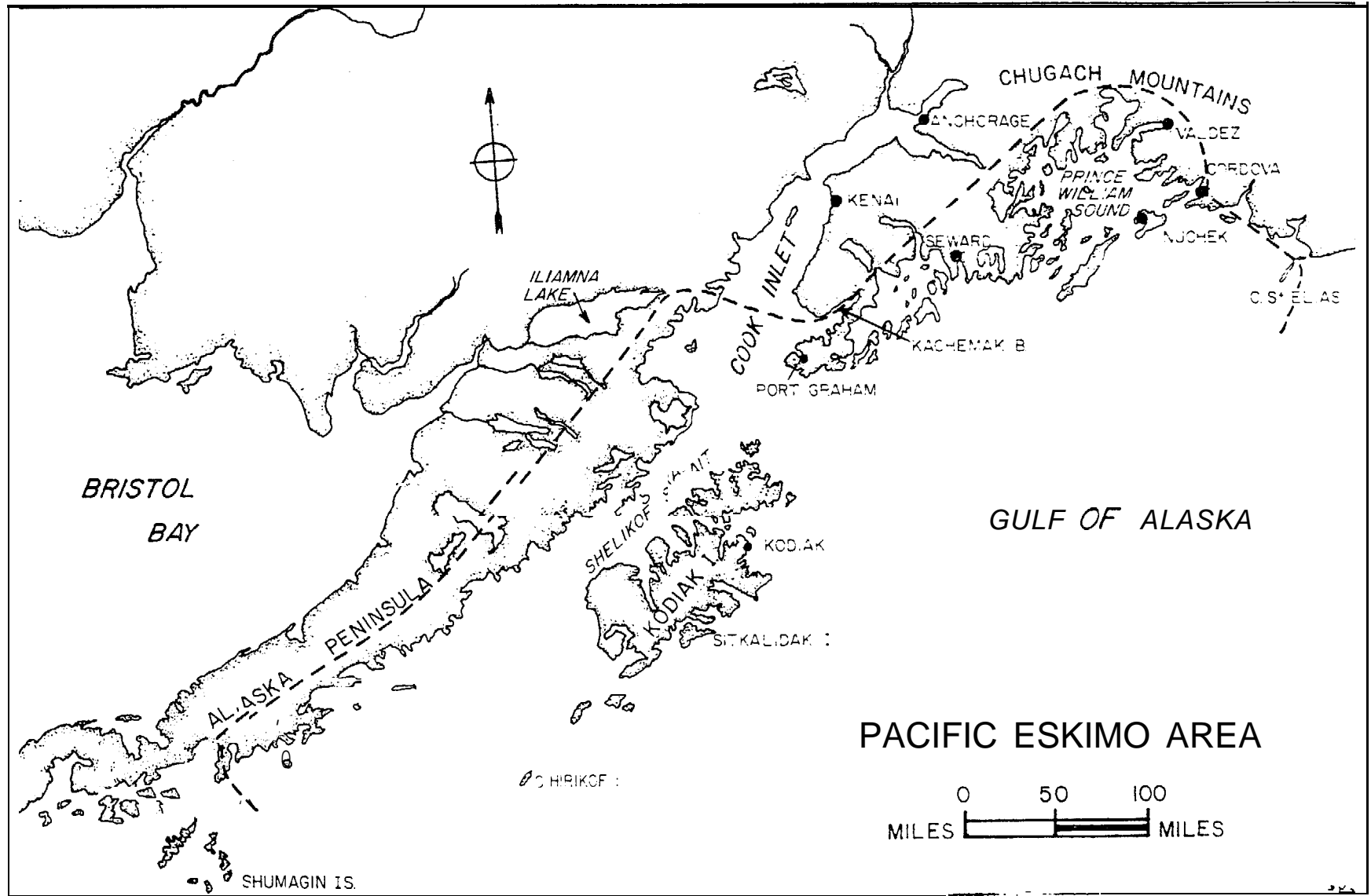
Finally, chapter 9 examines specific petroleum scenarios and postulates how the future of the Kodiak Native population may be different if there is oil and gas exploration and development at three different levels. The 95% case is essentially an exploration-only scenario. Activity occurs over a three-year period, and when no resources of commercial value are found, exploration ceases, and there is no further development. The second case involves both exploration, and some development, but development of a modest find in the Albatross Basin. It is called the mean case: between exploration only and the high find. The 5% case is built upon what might happen if a giant field is found and developed. Suggestions concerning how these different scenarios might affect the Native populations both on a regional level, and in some instances on the local village level, conclude the impact analysis process of this report.

The final chapter summarizes the major findings of this research effort and is the ultimate test of the **method**, content, and logic of the previous chapters.

The People

The Natives of Kodiak Island are called "**Koniag**" or "**Koniag Aleut.**" In the early 19th Century, they were referred to as the "**Kadiak;**" a technical classification, "**Kaniagmiut,**" is also found in the literature. At the time of contact with Western explorers, the **people** spoke the **Suk** dialect of **Yupik**, the southern Eskimo language affiliated with that spoken by the people of Prince William Sound and the Pacific coast of the Alaska Peninsula (see figure 1). Although the Natives of Kodiak Island are linguistically, physically, and culturally linked with the Southern **Yupik** Eskimo, most prefer to be considered **Aleut.**

The **Koniag** referred to in this study are the Native descendants of the original inhabitants of the area, recognizing that over the years Natives from other parts of Alaska and non-Natives from **many parts** of the globe have married into the original families. For the purposes of this paper the **Koniag** Natives are further defined as those **individuals** recognized as enrollees to the **Koniag** Regional Corporation under the provisions of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. Although **this** classification includes a few Indians, **Aleuts** from the Aleutian Chain, and **Yupik** Eskimo from the mainland further north, it primarily encompasses the descendants of the original inhabitants who are the main focus of the report.



-7-

Figure 1
Map of the Pacific Eskimo area

Source: D.W. Clark. 1975. Koniag-Pacific Eskimo Bibliography.

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Introduction

This chapter identifies how the research was accomplished and how the eventual projections were reached. Initially this was a "hypothetical exercise" to explain the organization, clarification, and evaluation of ideas. Then it was discovered that the exercise itself had become a **significant** part of the impact analysis process. The section was first written after reviewing social impact assessment literature, after one field trip to Kodiak, and about one-third of the way through the time frame of the work statement. As a preliminary statement, the exercise identified how this particular task was being accomplished. Now revised and updated at the end of the contract period, the description indicates how far the search led, and summarizes the process of moving ideas from one level to another.

In general, the conceptual sequence went as follows: theory + assumptions + method of data selection followed by analysis leads to **projections**. The combination of theory with a current knowledge of the **specific** population allows one to state specific **OCS-related** questions. These questions then direct thinking and research to reach a statement of assumptions. The very nature of these assumptions leads to a further choice of methods for selective data collection. From an analysis of the data, projections of possible future impacts based on current directions can be derived.

At this point, specific petroleum scenario information can be introduced. The information includes the location, magnitude, and timing of possible petroleum development; selective projections concerning the future with OCS development, in contrast to a non-OCS future, can then be made. At the conclusion of this process, it should be possible to state something like this: "If event occurs here, then probably the following will happen. . ." or "if B occurs there, something else is likely, and may differ from A in the following ways. . ." In this connection, it is important to note that the projections are not predictions.

Definitions

A theory, in scientific usage, is a systematic organization of a body of knowledge. It is constructed with logical consistency and is intended to explain a wide variety of phenomena. A theory is made of general statements representing observed events; often it is an integrated network of models of more specific happenings. In addition to seeking to explain what we think we already know, a theory provides a framework allowing us consciously to shape the **gathering** of new information.

A theory is built on a **system of assumptions**. Assumptions are statements which are taken for granted. There can be two kinds: those which are made without the possibility of proof (the axioms of geometry or the **givens** of logic, for example) and those which are taken with a hope of proof but are not yet proven. The latter are tentative suppositions which allow an investigation to proceed. Unless you are cognizant of where you started, you cannot fully explain where you eventually get.

For the purposes of this report, the assumptions have been designed to be relevant to an understanding of possible OCS impacts. They are hunches, grounded in a knowledge of the cultures and social systems of the area, from which probable consequences eventually evolve. Some of the consequences derived from these assumptions are later refined into projections.

A method, in general, is a process by which a task is accomplished. It is a procedure for achieving a certain end with specified rules that order how one proceeds toward that end. In the case of this exercise, the method specifies how data are to be collected and processed. The marshaling of ideas, establishing questions, and deriving assumptions is part of this method which is designed to maximize the potential level of reliability of hypothetical projections.

A standard as defined by the Task Order "refers to those quantified and nonquantified indicators used to assess future change or to recognize that future change has occurred." Standards thus are rules or models for measuring change; they represent an attempt to be more precise about social change by selectively isolating certain phenomena for careful analysis. A pitfall in this approach is that, when isolating one aspect, what is left out may be of equal or greater importance.

For example, physical mobility could be measured by looking at changing addresses. Looking closely at these changes tells us something about where people report they live; but it tells us nothing about why they live there, when they came, nor whether they plan to move, and -- if so -- under what circumstances. The latter information may be desirable for

interpreting mobility but is unobtainable by the use of the single standard.

In an effort to emulate the physical sciences, the social sciences have, from time to time, gotten enthralled with quantitative measurement techniques, In many ways a legitimate attraction. However, in a premature search for quantifiable events, more important data can be overlooked. In completing the tasks for this report care was taken not to spend too much time trying to find something measurable, lest a larger perspective might be overlooked. As it turned out, standards represent a level of **scientific** sophistication, beyond the data and preliminary understanding reached in this study. However, a number of promising directions for developing standards were considered, and some are suggested in the final chapter for further development.

Native **sociocultural** systems are the distinctive ways of life characteristic of Native Alaskans. They are critical for this study since they suggest the Native response to future change may be in some ways significantly different from that of the non-Native. Alaskan Natives appear to maintain elements in their **sociocultural** systems that differ from those of the dominant non-Native society and, in the instances where elements are shared, they may assign different weights to those shared aspects.

Native values can be considered as ranging from traditional to modern. Particularly important is the identification of those segments of traditional behavior that have persisted and are now **coterminous** with new behaviors adapted from the non-Native **sociocultural** systems. The **over-**

riding task is to describe those special characteristics of Kodiak Native **sociocultural** systems that may make individual and **community** responses to future development different from those reported for other groups.

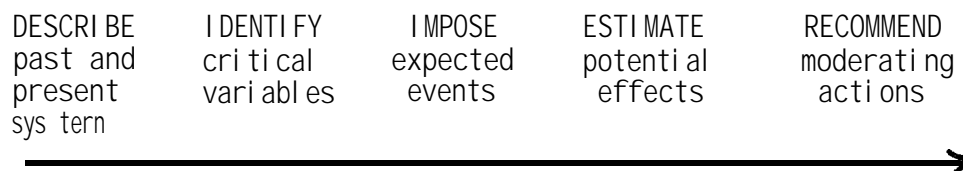
A Theoretical Perspective

Studies of the social and economic impact of energy development are grounded in a theoretical framework of social change. At the least complicated level, this model of social change can be conceptualized as

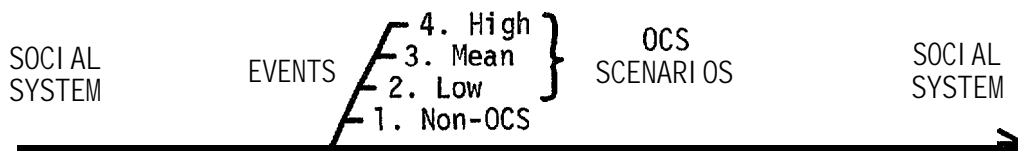


A key assumption in this model is that the changes evoked by the impact events will be measurably different from the changes that would occur if the social system continued without the introduction of these events. One of the chores of impact analysis is sorting out the socioeconomic changes attributable to the development of energy resources.

Social impact assessment is also concerned with the prediction of future change. The assumption in this case is that, if the results of development can be estimated, action can be taken to moderate those impacts deemed unfavorable. At a general level, this model can be conceptualized as



For this report, the four hypothetical scenarios relevant to OCS development may be simply diagrammed:



In the case of #1, the **non-OCS** scenario, the future social system evolves without a lease sale taking place. The petroleum scenarios include three levels of hypothetical development events, #2 (low), #3 (mean), and #4 (high), each of which would presumably lead to social systems in some definable ways different from the **non-OCS** case, and from one another. The task undertaken in chapters 8 and 9 is to project the ways the resulting social systems might vary. Further discussion is reserved for those later chapters.

Like all models of social change and prediction, the conceptualizations adopted here depend on a number of considerations. The orientation underlying the description of the social system determines the starting point. Traditional social science models, such as anthropology, sociology, psychology, and economics, are sometimes used. Newer **models** have been developed by those working in the area of socioeconomic impact analysis, such as cultural ecology (**Dixon 1978**), general systems (**Watkins 1977**), and cost-benefit analysis (**Conopask and Reynolds 1977**). The **theoretical assumptions made at** this juncture drive the analysis by providing the overall framework.

One difficulty is the **comparability** of these different orientations.

The differences between the traditional scientific models have been a subject of discussion for decades and efforts to construct a meta-theory that encompasses all of them have been notably unsuccessful. The newer theories are not yet sufficiently articulated to allow a judgment about their adequacy to bridge theoretical differences.

Another consideration is the nature and adequacy of the information used to describe the social system. Each traditional approach has its core data gathering techniques. The stumbling blocks to combining and comparing the information are as well known as the theoretical differences. In addition, there are struggles within each discipline over the most appropriate data gathering techniques.

Just as the descriptions of the past and present social system depend on the theory and data gathering techniques, so the identification of critical variables reflects the theoretical assumptions. The factors selected as most likely to be affected by energy development projects will be different from an anthropologist's point of view from those identified by a social psychologist. These differences can be considered as indications of a healthy and creative diversity in human knowledge, or they can be considered threatening to an accumulated perspective. I prefer to consider them healthy and creative.

The central theoretical construct of anthropology is that humans maintain, and are maintained by culture: the learned patterns of behavior unique to the species. This basic characteristic, culture, has certain universal properties, including a perception of time, a continuity independent

of individuals, and the capacity to change. Some parts of human culture are more susceptible to change than others; some critical aspects are less cohesive than others. Some aspects of culture are basic and utilitarian; others are superfluous and decorative. Clearly then, to understand possible modifications to contemporary ways of life induced by energy-related or other development, we must sort out these various aspects of culture and identify those which appear most susceptible to change.

Some cultural systems are more responsive to opportunities for change than others; these cultures have values which include risk-taking. Other systems prefer maintaining as high a level of constancy as possible. Thus it is important to try to judge where, within a **spectrum of** values for and against change, the **sociocultural** systems of the Kodiak Natives are located.

The nature of leadership within a **sociocultural** system must be considered. Whether or not a strong individual occupies a leadership position is a key variable; the individual's attitude toward change is **also important**. Further, whether the leadership is legitimized by others or exercised without legitimation can **affect** the rate and nature of change.

Not only are some cultures more responsive to change than others, but also within a **sociocultural** system, some communities may show greater or less receptivity to change processes. Again referring to the Koniag approach to change, we need to know the range of variation **in** values for or against change reflected in the various communities.

Additional factors which can influence a culture's reaction to pressures to change are the traditional rankings by age and sex. Different age groups may vary in their readiness to change, as may men and women. Also to be considered is the probability that some households (or kinship networks) are more conservative than others and the possibility that the proportions of conservative to progressive households may vary between and within communities.

Finally, some individuals -- regardless of age or physical location -- seem to thrive on the challenges accompanying change. But they may have close kin who view most change as far too risky. Ideally, even these differences within families should be addressed if culture change is to be fully comprehended.

In sum, there exist many levels and subsets of culture that shape a particular **sociocultural** system's amenability to change and that therefore can be part of an analysis of future response to development. The job then becomes one of selecting the specific dimensions judged most significant for anticipating responses to development. In other words, what matters most? And from whose standpoint?

To address the complete spectrum of human events on Kodiak Island for the whole of time is a desirable -- but impossible -- ideal. Here, to initiate the process of impact analysis, only selected theoretical perspectives were chosen. A discussion of them will clarify why certain issues, and not others, are addressed and why certain methods, but not others, are employed.

The theoretical positions selected include:

- Concepts of modernization.
The relative **complexity of** social structures arranged on a continuum from generalized to specialized functions may provide measures of modernization, and may be related to response capacity to future events.
- Alterations in the nature of human relationships.
Certain social units are universal. The introduction of more people and of new economic and political structures may alter the specifics of these human relationships.
- Perspectives from economic anthropology.
Some decisions are distinctively Native and are wholly rational to those who make them; but these decisions may appear irrational from a Western economic point of view.
- o Disaster research.
Theories which have been developed from studying behavior in extreme situations may offer understandings of the kinds of changes that can be anticipated under less extreme but similarly stressful conditions.

A Methodological Perspective

A description of the contemporary **situation** is necessary before **projections** for the future can be made. However, static **synchronic** community

studies lack a sense of the direction of changes. To establish the movement of community life over time, an historical approach is needed to explore past modifications and to ascertain the trends of future variations. The more comprehensive the historical review the better, for the trends and responses of the past may be better predictors of future responses than an assessment grounded only in the contemporary.

Therefore, we need to identify the major events of the past that shaped the systems of the present, we need to try to determine whether those events make the communities more or less receptive to further change, and we need to estimate in what ways change may occur.

Three general categories of historical information were selected to provide insights into possible future changes:

1. The culture before significant contact with non-Native peoples. A limited understanding of pre-contact culture can be gained through a review of archaeological and **ethnohistorical** studies. Some configurations of traditional culture can be reconstructed by this review.
2. The culture since a written record has been available (the time varies for different parts of Alaska). This provides an identification of the major events since Western contact that modified the traditional culture.
3. The recent history which has been marked by greater involvement with non-Native cultures. An arbitrary

date of 1970 has been chosen, with an effort to call out the specific issues and events which have shaped Kodiak Native cultures since then as the main focus.

Ideally, all these data should be reviewed before making any assumptions or projections. Realistically, there are gaps in each of the categories. Information about the prehistoric, traditional cultures of the Kodiak region is extremely limited. Even since the appearance of written records, little Native-specific historical research has been accomplished. Thus, the greatest amount of emphasis must be placed on information from the third category. We are largely dependent on our knowledge of recent events, as recorded in newspapers and other documents, and as recalled by individuals, for providing the sense of directions of change in the Kodiak Native **sociocultural** systems.

Many different methods may be employed to obtain new information. All methods are **shaped** by the requirements of the particular tasks and by the nature, **training**, personality, and inclinations of the individuals performing them. For example, the interview/discussion is one method of obtaining information; it is a way for one person to approach another to obtain and exchange thoughts. The content of an interview is influenced by the intent of the researcher, by the confidence and trust established during the interview, by the value attached to the topic under discussion, and by the knowledge, experience, and willingness of the person being interviewed to contribute **to** the process. Because this style of data gathering is such a key technical method, a short discussion is inserted here so that the strength, quality and **limita-**

tions can be evaluated.

Personal discussion/interviews elicit information by asking individuals to verbalize their perspective of selected topics. The person being interviewed may have thought about the topic extensively and thus may comment in detail; or, alternatively, the individual may not have thought about the topic at all. What the researcher gains in some situations is an awareness that topics deemed critical to some may not even merit consideration by others. If the topic is new to the person being interviewed, one result of discussion may be a heightened awareness of an issue for that individual.

For example, part of the plan for this research was to ask people about the future and, when possible and appropriate, to lead discussions about how the future might be different if petroleum development should occur in the Western Gulf of Alaska. Although some individuals in Kodiak displayed an impressive awareness of OCS development, few discussed the future during the research. For the people in the villages, discussion about the future proved especially awkward and was judged inappropriate at this point in time. For these individuals, the present seemed far too compelling and demanding.

Future-oriented questions were in part uncomfortable because they asked about unknown events. As one articulate Native village fisherman commented:

"Well, I really can't say, because I don't know anything about OCS. If I knew more maybe I could think about it."

It is also conceivable **that having** no articulated view about the future may **be** one way Natives maintain their distinctiveness. A concern about the future as reflected by planners [and programs such as this one] may be **from a** Native standpoint unnecessary and even inappropriate. Certainly the requirement that government agencies prepare detailed statements about possible future events is a **late** 20th century phenomenon.

A result of the inability to discuss these topics is extremely limited information about the "Native view" of the future. Indeed, so slim are the findings, that it is possible to speculate that there is no identifiable "Native view" about the future. A challenge to policy-related future-oriented research is to talk with people about future issues without raising their hopes or magnifying their fears. A successful discussion **could** be one in which the greatest value to the interviewee is simply the increased awareness of the subject being addressed by the researcher.

The information gained by **informal** interviewing is influenced by a **combination** of factors. Most important, is the quality of the human **relationship** involved. Rapport, experience, **confidence**, trust, and the **personality** of the interviewer are critical variables in every research situation. Easily identified factors, such as the phrasing and content of the questions, are important but how the intent of the interviewer is perceived is more critical.

These human factors may even be more significant in a situation where a non-Native interviews a Native Alaskan. The author senses in this situation

that the exchange is charged with something additional; to me it is the unusually keen perception on the part of the Native person. Over the years, I have become increasingly aware of an ability of many Natives to perceive cues that are overlooked by non-Natives. Perhaps the non-Native misses them because in a White-to-White interview there is a closer congruence of the culture base.

Native Alaskans raised in a village, or in a large family based in a town, experience extensive socialization with other human beings; this socialization may be considerably more intense than is usually the case for the non-Native. An urban non-Native resident in today's world spends a considerable amount of time with physical objects -- books, radios, TV's, telephones, toys, typewriters (and reports !) -- but spends relatively less time with other people. In contrast, most village Natives spend much more time with each other than they do alone or with objects. The familiar settings of the home, the church, the steam bath, the beach, and the fish camp surround an individual with other people for much of the time.

The sensitivity derived from this socialization process attunes the Native to a wide range of interpersonal cues. Because of this sensitivity, Natives may see signs, perceive intent, and register a level of non-verbal communication that appears unusually keen. What distinguishes the Native-to-non-Native interview situation is that the non-Native appears to be one-up in the encounter.

Field Research

Because the primary source for new insights was the discussion/interviews, as wide a range of Native persons as possible were contacted during three separate field visits to the Kodiak area. The first visit took place between October 30 and November 12, 1978. It was designed to ask and to be educated about current issues of interest to the Native populations. Nineteen individuals in Kodiak City were visited: four officers of **Koniag, Inc.** and **six Koniag** Board Members (there is some overlap between these groups); corporation Board Members from three different villages; a member of Natives of Kodiak, Inc.; an at-large enrollee; and several Native residents whose perspective is valuable because they have chosen not to be active in Native affairs. Discussions were also conducted with non-Natives, including the Harbormaster and the Borough Mayor. Their points of view helped identify concerns of the larger community, including and city and borough of Kodiak.

A short trip to Old Harbor provided the **change** for long discussions with the members of two households and for short visits with four other households. These exchanges educated me about the current interests of residents, including the Mayor.

Following the first field venture, the methods paper and draft baseline report were written. Before the baseline working paper was formally submitted a short, three-day trip to Kodiak was made in late March, 1979. The purpose of this visit was to review a few sensitive issues discussed in the working paper. During the period, Tina **Monigold**, the "author's 10Cal research assistant, read the paper **thoroughly** and made a number of specific suggestions that were especially valuable. Her comments were included

in the footnotes to the baseline report and have been incorporated in this final draft.

The timing of this March Kodiak trip was excellent. A marked increase in interest in OCS matters emerged in the spring of 1979. The interest was highlighted by the showing of the Yakutat films on March 26 and by a statewide "Town Meeting of the Air" addressing OCS issues on March 27. Additional information concerning the Native-operated boats in the harbor and current developments in the Native organizations was also added at this time.

A third trip to Kodiak was made between April 24 and May 11, 1979. The intention was to share information and findings with the Kodiak area Native associations and to visit as many villages as possible, weather permitting. During this time 3 villages were briefly contacted: Akhiok, April 29-May 2; Ouzinkie, May 4; and Port Lions, May 5. The discussions held in the field were extremely limited; the people were given information about what it was that was trying to be accomplished under this contract. Topics addressing an OCS, or a non-OCS future, were found inappropriate at this time. Some additional, limited baseline information was added, which may strengthen the long-range projections. The individuals contacted included the mayors, city clerks, council members and corporation board members in the 3 villages; additional discussions were held in the City of Kodiak.

The last field trip, though productive, did not provide the anticipated input concerning the future. Rather it became more a public relations step since specific OCS information simply had not yet reached the vil-

ages. Subsequent to this field trip the Borough OCS **adv** sory **committee** invited the village representatives to Kodiak for information and discussion, a fact mentioned here to indicate that **timing** and subsequent events constantly modify people's information, attitudes, and, perhaps, receptivity.

Library search

A necessary component of this research was assessing the information available about the population involved. This activity is an early requirement for establishing what is known and where it is located. The **information** (or lack of it) **influences** the data collection topics and affects the relative reliability of projections of future change. As noted in another report (Davis **1978**), current information about various Native groups in Alaska is extremely rare, and mostly irrelevant to the information needs of pending policy decisions. **Unfortunately**, the **Kodiak** situation is no different than elsewhere, with perhaps even less information published about the Native population here than in other areas of the state. However, the limited published material did supplement the information gathered in the discussion/interviews and the historical references **revealed** valuable insights about earlier **adaptation** to development. An analysis of local newspapers for the six-month period between October 1978 and **May** 1979 documented current events.

Four periodicals were selectively reviewed: The Tundra Times (which has been published since 1962); the Kodiak Daily Mirror (which has been published since 1940); the Kodiak Times (a weekly in its third year of publication); and The Kodiak Fish Wrapper and Litter Box Liner (a

monthly publication in its fourth year). Native publications that appear occasionally, the Kodiak Islander and the KANA Newsletters, also were read. Documents produced by Native organizations, e.g., the Overall Economic Development Plan and the Health Needs Study, prepared by the Kodiak Area Native Association in 1978 and 1979 are other sources of written information that were consulted. Significant information recovered through the search of published sources appears throughout the report.

Data analysis occurred continuously throughout the research period, with major efforts to integrate new information concentrated during three periods: after the first **field** trip, after the third field trip, and after receipt of Technical Memorandum #28 by Alaska Consultants, Inc., which provided specific information about projected events based on the petroleum development scenarios.

The challenge in this report was to integrate the new information with what was already known. This process enhanced what the separate segments of known data indicated about change in **sociocultural** systems and highlights what is not yet understood. The data analysis proceeded at different levels. Ultimately it should indicate whether the new information strengthens our assumptions or not and how they might be modified to provide better material on which to base hypothetical projections.

What the anthropological approach provides for impact analysis is a sensitivity to possible ethnic and local distinctions that may significantly modify future responses to development; but this sensitivity is derived from a consideration of the whole of the **sociocultural** fabric and it is

with an examination of this whole that the major part of this research was directed.

A Perspective on Assumptions

Four time dimensions were selected to assist in the analysis. They are the historic past, the recent past (1970-78), the **present**, and the future"

From this time-frame, five basic questions were derived:

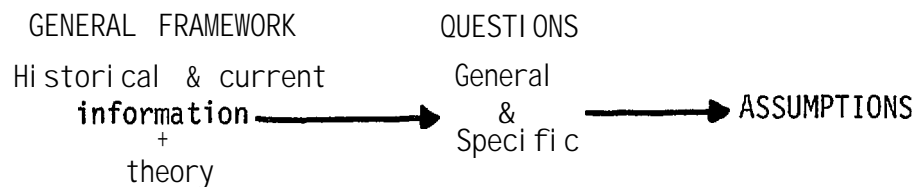
- What is now? (A description of the contemporary scene.)
- What was before? (A prehistoric and ethnographic reconstruction.)
- What happened in the past that changed what existed before into what is now? (An historical review.)
- What indicators of further change are there? (A return to the contemporary.)
- What might happen given certain specific circumstances? (Projections of the future with and without OCS development.)

Thinking in terms of these questions and time frames helped **focus** the research; by starting with the present, going back in time to gain **perspective** on directions of change, and then raising the **question** of the relevance of this information to the future, valuable insights were gained,

Once the time dimensions were set, a series of specific questions were designed to organize further those ideas relevant to Kodiak and to OCS issues. These specific questions were derived from three general sources:

1) previous research and knowledge of the area, (2) the first field trip and its resulting information, and 3) a beginning perception of the kinds of understandings needed to describe industry-related modifications likely to occur within ethnically distinctive populations. The initial questions served as technical tools to think around; some of them appear throughout the remainder of this report.

Diagrammatically, the sequence from which the assumptions were derived looks like this:



The assumptions represented my best guesses at a particular time, developed following the first field trip in November 1978, discussed during the second field trip in March, and revised following the gathering and analysis of new information after the third visit in April, 1979. These tentative assumptions provided a springboard for the shaping of the data gathering process, and they provided reminders, as the work proceeded, of the projections that ultimately needed to be made for the final report.

The final step was to synthesize the information from Dames and Moore (1979) and from Alaska Consultants, Inc. (1979) with the assumptions generated during this research. Using the petroleum development scenarios, tentative statements concerning probable future events were prepared. Given the hypothetical situations and the assumptions, projections of

what may occur were made.

Data Availability

Before **present**ing the baseline information from which the projections are made, a review of the nature and availability of data about the Natives of the Kodiak area needs to be done. This review establishes the fact that information is scarce and therefore places the later findings in appropriate perspective.

Specific information concerning the Natives of Kodiak Island is rare and fragmentary. **No** ethnographic study of the area has been accomplished. Some limited descriptive information is available from the villages but no study with the Natives living in Kodiak city has been found. The source of this researcher's information about the Kodiak area begins with data gathering efforts shortly after the 1964 earthquake. Research was started in the spring of 1964 when tape recordings were made of the experiences of people from two villages, Old Harbor and **Kaguyak**. This research was continued in 1965 with information gathered during visits to three additional Kodiak villages, Akhiok, **Ouzinkie** and Pt. Lions. In 1974 contact with some of the people was made during preparations for court hearings pursuant to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. The hearings dealt with the eligibility of the villages of **Kaguyak** and Afognak under the terms of the Act. In 1975, a survey was conducted with the residents of Old Harbor and in 1976 another brief trip was made to the island.

Under this contract, two weeks were spent in the City of Kodiak and two

days in Old Harbor during early November 1978. A total of 9 additional days were spent in Kodiak, four in March and five more in April-May 1979 when three additional village visits were made: four days in Akhiok and one day each in Ouzinkie and Port Lions.

Here, in sum, the author's direct, personal knowledge is based in research conducted during field trips in 7 separate years, covering topics from disaster research to resettlement studies and policy-related investigations.

Published Information

Efforts to locate secondary source material for the present project were made by the principal investigator and by a research associate, Carolyn Sadler. The Arctic Bibliography was searched for all references to the following topics: Afognak, Akhiok, Alitak, Aiathalik, Anton Larsen Bay, Ayakulik, Bells Flat, Chignik, Ivanoff Bay, Kaguyak, Karluk, Katmai, Kodiak, Koniag, Larsen Bay, Litnik, Old Harbor, Ouzinkie, Perryville, Port Lions, Uganik, Uyak and Woody Island. A computer search using the above descriptors failed to unearth additional information.

The bibliography prepared by the Peabody Museum was searched and all references to Kodiak cataloged in the Smithsonian Library and the Department of Interior Library were reviewed. The following is an excerpt by Sadler concerning the results of this research:

The search of the libraries and sources confirmed the findings of the first report, that little of the Koniag area has been studied except the fisheries. . . . In terms of the state documents, before the late 1960's the Natives seem to be invisible or non-existent. Even in the fisheries docu-

ments, Alaskan Natives and Native villages are generally only a side thought (C. Sadler January 22, 1979).

A systematic search of newspapers was conducted for references to **Koniag**, Kodiak, OCS, fisheries, and forestry. The Kodiak Daily Mirror was reviewed for the six-month period from October, 1978 to May, 1979 (S. Heasley) and the Tundra Times was examined for 100 issues published during 1976, 1977, and 1978 (C. Sadler).

The earliest descriptive accounts of the **Koniag** Natives are fragments provided by Russian monks and priests, such as **Iosaf** (1794-99) and Gideon (1804-1807), as translated by Black (1977:79-108). Other fragments from early travelers are excerpted by **Hrdlicka** (1944). **Oswalt** provides a summary of what is known about the traditional **Koniag** (Oswalt 1967; 1979). **Holmberg**, a Finnish scholar, traveled in the area in 1851, collecting items and writing a commentary. His collection was sold to the Danish National Museum, described, and partly photographed by **Birket-Smith** (1941). **Piart** also traveled in the area in the late 1800's and although his descriptions are suspect, he did collect a number of folk tales which were analyzed by **Lantis** (1938). A collection of folk tales by **Golder** (1907; 1909) is based on stories told him by **Koniags** while he was at Unga for 3 years early in the 20th century. **Lantis' (1938)** analysis of the **Holmberg**, **Piart** and **Golder** materials provides a brief summary of what was known about the **Koniags** at that time. Another summary of information about the **Koniag**, including pieces of their history, is provided in **Davis** (1971).

The most comprehensive, centralized source of information about Eskimos was compiled by **Oswalt** for his recent book, Eskimos and Explorers (1979).

A summary of what is available on **Koniag ethnography** may be found in the discussion of **Yupik Eskimos** (especially pages 236-248). For main sources, consult page 269.

Brief ethnographic descriptions are available for **Karluk** (BIA report 1939; Taylor 1966); **Old Harbor** (Befu 1970; Davis 1970; 1971; 1976) and **Ouzinkie** (Kozely 1963). For **Afognak** we have Huggins' (1947) description of Kodiak and **Afognak** life in 1868-1870. **Karluk**, the subject of a BIA report in 1939, is noted for its IRA council. Taylor (1966:211-240) made a demographic study of **Karluk** in 1962-1964. **Ouzinkie** was visited by **Kozely** in 1963, and he wrote a brief description of the village at that time (Kozely 1963). **Old Harbor** is the most completely documented village, although by short studies: by a nurse (Curtis 1948); teacher (Bailey 1949); anthropologist (Befu 1961; 1970), and the BIA (1967). Following the 1964 Alaskan earthquake, **Old Harbor** received much attention. Garberg, Brooks and **Cartier** (1964) taught school that summer and had the children write up stories about **Old Harbor**. This researcher's studies began shortly after the earthquake in 1964, and led to several papers (1969; 1970; 1971). Norton and Haas wrote brief descriptions of the villages of **Kaguyak**, **Akhiok**, **Old Harbor**, **Ouzinkie**, **Afognak** and **Port Lions**, based primarily on this author's 1965 study of the tsunami-affected villages. A more recent general outline of the area is found in one paper (Davis 1975) and a survey with the people of **Old Harbor** (Davis 1976).

A 1953 report on the BIA by the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs indicated that there was no up-to-date information on Alaska and that there had been no comprehensive village census since 1910. Of the list of 67

"organized" Alaskan Native communities, the only Kodiak village mentioned is **Karluk (1953:1385)**. Larsen Bay and Afognak are missing from the list of **Kaniagmiut**, but **Perryville** is included. This confusing report locates "Eskimos" at the town of Kodiak, but "**Aleuts**" at Akhiok, **Karluk**, Old Harbor, **Ouzinkie**, and **Perryville** (Committee on Insular and Interior Affairs 1953).

The 1968 Federal Field Committee Report compiled much information, including population figures 1790-1890 (**1968:248**); a list of historic places and current status (**1968:247, 249**), later expanded and updated by Yarborough; subsistence quotas (**1968:252**); and the number of school years completed (**8 years** completed in Kodiak) (**1968:63**). Of special interest is a statement about the land status at that time, referred to elsewhere in this paper, and the anticipated bottom fish development (**1968:252**).

A source of information on all the villages is the Kodiak Island Borough Comprehensive Plan prepared in 1968 by **Tryck, Nyman** and Hayes. The information includes utilities, education, water supply, housing, airstrips, and a brief analysis of resources, industries, employment, population and future economic outlook.

Three recent studies by the Kodiak Area Native Association are especially valuable for this report. One is the Five Year Health Plan which provides original information frequently referred to **later**. It became available in May, 1979 and because of its excellent baseline value, a number of graphs and figures are incorporated in this text and in the appendix. The second study is the Overall Economic Development Plan prepared in 1978. The third

is a sequel published in May, 1979. These three documents provide the most complete update of information about the villages currently available.

Although the information is not even, the range of differences between the villages is partly documented. The economic planning studies include information such as population, employment, costs, distances from Kodiak, community projects of the past, and others planned for the future. The documents also include the number of jobs, and their breakdown by category and season. Reference to these two economic reports is frequent in chapter 5.

The search for information about the Natives of the City of Kodiak was so unproductive, even travel accounts were consulted. Burroughs (1901) was enthralled with the town; Hutchinson(1937) was delighted, but if any reference was made to the Natives it was to "semi-Russian Natives" and they were not named, though white residents were. One gains the clear impression from these travel accounts that there was a status system in Kodiak between the established "Whites," and the established "Creoles." On the other hand, perhaps the inferred class structure was more in the minds of the traveler than the residents.

Valuable insights about the diverse people now living in Kodiak are provided by the high school publication, Elwani, called "Inside the life and culture of Kodiak. " The students interview the residents of the community, old timers, White, Native, and Filipino. Some of the old timers reflect on past life in the villages.

Striking in the search for information about the Native people of Kodiak is the absence of attention, over the years, from studies that were done with state and federal funds. For example, a housing study (Wik 1965) and a dietary study (Heller and Scott 1967) did not include Kodiak. Health services studies were also rare, compared to elsewhere. For years, the cannery doctors may have been the only ones available to village Natives on the island. A number of important scholarly documents also do not include Kodiak Natives. For example, Swanton's Indian Tribes of North America (1952) has no entry on **Koniag**. Even the census sometimes overlooked Kodiak villages, or lumped the **Koniag** numbers with the mainland and the **Chugach**. The creole situation added to the general confusion reflected in the census. One might conclude that the **Koniag** were on the fringes of studies and surveys and lost to the census takers.

Short references in published information, such as that found in the Alaska Review of Business and Economic Conditions (The Kodiak Economic Community, **ISEGR** 1967), are valuable for the perspective they give. For example, the bottom fishery was recognized at that relatively **early** time as one of the richest in the world (**1967:4**). The occasional references to the Kodiak villages sometimes are not wholly accurate; for example, "Villagers of the Kodiak archipelago have had close contact with white society and the cash economy for nearly two centuries, first as hunters and trappers then as fishermen and cannery workers" (**ISEGR, 1967:8**). In fact, the extent of the cash **economy** and white contact has not yet been documented, and it may well be that neither was very widespread beyond the northern villages until after World War II.

As noted, particularly obvious by its absence is information about the Native people in Kodiak. The numerous plans and studies prepared for the city do not account for, or separate, the Natives by numbers, by location, or by employment. They are lumped in with the other residents and their special interests apparently not addressed. For example, no information about the Native population in the city is found in the Alaska State Housing Comprehensive Plan (1962), the Wolf Management review (1965), the Tryck, Nyman and Hayes Comprehensive Plan (1968), the Kodiak Island Borough Regional Plan (Kramer, Chin & May 1978), or the Simpson Usher, Jones OCS impact study synthesis report (1977). Only in the census breakdown is some indication found of even the existence of Natives in the city.

In summary, baseline data on Koniag Natives as a whole is not available, nor does information exist to the degree desirable for a comprehensive analysis and projection of anticipated results of future developments with, or without, OCS. Yet, despite this obvious and unfortunate dearth of knowledge, the decisions must be made.

CHAPTER III

CHANGES IN THE PAST - AN OVERVIEW

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a description of those major events in the past that modified the social systems of the **Koniag** Natives living on Kodiak Island (see figure 2). The chapter indicates both the sources of the changes and suggests their differential effects on the various communities. In doing so, it strengthens and adds depth to our current understanding of contemporary directions of change and provides a background for the projections of future changes.

The basic question this chapter is designed to answer is

"What is available in the written record that will assist us in understanding the specific events that led to the present setting for future change?"

In general, the communities of Kodiak Island have been affected **differently** by some of the same historical forces. Each has been exposed to different agents of change and each has been influenced over differing lengths of time and in various intensities by these agents. The results of these influences are villages that differ in significant ways. All the communities maintain a strong individual identity, each with its own perspectives about what ought to happen in the future.

From what is known about the past, it appears that the people of Kodiak have survived many a previous impact. These past **social** modifications have added new complexity and, in several instances, have contributed to the diverging growth of the villages.

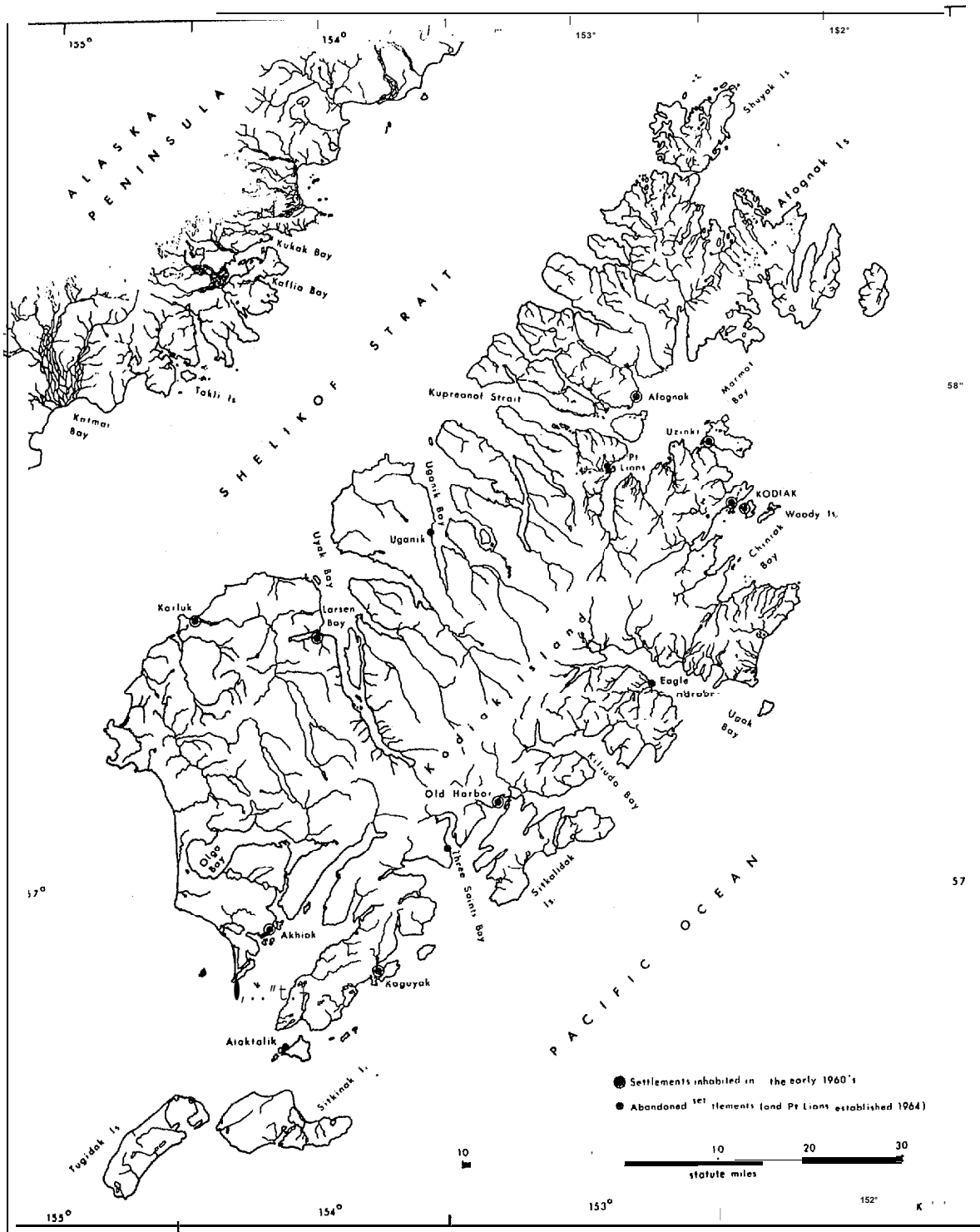


Figure 2. Kodiak Island and Adjacent Regions

Source: Arctic Anthropology 3(2) :2.

As noted earlier, information about the Natives of the Kodiak region is sparse and, where available, fragmentary. Considerable archaeological investigation has been done but that does not reveal much about the traditional social systems of the people. Historical writings focus on the comings and goings of the explorers but seldom on the residents. Some ethnographic study has been made of particular villages but no ethnology of the region has been written.

Prehistory

The works of Hrdlicka (1944), Heizer (1943, 1952, 1956), Clark (1966; 1974; 1975a; 1975b) and Laughlin (1966) are the primary archaeological studies of the Kodiak Island region. Taken together, these works can be used to make a general statement about the archaeological sequences. The Draft Environmental Statement for Lease Sale #46 (U.S. Dept. of the Interior, BLM, OCS.2 vols) includes an analysis of the findings that need not be repeated here. This report will concentrate instead on the few indications we have concerning the social culture of the people prior to western contact.

A few observations can be made from the limited references of the late 18th and early 19th centuries (several decades after initial Russian contact in the area). The coastal area of Kodiak was well populated with a sea mammal hunting people who lived in self-sufficient, autonomous villages around the coasts. Variations between villages were then probably minimal (in contrast to modern differences) and based more on kinship numbers, affiliation, and periodic strong leadership, than on differences

in technology and economic strength. The sources of variations were small -- fluctuations based more on the physical environment than on economic organization. Occasional raids around the island, and wars with tribes beyond the island, provided diversion, excitement, loot, and wives. The practice of keeping hostages is indicated by the fact an Aleut from the Islands was found on Southern Kodiak by two Russian ships which stopped there for a winter in 1763 (Bancroft 1886).

The location and distribution of the numerous archaeological sites around the island reveal that these locations were occupied for long periods of time and by a relatively large number of people. This suggests the population had a long-term, successful adaptation to the sea, especially through sea mammal hunting (Oswalt 1979). Although little is known about the precontact cultures of the Koniag, certain features persist today; these features continue to influence the people in their plans and participation in the contemporary world. Even though much intermarriage with non-Natives has occurred, some cultural patterns continue because the predominant practice was for Native women to marry non-Native men, and it is the women and their relatives who had primary responsibility for raising children.

Traditional Culture

Since reference to the traditional culture before its extensive modification is so rare, a recent translation of two early documents written by Russian monks is particularly valuable (Black 1977:79-108). Iosaf (1794-99) commented on the density of population, the degree of dependence

on products of the sea, and the lack of interest among the Natives in farming or raising cattle (1977:84); he also noted that war was "the most pleasurable exercise" (1977:86). The sense of village autonomy is mentioned and village pride is further indicated in the statement, "one village may attack another if they learn that a song of ridicule has been composed about them" (Black 1977:86). The monk noted a resistance to submission to authority.

Gideon (1804-1807) provided information about the economic activities of the men and women. At that time there were five Russian work stations on Kodiak and two on Afognak. Women were employed for preparation of fish and some were engaged nearly year round by the Russian company. The men undertook sea otter hunting from April to September, which is the critical time for subsistence activities. Severs'1 indications of **traditional** means of social control are reflected in Gideon's account: **reprimand** by an assembly of old people (Black 1977:94) and general shaming (1977:97). One reference to suicide threats by women (Black 1977:95) suggests that a similar recent threat by a young woman, who climbed to the crow's nest of a crab boat, may be a modern version of a traditional pattern.

Gideon reports, "It is a rare person who is not in debt to the Company at the end of the hunt" (Black 1977:98). Thus we find that credit against **future** hunts was established early in the 19th century; this pattern of indebtedness was continued with the establishment of the canneries at the end of the century. The pattern of indebtedness persists, as was reported for Old Harbor in 1960 (Befu 1964; 1970).

In the 1960's examples were seen of the continuity of traditional patterns in family relationships, adoption patterns, and the suggestion of matrilineal residence and matrilineal-like ties between brothers and sisters, mothers and daughters (Davis 1971). The Koniag people remain distinctive in the selective manner in which they have mixed what was before with what came later in the form of Russian, Scandinavian, and American influences.

Traditional Subsistence

A valuable compilation of historical references to the Koniag use of the sea, subsistence, trade and intertribal relationships can be found in Josephson (1974:12-17). Another summary is available in Hrdlicka (1944). Especially valuable for this report is the following statement about traditional resource uses:

"The food resources of the Koniag seem to have been far more varied than those reported elsewhere among Eskimos, although dried fish was the primary staple. Four species of salmon ascended the short spawning streams of the island in astounding numbers, judging from runs in later times. Halibut hooked at sea also were important in the diet. In February fur seals were taken along the south coast, and during the summer great whales were hunted with poisoned spears. At this season seals and sea lions were likewise important food resources. . . . Most food cached for winter reportedly was eaten by the end of the festivities held in December, and from then until early spring shellfish were the primary fare." (Oswalt 1979: 239-240).

Birket-Smith has a short section on subsistence cycles (1941:121) in his discussion of hunting equipment. His analysis was based on about 400 specimens from the Kodiak Eskimo and Aleut that make up the largest known collection of Koniag material culture. It was bought by the Denmark

National Museum from Holmberg, a Finnish naturalist who took a trip to Kodiak in 1851. Birket-Smith, like Hrdlicka and Heizer, indicates "little information" about Koniag culture (1941:121). (He also notes additional materials are in museums in the USSR and Finland.)

Language

Relatively little is known about the Koniag language. An early vocabulary list was collected by Gibbs in 1857 from a man and woman who were living at Fort Victoria in British Columbia. (Gibbs 1877:136-142). Krauss (1973) reports only 1,000 of 4,000 Pacific Yupik people today speak Sugestun, the Pacific Yupik language. The boundaries of this language area include Kodiak, the Alaska Peninsula, English Bay, Port Graham and Prince William Sound. The status of the language, its viability, and its renewal are unknown at this time. Based on the history of the island, one would expect persistence of the language to be greatest in the southern villages, Old Harbor and Akhiok, and among the Kaguyakans now living in Akhiok, Old Harbor and Kodiak.

The Russian Period

The Russian period did not affect **all** parts of the island equally. More direct impact was experienced in the north, especially at Kodiak, **Afognak** and **Ouzinkie**. To the south, **Karluk** probably had the most extensive exposure; the village was a key sea otter hunting location in 1847. The fact that the 1880 census indicates some villages were predominantly "creole" and others predominantly "**Innu**it" suggests **community** differences were

established 100 years ago. The northern village of **Afognak** may have been more "Russianized" than the other villages.

Intermarriage between Russians and Natives did not necessarily mean a weakening of **Koniag** cultural patterns. Children, while genetically half-Russian and half-Native, probably were more than **half-Native** culturally because predominantly they were raised by mothers who, in turn, had mothers who were Native. Many Native traditions are continued through the women, a traditional pattern of **matrilineal** influences. New traditions, introduced through the Russian fathers, would have concentrated more directly on newly introduced relationships, such as commercial hunting and fishing patterns and church activities that were predominantly **patrilineal**.

POPULATION

The census of 1792 indicated a **total of 6,500 Koniag** in **the area**, which makes this group twice the size of any other Alaska Eskimo group at the time (**Oswalt 1963:6**). Information about the specific numbers of Russians and **Creoles** at different locations during the first part of the 19th century is rare. Fedorova (1973) reports there were 119 Russians on Kodiak in 1817. This was 28% of the total 421 Russians reported in all Russian America at that time (**1973:2**). In 1820, at Ft. Ross, **California**, there were 116 men from Kodiak; however, only seven were considered "in the service of the Company" (**Fedorova 1975:12**). Also at that time there were two Kodiak women "cohabiting or married to Russian men" and 3 Kodiak women married to **Creoles**. Why there were so many Natives in California, not obliged by the Company to be there, remains to be explained. Perhaps

then, as now, Koniag people enjoyed traveling.

Under Russian rule the Creoles had greater status than they did under American rule. They were considered as Russian citizens. Further, a number of early explorers were Creoles (Fedorova 1973:14). Creoles lost their special status under American rule; mixed blood status was not specifically recognized again until the Land Claims Settlement in 1971 which defines a Native Alaskan as:

"a person of one-fourth degree or more Alaska Indian (including Tsimshian Indians not enrolled in the Metlakatla Indian Community) Eskimo, or Aleut blood, or combination thereof" (Public Law 92-203, Section 3 (b)).

The implications of this law are discussed later.

Evidence of the Russian period is reflected today in the surnames of many individuals, e. g., Panamarioff, Larianoff, Pestrikoff, Chichenoff, Melovedoff, Lukin, Squartzoff, Kvasnikoff, Malutin, Zharoff. As with other cultural aspects, there was differential effect on different villages. For example, Laughlin (1966) reports considerable 19th century amalgamation between Natives and non-Natives in the Kaguyak population, but no recent intermarriage. The period of amalgamation probably reflects important periods of cultural influences, but no direct correlation can be documented.

SOCIOCULTURAL CHANGE

Few records indicate which specific activities of the Russians modified the Native villages. It is clear that communities on the northern part of the island had more continuous direct contact than those on the western

or southern coast. Specific reference to the extent Native **Koniag** labor was recruited for sea otter hunting has not been found. The few **references** to "**Aleuts**" does not indicate whether they were Natives imported from the Aleutian Islands, or were **Koniags**, renamed "**Aleuts**," from Kodiak Island. In any case, Kodiak became a trading area and a center of **high** seas activity in the early 19th century, with unknown ripple effects on the surrounding villages.

The most important institution introduced at this time was the Russian Orthodox Church, still a viable and strong religion throughout the island villages. All but Larsen Bay have an Orthodox church built with **local** funds and maintained by a local church committee. (See Davis 1970 for an analysis of the significance of the Russian church, the **only community-wide** institution supported by the villagers.)

If a weighting of significant Russian influence were to be made, the northern villages, especially Afognak and Kodiak, experienced the greatest contact and resulting intermarriage and cultural exchange. The least affected area may have been the southern island villages. The American period, beginning in 1867, also impacted different parts of the island in significantly different ways.

The American Period 1867 - 1939

For the purposes of this report, American rule of Alaska can be divided into the **pre-** and post-World War II periods. The **pre-World War II era** can further be divided into an early period (1867-1900) and a later one

(1900-1939). 1939 is chosen because it marked the occasion of the build-up of the military at Kodiak, the consequent influx of large numbers of people, and incorporation of the "village" into the "city."

The early American period, 1867-1900, was marked initially by confusion (at least on the part of the United States). When the United States purchased Alaska from Russia, the nation embarked on a "venture for which she was ill prepared" (Hulley 1970:204). President Andrew Johnson placed Alaska under the War Department and the Army controlled affairs for a decade. In 1877 the last of the military detachments returned to Idaho, leaving the customs collector in Sitka as the sole representative of the United States. The customs collector ruled until 1884 (Hulley 1970:203-221) .

Kodiak and Sitka, former centers of Russian activity, were somewhat chaotic during this period, but as far as we know villages on Kodiak Island were left alone, and thus were not disrupted by this state of affairs. Later in this early period an economic boom was experienced on the western side of the island with the exploitation of the salmon runs in the Karluk River. The establishment of canneries at this time had extensive influence on the villages, as reported by the priest Shalamov (1895).

POPULATION

The first American census was taken in 1880 (see Table 1). On Kodiak, 18 settlements are reported, counting two each at Afognak and Uganik.

TABLE 1
 Village Population by Census
 1880-1939

	1880	1890	1900	1930	1939,
Akhiok	114	n.d.*	n.d.	86	82
Old Harbor	160	n.d.	n.d.	84	109
Karluk	302	1,123	470	192	189
Larsen Bay					88
Ouzinkie	45	n.d.	n.d.	168	253
Afognak-Port Lions	339	409	305	298	197

*n.d. = no data reported.

Compiled by the author from U.S. Census Reports.

Of the total 2,056 residents, only 24 or 1% were non-Native. The Creoles numbered 678 or 33% of the total, and the Innu~~i~~t numbered 1,354 (66%) of the total residents. (The proportion of Native to non-Native now is approximately the same as Creole to Innu~~i~~t then: 1/3 to 2/3.) Two of the settlements, **Yelovoi** and **Ouzinkie** on Spruce Island were wholly Creole in 1880, and five villages were wholly Innu~~i~~t (**Uganik**, **Uyak**, **Akhiok**, **Chiniak** and **Killuda**).

The largest settlement in 1880 was Afognak with 339 persons in 2 related villages. Creoles numbered 195 (58%) and the Innu~~i~~t 144 (42%). As recently as 1964, one part of Afognak village was called "Aleut town," suggesting a traditional separation of those who were more "Aleut" than "Creole." The second largest village was **Karluk** with 302 people. This was before the great influx of white and Chinese cannery workers. In 1880 one non-Native person, 24 Creole, and 277 Innu~~i~~t lived at Karluk.

By the 1890 census many Scandinavian fishermen were living in the area. There may have been two periods of Scandinavian influence in the northern and western Kodiak area: one during the 19th century sea otter hunting and the salmon industry time, and a second later in the 20th century with the development of other fisheries. Names of Native persons such as Anderson, Olsen, Nelson, **Carlson**, Peterson and **Torsen** reflect these periods, although exactly when those names were introduced is not yet established.

SOCIOCULTURAL CHANGE DURING THE AMERICAN PERIOD TO 1939

In the late 19th century one of the richest salmon fisheries in the Pacific was located on the west coast of Kodiak Island near the present villages of Karluk and Larsen Bay. The first cannery was built in 1882. At the height of production, six canneries were operating, and a total of **3-1/2 million** fish were processed in 1891 (Moser 1899). Soon this renewable resource was drastically reduced by over-fishing. By 1907 only one cannery was operating on the west coast and the population of the area declined.

During the first **half of** the 20th century, the Kodiak villagers came to depend almost wholly on commercial fishing for cash and credit. The canneries were large summer factories that controlled resources and labor. They dealt in a specific cash crop: salmon, or (later) crab. The canneries controlled the means of catching the resource by renting boats and fishing gear. They controlled buying the resource; there was no other company present to buy the fish once caught. They controlled labor in that they could choose to hire local personnel, or import workers from outside the state. The home offices of the canneries were outside the state, and in some cases, outside the nation.

The result of the introduction of this style of economic system was to change the residents of these cannery-based villages into wage-earning, store-buying people. Money may have been one mode of exchange within the village, but the year-round ties with the company were usually on a credit system. Under the new system, commitment and loyalty to only one cannery company was expected.

The **Katmai** eruption of 1912 on the Alaska Peninsula had a major impact on the northern part of Kodiak Island. The natural disaster is keenly recalled by all those old enough at the time to remember it. **Katmai** village was the largest **Koniag** community on the Peninsula at that time. After a temporary relocation in the Kodiak area, the residents were resettled on the coast of the Alaska Peninsula at a new village site, **Perryville**. There are continuing social and marriage ties between **Koniag** descendants now located at **Chignik** and **Perryville** and the **Koniags** of Kodiak Island.

The American Period 1939 - 1970

The next event important to the history of impacts in the Kodiak area was the opening of the Naval Base in 1939. Although these impacts were localized to the vicinity of the town, the opening brought a great influx of people and changed the village of Kodiak into a "city." Another major impact occurred during and following the 1964 earthquake, tsunami, and resettlement. The consequences of these events made the already distinctive island communities yet more diverse both in appearance, and perhaps more important, in experience with the larger world.

No information has been located about the effects of World War 11 on the villages, nor on the specific location of outposts. There was, of course, a great deal of military activity in the town of Kodiak. The villagers, unlike the **Aleuts** of the Chain, were not removed from their homes. What results the War had on the people has yet to be discovered.

In the 1950's the crab industry was introduced and some **Koniag** bought

Larger boats and crab gear, thus extending their season and income beyond the salmon run. However, many villagers could not obtain or risk the capital investment required for this new industry. Subsequently the economic distance widened between the isolated, traditional villagers and their **relatives** in town. Further discussion **of the** canneries may be found in Befu (1970) and Taylor (1966).

Since Kodiak Island is located in one of the **most** active tectonic zones of the North American continent, coping with natural disasters is a requirement of life in the area. Since 1867 there have been at least two dozen major earthquakes and in the 20th century two tsunamis have been reported.

The great Alaskan Earthquake of March 27, 1964, may have been the single most significant event in the 20th century for the villages that suffered **major** destruction from the subsequent tsunami. The earthquake lasted four to five minutes and reached a magnitude of 8.4 on the Richter Scale. Tectonic uplifting and underwater avalanching in the Prince William Sound and Gulf area initiated the tsunami. Two Kodiak villages, Old Harbor and **Kaguyak**, were almost totally **destroyed**. Afognak lost half the village buildings. **Ouzinkie** experienced major damage. In addition **to** these four villages, Akhiok was permanently changed when survivors of **Kaguyak** were relocated there.

Even more significant than the natural disaster were the social consequences of subsequent agency involvement in the affected communities (Davis 1971). Narratives of what happened in six villages have been

written by Norton and Haas (1970:357-399), and a detailed description and analysis of events before, during and after the earthquake through the first year of resettlement of Old Harbor and Kaguyak can be found in Davis (1971).

Studies of the impact of the 1964 earthquake on the city of Kodiak indicate the period since then to be one of great change. (Selkregg, L. et al 1970: 210-211; Kachadoorian and Plafker 1976; Wolf Management Service 1965; Norton and Haas 1970:289-311; Payne 1979). For example, the disaster was followed by a great increase in population, employment and gross volume of business (Wolf Management Service 1965). The Wolf study includes a section entitled "Kodiak - Anatomy of a Boom Town" and reports that some officials indicated that the aftermath of the earthquake provided "excellent development for Kodiak" (Wolf 1965: 17). An urban renewal plan was already available before the earthquake; the disaster hastened its implementation, and modification.

Only limited information about the impact of the earthquake on Natives living in Kodiak has been found. For example, one person said many Natives left the state under a Bureau of Indian Affairs plan to relocate Native Alaskans affected by the disaster in other states. Another person said some Natives who had lived in their own homes in the downtown area were relocated into apartments through the urban renewal plan. And one Native commented that

"The old timers particularly miss the trees, the shrubbery. We didn't realize how much of it we had, but it's all gone now and there's very little around, and what little there is, is abused. Kodiak was a little boom town, and it had not time to be orderly and aesthetic."

POPULATION

Table 2 displays the general trends of population changes since 1950. Old Harbor and Larsen Bay have more than doubled their population in the last 30 years. Ouzinkie and Port Lions have gained additional residents more slowly. Akhiok's population has fluctuated considerably. (Interestingly, the 1978 figure is the same as the 1880 one of 114; see table 1) Only Karluk has experienced a decline. The importance of these figures is that they do not indicate an overall decline of village residents. Indeed two villages have grown at approximately the same rate as Kodiak.

SOCIOCULTURAL CHANGE DURING THE PERIOD 1939 - 1970

This period is marked by an ever-increasing contact with the social institutions of the western world. Two major events profoundly affected the Koniag communities during this time: the 1964 earthquake and tsunami and the 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA). The first was the more localized and immediate; the second is more general and long range. Both separated the villages in new ways and both brought them into contact with state and national forces in new dimensions. The effects of the Native Claims Settlement Act is a subject of the next chapter.

During this period more new institutions were introduced to the villages. For example, in the 1960's, federal programs such as Community Action, Vista and

TABLE 2
Population Figures
1950-1978

	1950 ¹	1960 ¹	1970 ¹	1977*	1978 ³
Akhiok	72	84	115	69 M:37 F: 32	114 M: 59 F: 55
Old Harbor	121	193	290	298 M:160 F:138	330 M:176 F:154
Karluk	144	129	98	98 M:53 F: 45	98 M:53 F: 45
Larsen Bay	53	72	109	118 M: 59 F: 59	137 (117 Native) M: 68 F: 69
Ouzinkie	177	214	143	204 M:113 F: 91	200 (186 Native) M:111 F: 89
Afognak-Port Lions	158	190	227	251 M:134 F:117	251 (197 Native) M:134 F:117
Kodiak	1,710	2,628	3,798		

Compiled by the author from the following sources:

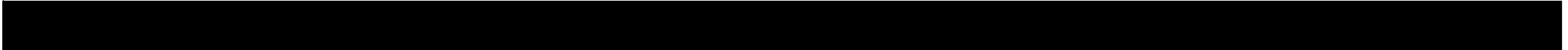
1. U.S. Census
2. OEDP Report, KANA (1978)
3. Health Needs Report, KANA (1978)

Head Start, plus state programs including health, welfare and other **social** service aid, and the Alaska State troopers, further increased. As a result, internal differentiation grew, although unevenly, within each community. The villages vary in the details of their response to these forces, as is noted in chapter 5. The fact of increasing agency involvement appears constant. With each new agency has come a wider web of ties with the world beyond the village and beyond the nearest cannery (Davis 1969).

The period was **also** marked by extensive economic activity. The current fisheries boom in Kodiak is not the first, nor is it **likely** to be the last. The Russian "boom" with sea otter hunting peaked early in the 19th century. Whales were discovered in the North Pacific in 1835 and that industry affected the island until about 1914. The gold rush to the north meant a short term increase of activity in Kodiak as a gold rush stop, between about 1897-1903. The 1912 Katmai eruption led to increased local activity. The establishment of the military activity beginning in 1939 brought a great **increase** in population. Just as the crab industry was reaching its **max**'mum production, the 1964 earthquake, tsunami, and reconstruction led to unprecedented building activity in the city and considerable modification in 4 of the 6 villages.

The sequence of increased activity at different parts of the island reflects both the location of resources in the various areas, and the history of national and international interest in those resources (sea otter, whales, salmon, shell fish, logs, bottom fish). Other kinds of booms were associated with disasters (the 1912 Katmai, World War **II**, **the 1964 earth-**

quake, **Karluk's** storm of 1978). All these events brought streams of different people: Russian merchants, monks, settlers, American and Scandinavian whalers and fishermen, military and construction workers. These sequences of experiences with external forces, and people, mixed with the cultural patterns that were already there to produce populations that differ in significant ways. Understanding the similarities and differences will help to assess the relative amenability of the communities to additional external influences. And if we can begin to understand the enduring similarities and the range of differences within the **Koniag** Native population, we may gain a greater understanding of similar ranges of differences in other regions, some of which are even more diverse than **Koniag**.



CHAPTER IV

KODIAK NATIVE REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS -AN OVERVIEW

Introduction

Two major Native organizations serve the Kodiak Island area. The Kodiak Area Native Association (**KANA**) is a non-profit corporation that was formed in 1966. Koniag, Inc. is a profit corporation, formed in 1972, to meet the requirements of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (**ANCSA**) which was enacted in December, 1971. Each organization serves different functions and each has evolved a distinctive style of operation. They are key institutions in the context of current Native affairs and are pivotal in understanding development-related activities. In addition to these region-wide organizations, the villages have other institutions, such as a city council, tribal council, and village corporation.

Kodiak Area Native Association (**KANA**)

The purpose of KANA is found in the organization's constitution:

To promote pride on the part of the Natives of Alaska in their heritage and traditions; to preserve the customs, folklore and art of the Native races; to promote the physical, economic and social well-being of the Natives of Kodiak. To discourage and overcome racial prejudice and the inequities which such prejudice creates; to promote good government by reminding those who govern and those governed of their joint and mutual responsibilities (**KANA** Newsletter 2:8. November, 1978).

A recent statement about the role of KANA appeared in the Overall Economic Development Report (1979) which stated:

KANA is a tribal organization. It offers direct services, advocacy, development planning, training and technical assistance to its members in the area of health, manpower, education and community development (1979:1).

In addition, the KANA Housing and Electrical Authority is housed in the facilities of KANA and provides additional direct services to the villages.

Each Kodiak Island village has a representative on the Board of Directors. The Board elects a Chairperson, Vice-Chairperson, Secretary, and Treasurer and hires a President and Vice-President to manage the Corporation. In 1978, KANA operated 9 separate programs with budgets totaling \$1,848,281.18. In addition, the corporation managed a HUD housing project which built 121 houses in 5 villages during 1978.

Like non-profit corporations in the other Alaska Native Regions, KANA's emphasis is on providing direct services to Natives, most often by the operation of various human services programs formerly run by the BIA, Public Health Service, and other similar agencies. Unlike the profit corporations, KANA does not make investments nor aim to make money, other than the indirect provision of cash wages through jobs associated with the various grant programs.

Overall, KANA handles more money and provides more services at this time, both to **Koniag** enrollees and to other Natives in the area, than the profit corporation. In addition, many of the programs KANA administers are designed for the villages so that the visibility of the organization is greater in the outlying areas.

In March, 1976 36 persons were employed in-house by KANA. Including all the programs, about 113 were on the payroll. The President and Vice-President are **Koniag** Natives; however, like many of the regional corporations, a number of non-Natives are employed for their specific skills. The programs managed by KANA provide a number of jobs in each of the villages. For example: health aides, teacher aides, tribal clerks, CETA workers. Although most of the programs are separate, some overlap between KANA and **Koniag** occurs where planning is involved, as in the economic development program and the Job Corps Center.

Koniag, Inc.

The profit corporation was set up under the requirements of ANCSA. As such, it receives funds from the Alaska Native Fund and is charged with their reinvestment. In 1978, the corporation owned a store for fishing and navigational equipment, two construction companies, an accounting firm, a helicopter, and was part of a consortium with other Regional corporations in a shipping company and the **Alpetco** petrochemical venture. **Koniag** also owns the Cape **Chiniak** "impact center," a former Air Force satellite tracking station now planned for use as a skill training center.

The companies owned by **Koniag**, as listed in the Alaska Federation of Natives Regional Profiles (1978), are The **Kazim** Company, **Shelikof** Net Company, **Koniag-Modern** Construction, **Carson-Koniag** Helicopter, Accounting Service of Kodiak, Cook Inlet Constructors, Inc., Alaska Consolidated Shipping, Inc., Alpetco, and the **Chiniak** Impact Center.

The monies received from the Alaska Native Fund and from these investments are not large and must be applied to the costs of management and litigation, as well as reinvested. Koniag operations provide physical evidence of the corporation's activities in the form of buildings both purchased and constructed, and Koniag Natives are proud of these investments. But cash benefits to stockholders have thus far been limited to distributions of the Alaska Native Fund by the formula set down in ANCSA. The most recent distribution was \$389.00 for the at-large enrollees; village residents received their last disbursement check in 1978 in an average amount of \$57.53. Total direct funds received through the Native corporation have been \$408.05 for village enrollees and \$2,050.71 for the at-large enrollees, over a five-year period.

ENROLLMENT IN THE REGIONAL CORPORATION

There are 3,267 individuals enrolled to Koniag, Inc. under the provisions of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. In addition there are an unknown number of persons with Native Koniag ancestry whose enrollment was denied because of inadequate records of the past. The shareholders are enrolled in four groups (see Table 3). The enrollment figures reflect a complicated pattern of kinship relationships, residency preferences, job opportunities, political choices, personal gambles about the future, and probably in some cases indifference about the whole process. As an example of the complexity is the fact that 29 people enrolled to one Kodiak village physically reside in a different village on the island. Most likely through marriage, although perhaps through employment, these individuals have expressed their original affiliation through enrollment

Table 3

Distribution of Kodiak Shareholders by Enrollment Category

<u>Enrollment category</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1. Nine certified villages	2011	62
2. Seven villages under appeal	232	7
3. Natives of Kodiak, Inc.	520	16
4. At-large enrollees	504	15
TOTAL	3267	100

Table 4

Kodiak Enrollees Living in other Regions, 1978

<u>Region</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Cook Inlet	329	77
Sealaska	55	13
Chugach	13	3
Doyon	15	3
Bristol Bay	9	2
Aleut	4	1
Calista, NANA, and Arctic Slope	1 each	1
TOTAL	428	100

Both tables compiled by the author

even though they have established residence in a different location. As another example, three members enrolled at-large live now in a village; and 2 people enrolled to Natives of Kodiak, Inc. live not in the town but in a village. In order to explore these factors in greater depth an analysis of residence patterns was undertaken.

DISTRIBUTION OF KONIAG ENROLLEES

To ascertain where **Koniag** enrollees were living in November, 1978, addresses were obtained from the Koniag office. Enrollees were found to be located in six physically distinct Kodiak Island villages, in the town of Kodiak, in 33 other towns throughout Alaska, and in 36 other states.

Of the 2,011 shareholders enrolled to village corporations in 1978, 811 had addresses in one or another of the six villages. A total of 942 enrollees lived in the vicinity of Kodiak city. This is, however, not an accurate figure of the total number of Natives actually living there. The children born of enrollees since 1971 are not included in this figure, nor are Natives from other Regions. The Health Department of the Kodiak Area Native Association estimates about 1,300 Native Alaskans live in the vicinity of the town. A survey is planned by KANA to provide a more accurate count of the Natives in the area. There were 428 enrollees with addresses in 33 other Alaskan **communities** located within nine other Regional Corporation boundaries. The **only** Regions without **Koniag** enrollees in **1978** were Bering Strait and Ahtna (**Table 4**).

At this point, no **specific** information about other Natives living in the

Kodiak Region is known. Some families from Chignik and Perryville stay in Kodiak during the winter, returning to their villages to fish and work in canneries during the summer. These Natives are enrolled to the Bristol Bay Regional Corporation. **Koniag, Inc.** has no business responsibility to resident Native shareholders from other Regions, but KANA, with its different responsibilities, does. For example, contract services with the Public Health Service are provided for all eligible clients present in the area. As of spring 1979 the numbers of Natives from other Regions was not known, nor was information available concerning their expectations for services through the KANA programs.

AT-LARGE ENROLLEES

Many of the Natives living outside Alaska chose to enroll at-large -- without a particular village base. Only 19 at-large enrollees had addresses in Kodiak in late 1978; 447 were living elsewhere. Added to the at-large enrollment are those individuals who originally were enrolled to the villages of Kitoi and Aiatkalik, locations subsequently found not to be eligible as villages under ANCSA. With these individuals included, of the total of 504 at-large enrollees, 36 have Kodiak addresses. These shareholders have voting rights in **Koniag, Inc.** but are not land-owners through a village corporation.

NATIVES OF KODIAK, INC.

Of the total of 520 individuals enrolled to this corporation, 244 (47%) live in Kodiak. This is 26% of the total **Koniag** enrollment living in

the town; only 2 members of this corporation live in villages in other parts of the island (one in Port Lions and the other in Ouzinkie). One hundred ten live in 14 different communities in six other Regions in Alaska and the remaining 174 have addresses in 28 states. The Natives of Kodiak, Inc. thus represents a diverse population spread over a wide geographic area. The role of the corporation in future economic development is undetermined but can be presumed to be significant in view of the large number of votes shareholders have in the Regional Corporation and Kodiak, Inc.'s land holdings near the city.

THE UNLISTED VILLAGES

Three villages that were unlisted in " 971 in ANCSA -- Kaguyak, Afognak, and Woody Island -- are now certified villages, having won eligibility through a series of court proceedings. Although they are not at present physically separate communities, all have land sections and for most purposes are treated as if they were separate villages. Indeed, there is some evidence that they continue as social communities (for example, in Pt. Lions and Kodiak) similar to physically distinct villages.

Kaguyak and **Afognak** shared the experience of losing most of their village buildings to the 1964 tsunami. Following this destruction, the **Kaguyak** residents were physically resettled in **Akhiok** and the **Afognak** residents were moved to Port Lions. But the social identity of both continued after the physical relocation and many residents of both villages today express a wish to return to the vicinity of their traditional village sites.

Woody Island has an enrollment of 295 individuals. Of this total, 118 live in Kodiak, 50 have addresses in 6 other Alaskan communities, and 128 live in other states. The extent to which Woody Island also constitutes a significant social and political group has not been investigated.

THE APPEALED VILLAGES

Seven village corporations remain under appeal pursuant to ANCSA. More conflict appears to have centered on the cases of these enrollments than on any other issue confronting the **Koniag** Region. In addition to the differences of opinion about the **legal** stand taken by the representatives of the unlisted villages, conflict has **revolved** around the personalities of the parties to the action. Members enrolled to these villages have by now experienced five years of litigation and related investigations, and may have developed during this period a heightened sense of community togetherness. They appear to have significant power within **Koniag**, although they comprise just 7% of the total enrollment. The enrollees are well represented on the KANA board and in the **Koniag** corporation. The litigation process may have enhanced this leadership and may have reinforced a perception of community distinctiveness.

CHAPTER V
THE COMMUNITIES

This chapter addresses the special characteristics of the villages, first individually by area, and then in more general comparative terms. Special attention is paid to the three villages that are in proximity of the potential activity of Lease Sale #46, the Western Gulf. The distinctiveness of the City of Kodiak as a regional town is noted to provide background for a discussion of the interrelationships between the villages and the town. These ties and connections may be modified by OCS-related development and this information gives the background necessary to begin to consider the ramifications of changes generated by the non-OCS and OCS projections. The villages are addressed in sequence, beginning on the southern coast with Akhiok and moving up and around the island, ending with Karluk on the far western end.

Current information about the villages is extremely limited. In preparing for this report, only 3-1/2 days were spent in Akhiok, 2 in Old Harbor, and one each in Ouzinkie and Port Lions. Clearly this is not adequate time for field research; nevertheless it was valuable time for it added perspective to the scarce written information. As noted in the chapter on methods, discussion of OCS development was in most cases inappropriate because information about the topic was lacking. It was not possible to do a study of people's views of "What might happen if. . .?"

For these reasons, the following discussion must not be considered a comprehensive view of the villagers' attitudes towards OCS oil and gas develop-

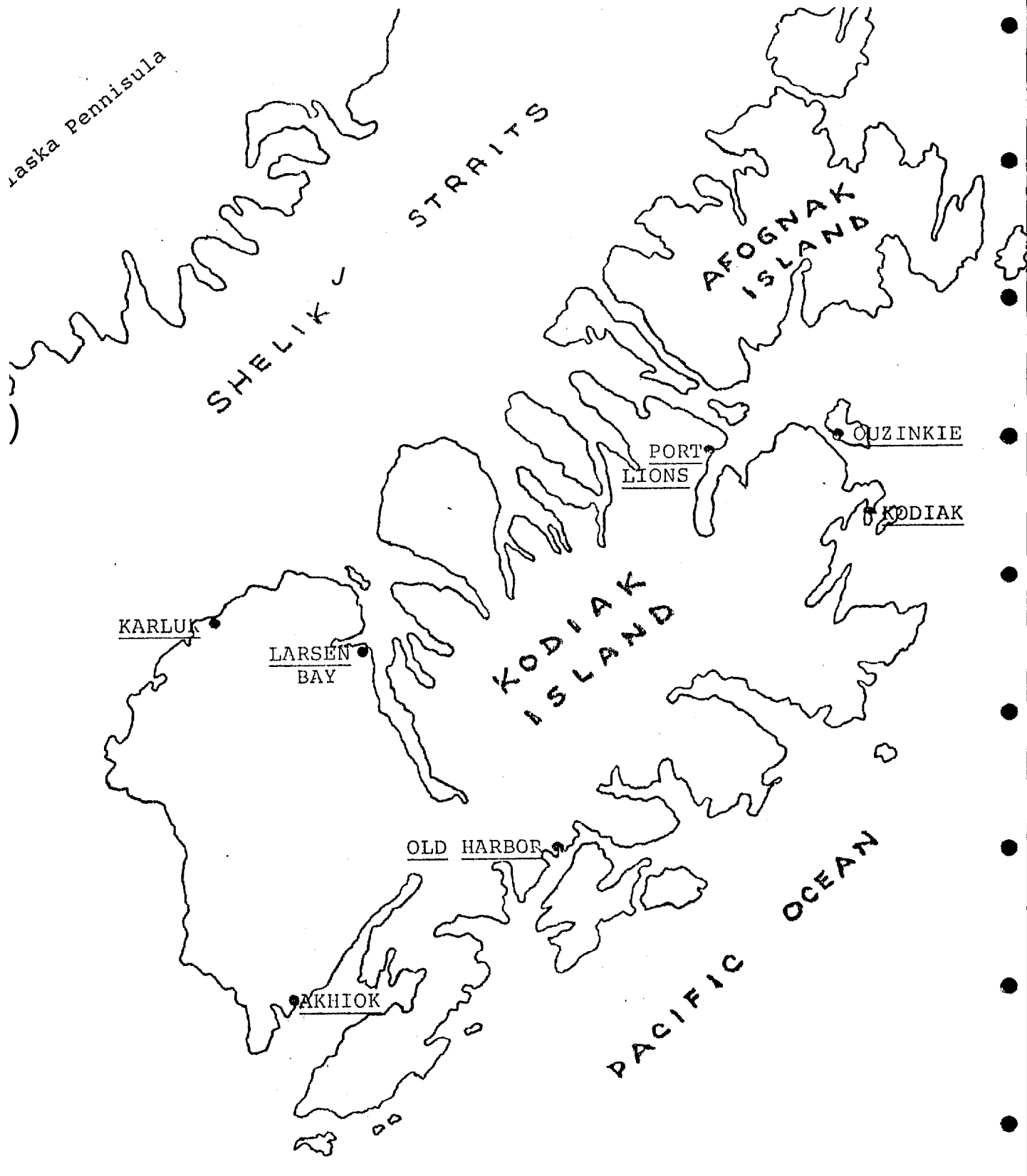
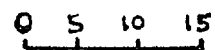


Figure 3

Location of Villages

Source: Kodiak Area Native Association



ment. The discussion does, however, provide a foundation for the projections made later. It is a testimony to how limited our current information is and a beginning which others can comment on and supplement.

The Southern Villages

During the 19th century, many small villages on Kodiak Island were consolidated; in the 20th century, more were abandoned. By the early 1960's, only three villages on the southern coast continued to be occupied: Akhiok, Kaguyak, and Old Harbor. After the 1964 tsunami, Kaguyak was relocated at Akhiok, so that in the 1970's there were only two physical locations. However, the Kaguyakans continue a social identity and so are treated separately in this report.

The southern villages share a greater continuity with traditional lifestyles than do the villages of the north. However each village has its own unique history and resulting differences. These differences were further accentuated by the 1964 earthquake and tsunami. For example, Old Harbor was greatly modified as a result of reconstruction and was given a considerable push towards modernity with the introduction of many new facilities. A slow decrease in population at Kaguyak was accelerated when the village was not rebuilt at its original site. Akhiok, the least affected by the natural disaster and its consequences, continues to be the least modified of the three.

AKHIOK¹

The present residents of Akhiok came from or are descendants of the people of at least four other Koniag villages: Aiyatalik, Ayakulik, Halibut Point, and Kaguyak. Also among the present residents are two Aleut women from the Mainland and the Aleutian Islands who are married to local men.

In 1889 a cannery was built at Alitak by Arctic Packing Company; in 1893 it was bought by the Alaska Packing Company. In 1918 another cannery was built on Alitak Bay by the Alitak Packing Company (Cobb 1930). Today the closest cannery to Akhiok is located at Lazy Bay and owned by Columbia Wards.

In 1897 no Natives fished for the cannery and few worked at processing the fish. There were 25 white fishermen selling to the cannery, 57 Chinese cannery hands, and 7 non-Native cannery workers. Only ten Natives worked at the plant (Moser 1899:157).

Little is known of the effects of the cannery industry on the people of Akhiok, but an Orthodox priest reported severe disruption at Karluk in 1896 and 1898. When the priest, Father Shalamov, visited Akhiok on August 19, 1896 he reported:

"Akhiok is a sober village. The people here have good morals. None of the women drink. All the people, including children, know the prayers."

¹Additional information about Akhiok may be located in The Kodiak Island Comprehensive Plan (1968:154-163), Simpson Usher Jones (1977:97-98); Norton and Haas (1970); and the Overall Economic Development Plan (KANA 1978 and 1979).

In 1898 he returned and reported, again, that the Akhiok Aleuts were "improved now. There are a few men who continue to drink, but the women are all sober."

The present church was built in 1926 and is still standing; it is cared for with great attention. The roof was freshly painted before Easter, 1979. Akhiok was the location of one of the earliest village schools on the island. On April 20, 1910 Executive Order 1194 set aside .64 acres for the school. In 1917 it was the **only** Kodiak **school** mentioned in the Bureau of Education area Superintendent's report.

The 1964 earthquake and tsunami did not damage Akhiok which is located high enough on a bluff to have been spared the destructive waves. However, the community was changed when the people invited the Kaguyak survivors to come to live in Akhiok.

Population

The population of Akhiok has fluctuated over the years, but the same number of residents - **114** - was reported in 1880 as in 1978. The numbers were fairly constant between 1930 and 1960; there was a considerable boost with the addition of the Kaguyakans in **1964**. Since then, some of these people have moved to the City of Kodiak.

In addition to the year-round residents, others move to the village **during** the summer. For example, two Akhiok families with a total of 11 children return to fish out of the village each summer. Seasonal **fluctua-**

tions in population such as this make it hard to determine exactly who physically resides in the village and who considers themselves Akhiokans even though residing elsewhere.

Future trends are hard to discern. Some individuals in the town of Kodiak suggested a decline would persist. According to the Health Plan (KANA 1979: 52), the school enrollment has dropped by about 50% in the last five years; it went from 29 in 1977 to 19 in 1979. A site visit in 1979, however, found 11 young couples with a total of 16 preschool children, five of them less than one year old. The recent decline may come from only a few moves; in the mid-1970's one family went to live in Old Harbor - the family consisted of a man, his wife, and their 13 children.

Traditions

Akhiok may be a center of continuity for Aleut traditions. For example, "uchak," a game of skill with 12 carved sticks continues to be played. The Koniag "Aleut" language is spoken, and Aleut songs are sung. Further there is a clear desire "to keep this village Aleut."

Subsistence

No subsistence data is available for Akhiok. In talking with the mayor and city clerk, it became clear they do not wish to make public the extent of subsistence uses in the area. The kinds of foods used and the range of species may be made public, but the extent of the use is considered private information.

The importance of Native foods and the continuity of their use, discussed in chapter VII, appear central to the village; clams, pickled salmon, sea lion soup, smoked silver salmon, venison steak, fish pie (**pirouke**), dried sea lion meat, and salmon loaf were enjoyed during the site visit. The social relationships associated with the preparation, eating, and sharing of the food were also apparent. For example, a young man provided his mother-in-law with some salted sea lion meat. She cooked it, added potatoes and macaroni, and shared the meal with 9 others; two daughters, the **son-in-law**, three grandchildren, a sister, a single man not related to the family, and a visitor to the village.

Ki nship

Family ties are significant in a small village; to emphasize this, the following example is cited. In **Akhiok** there is one extended family that encompasses five generations. The eldest woman has three daughters. Through one daughter, she has 7 grandchildren, 14 great-grandchildren, and one great-great-grandchild living in the village. Four other grandchildren live elsewhere. Through another daughter, 7 more direct relatives are added to the village population. Through the third daughter, who is not **presently living** in **Akhiok**, one grandchild, his wife, and their 2 children are added. **Altogether**, at least 42 direct descendants of this one woman were living in the village in 1979; this represents not quite half of the total residents.

Employment

The OEDP report (KANA 1978) indicates there were 8 jobs in Akhiok at the time of the survey; 32 individuals were counted as fishermen. According to the Health Plan (KANA 1979:52) there are four teacher aides who work part-time. In May 1979 one teacher aide indicated she had been working for 5 years and was receiving \$6.29 an hour for a five-hour day.

Most of the jobs are seasonal and often expected employment does not materialize. One young man went to the Seward Skill Center for carpentry training in anticipation of working on the construction of the new HUD houses that were built in 1968. Only one Native person was hired, however, and he came from another village. The Akhiok carpenter was hired only for clean-up work. The construction of the airstrip in 1978 did not include any local help.

In May 1979 the unemployed men were anticipating working on the installation of water and sewer systems to and in the new HUD houses. The Public Health Service is supposed to have allocated seven jobs for local workers; one man said he thought "they would pay \$15 an hour." Another young man, when asked if he would be interested in oil-related work, replied, "As a last resort." He was, however, looking forward to being employed by the Public Health Service.

The relationships between the village and the cannery appear to be strained; only a few villagers indicated they would be working there during the summer of 1979. There was the feeling that "we are being deprived" of employment

and that "we do not particularly like to work there anymore." Some of these attitudes apparently are related to the management of the cannery and some to the transient labor that works at most of the cannery-related jobs. According to one local source the largest number of employees are non-Natives from the Seattle area. The next largest are **Ilocanos** (Filipinos from a northern province); then Mexicans, Japanese, Alaskan Natives, and Blacks. Or it may be that the anticipated local jobs are more attractive because the location is more convenient and they pay more.

Fishing

Only three salmon permits are held by local residents of **Akhiok**; two other fishermen - with boats, gear, and permits - live in Kodiak but return to the village to fish during the summers. Two set net sites are owned by local Natives; two others are owned by Native families now living elsewhere. All other set net sites in the area are occupied by non-Natives, including teachers from the Kodiak city area. One man identified 16 non-Natives who now fish these sites.

Crew members for the few available boats are lined up by December. After that time, a villager has a slim chance of getting on a "good boat" and can only hope to fill in should someone have to quit or a captain want to replace a crewman during the season. One of the fishermen explained that he leases his boat with the result that the company retains **18% of** the take. Of the remainder, the captain gets two shares, one for the boat and one for the gear; and the three-man crew receive one share each.

The combination of disenchantment with **cannery work**, the loss of beach set net sites, and the scarcity of permits **for** salmon fishing make **it** difficult for the young men to make a living. The future does not **look** promising if they stay in **Akhiok unless** enough construction jobs provide some access to earned income. Pressures on the resources **of** the area appear not to be diminishing; for example, the non-Native set netters have an organization that is monitoring land claims matters (Payne 1979). The ownership of set net sites and the boundaries of Native-owned land are important issues to these parties.

Political organization

Akhiok has three political organizations: The Akhiok City Council, the Natives of **Akhiok, Inc.**, and the village Tribal Council. Because of the complex nature of these organizations, the extended family networks, and the smallness of the village, there is some overlap of positions. Four individuals on the City Council also serve the Native corporation; and one on the Tribal Council also serves on the **village** corporation. Altogether, there are 11 positions held by first cousins to one another. Leadership tends to be allocated to the young men, but a different elder serves on each of the three organizations.

The lack of coordination of programs seems highlighted in **Akhiok**. For **example**, the 15 new houses were built in 1978, but the water, sewer, and electric installations were scheduled for the following summer. A new sanitary land fill was built, but the village had no vehicle to get the garbage to it. A large 50,000 gallon fuel tank was installed, but was never

filled. In the spring of 1979 the oil supply was extremely low; in order to heat some houses, oil had to be siphoned from the tanks of other houses. The shortage lasted until the weather cleared and oil could be brought from the cannery store. In May 1979, a 55 kilowatt generator was available but was not yet connected to any houses. Private generators provided electricity to some houses. The community is considering the possibility of using wind power which should be less expensive than diesel fuel for the generator.

Enrollment under ANCSA

In the early 1970's the residents of **Akhiok** were enrolled to four different village corporations: **Akhiok**, **Aiatalik**, **Ayakulik**, and **Kaguyak**. Since that time, the enrollees to **Aiatalik** have moved to Old Harbor. The present residents include 35 persons enrolled to **Akhiok**, 38% of a total of 93 enrollees to this corporation. In 1978, 29 (31%) of the **Akhiok** enrollees lived in the Kodiak city area, including the families who return for summer fishing. In addition there are 18 **Ayakulik** enrollees in **Akhiok**. Since the **Ayakulik** status remains unsettled, the role of this corporation in **Akhiok's** future cannot be determined.

The effects of the land claims settlement are unknown. The president of **Akhiok's** village corporation lives elsewhere and there seemed to be little information in the village about the state of village corporation affairs. Regional corporation visibility is not high; one person commented, "Sometimes I wonder if **Koniag** exists." A young man observed simply: "I can't do anything about the village corporation here. I'm enrolled to **Ayakulik**."

An older man noted:

"Don't even get any money from the Land Claims. We don't know what happened to the money of Akhiok. They used it up, I guess."

The Future

For the 1979 OEDP report, Akhiok identified the following priorities:

1. Roads
2. Breakwater and moorings
3. Boat harbor and dock
4. Processing plant

In addition, the following were identified as needed improvements:

- Education (new school building)
- Fire protection
- Fuel truck
- Recreational facilities
- Post office
- Day care center

Finally, concurrent community improvements needed include

- Back-up generator
- Airstrip improvements

(KANA OEDP 1979)

One older man, commenting about the changes he has observed during his lifetime in Akhiok stated:

"From the beginning, this village was in very good condition. Since this modern age, they simply figured 'if I make it or don't make it, it doesn't matter. Just hit up public assistance.' In those (olden) days there was no public assistance."

Another older man added:

"I guess Akhiok is just wearing out."

However, the young leaders are quite optimistic, though cautious, about prospects for gradual change. For example, in a discussion in April, 1979, the mayor of Akhiok indicated the village could consider OCS development "with safety," but that they feel very strongly about their social structure.

"Other villages want to grow; we do not. . . We just want to grow slowly. They (the other villages which let anyone move in) will lose, in the future, their identity. Akhiok is the only community on the island that is full Aleut. We are against others coming and moving in."

Recently two bear hunters had visited Akhiok and wanted to stay, but they were advised they could not. The difficulty of "keeping the village Aleut" while recognizing that the "corporation" needs development was reflected in our discussion. But the residents of Akhiok include more than just enrollees in the village corporation and it will be the village as a whole that could be impacted by OCS development.

Perhaps the following quote by one young girl, aged 13, captures best the ambivalence concerning change. She wrote for a 1978 school publication:

"The kids in my class wonder if Akhiok will change because of all the new things that are coming. We like new things, but we like the village the old way, too."

(Connie Inga)

KAGUYAK²

Kaguyak was destroyed in the tsunami following the earthquake of 1964. The original **Kaguyakans** and their descendants now live in Akhiok, Old Harbor, and the town of Kodiak.

The original village of Kaguyak was located on a low, narrow spit of land between Kaguyak Bay and a fresh water lake. In the 19th century it boasted several stores and many people. However, **after** whaling declined the village dwindled in size and by **1964** it numbered only thirty-six persons. No school had been built and some families were moving away during the school year to either Akhiok or Old Harbor. Of the thirty-six remaining residents, eighteen were children, sixteen under six years of age. All but one were the grandchildren of the local Russian Orthodox lay reader.

After the 1964 **earthquake**, **when** the fourth tsunami arrived after dark, six village men were caught on the low land where they were attempting to secure small skiffs for possible later evacuation. Four men reached shore safely. Two drowned. The village was destroyed.

The following day survivors were evacuated first to Kodiak then to **Anchor-**age where they stayed five weeks before being **relocated** at Akhiok. A power and a water and sewer system were installed for the combined community. At Akhiok, the Kaguyakans received seven new houses and access to new services including power, water and sewer system, a **school**, post office, cannery,

²Additional information may be found in Porter (1890:78); Norton and Haas (1970); and Davis (1970, 1971).

store, and regular mail service. However, the combining of two villages led to some difficulties including duplicating roles and authority, and some people left.

Between 1964 and 1979 additional tragedies have befallen the Kaguyakans: accidents, drownings, fires, and painful separation from relatives. As one example, the elderly lay reader and one of his youngest grandchildren died in a fire in Akhiok in April of 1978.

Following the Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement Act of 1971 the Kaguyakans enrolled to their original village. Their eligibility was challenged but in the final decision Kaguyak was found eligible for benefits. Efforts to reestablish the village have occasionally been made, and former residents continue to feel strong nostalgia for their old home village. However, since the residents are now dispersed, it appears unlikely, at this time, that the village will be rebuilt. A merger of the village corporation with that of Akhiok is planned and near completion.

OLD HARBOR³

The Koniag village that has experienced the greatest increase in population in the mid-20th century is Old Harbor, now incorporated as a thriving second

³Baseline ethnographic data are available for Old Harbor in an ethnographic sketch published by Befu (1970:29-42). Davis (1971) describes the village before, during, and after the earthquake in 1964 and one year later. A BIA report (1967) and another visit by Davis (1976) are available. Data are also included in the Borough Comprehensive Plan (1968:142-154), the OEDP KANA reports (1978:44-59) and the Comprehensive Health Plan (KANA 1979).

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class city. The community is located on a very narrow strip of land just above sea level at the base of a mountain near Three Saints Bay, the site of the first Russian settlement in North America. Like Kaguyak, Old Harbor was destroyed by the massive tsunami in 1964, but after six weeks in Anchorage, the villagers were returned to resettle at the former sea-level site, where new housing was built in six suburban-like rows.

Historical Background

An early description of Old Harbor is found in the 1890 Census (Porter 1890:76). Named **Staruigavan** by the Russians and **Nunamiut** by the Koniag, the village had about 100 people at the time. It was "once an important station of the Russian Fur Company" where the Russians "obtained large quantities of dried fish for their native hunting parties as well as beef for their other employees from herds of cattle which found abundant pasture throughout the year" (Porter 1890:77).

The houses at Old Harbor at that time were mostly sod huts, but there were some log houses, indicating to Porter "exceptional prosperity." The houses extended in a single line along the shore, with a good gravel path between them and the beach, a characteristic consistent with the arrangement of the village up to 1964.

"The natives indicate several points in the neighborhood as the scenes of battles between their forefathers and the early Russian visitors."

"The Old Harbor natives consider the whole bay and the surrounding shore as their own hunting grounds" (Porter 1890:77).

Some of the present residents of Old Harbor are descendants of people from the now abandoned village of Eagle Harbor. Named Orlova by the Russians, there were only 60 to 70 people living there at the time of the 1890 Census. Porter (1890:76) noted that a new chapel had been built of hewn logs to take the place of an earlier structure dating from the beginning of the 19th century. Near Eagle Harbor a salting station was operated by the Kodiak Packing Company; it offered employment to some of the Eagle Harbor people. However, apparently most of the men at that time were taken to sea-otter hunting grounds by the traders during the summer months. The combination of incomes from the otter hunting in the summer and trapping in the winter led Porter to report "these people may be considered as fairly prosperous" (1890:76). A trail connected Eagle Harbor with the town of Kodiak.

In the Killuda Bay area, a small village of little over 20 people sometimes invited neighbors to the north and south to share the whales which were hunted and beached there. Porter refers to the "incredible celerity" of those occasions (1890:77). The richness of the resources was noted a number of times by Porter.

On Sitkalidak Island, a whaling station at Port Hoborn produced oil, fertilizer, and other products (Capps 1937). In 1931, the anthropologist Hrdlicka was impressed by the dreadful stench associated with the plant (1944:120). After it was abandoned, the station served as a source of building materials for the people of Old Harbor.

Several of the early white settlers in the Old Harbor area staked gold lode claims about 1 mile north of nearby Barling Bay in 1933 and 1934.

The quartz veins were called the Brown Bear, Old Harbor and Silver Queen lodes (Capps 1937:181).

After whaling declined in the 1920's, people converged at Old Harbor from a number of the small surrounding communities. In the 1920's a school was established and in 1930, by Executive Order 5289, 7.66 acres were set aside for the school. A post office was added in 1930, and a store in 1936. From 1926 until 1964 the economic base was the Kadiak Fisheries Company at Shearwater, twenty-two miles away. Old Harbor grew from 84 residents in 1929, to 290 in 1970, and to 330 in 1978. Old Harbor is a highly heterogeneous community. Residents originally came from 20 different Alaskan communities. However, it is a Native heterogeneity; few non-Natives live in the village.

Development since 1964

In addition to the 44 houses built in 1964 and the water, sewer, and electrical systems installed in 1965, Old Harbor has had the following developments: a theater and pool hall (1966); City dock (1967, extended in 1979); two general stores (1967); air strip (1968); post office building (1964); fuel delivery service (1968); community hall (1972); 45 additional HUD-sponsored houses (1978); and extension of the electrical distribution, water and sewer systems to the new housing area (1978-79). Connecting the old village with the new housing development is a 2-mile road and bridge. Old Harbor has a phone, an office building, a health clinic, and a library. In 1977 the school had 97 students and 6 teachers. In 1978 a high school and gym were added. Overall, Old Harbor has more facilities than the other villages, with the exception of Port Lions.

Employment

Non-fishing employment in the village numbered 16 jobs in 1978. When the fish processor was operating, about 19 persons were employed for 7 months a year. However, the processing ship, the Sonya, owned by the Marine View Fisheries, burned in 1975. It had been installed in Old Harbor in 1966; nothing had taken its place as of 1979.

Old Harbor has a number of successful fishermen who hold limited entry permits and who have expanded boats and gear to include crab fishing. Those with permits seem to accumulate more wealth; those without do not have a chance to make the money to invest in either new boats or gear. The economic distance between families may be widening.

The Old Harbor Village Corporation invested \$200,000 in the Larsen Bay Cannery which was purchased by the Natives in 1974. The Corporation invested more in 1978. However, in 1977 only four of the local fishermen went to the other side of the island to fish for the Native-owned cannery. This may be one reason the corporation is looking into investing in a local, privately-owned processing plant to provide more direct income to the village.

As one result of the many construction projects during the last ten years, additional income has been generally available. The jobs are often allocated on a circulating basis so all interested in working have an opportunity to benefit from the available wages.

Cost of Living

Old Harbor is an expensive place to live (see table 5). In contrast to the 20 cents a gallon for fuel oil reported in 1967, heating oil cost 65 cents a gallon in 1978. The combined energy costs per year for a family total approximately \$2,955, according to the KANA 1978 report. Other villages more recently receiving modern services note with concern the known costs of living in Old Harbor and also the risks that seem to accompany roads and "three-wheelers."

Enrollment under ANCSA

A larger percentage of Old Harbor enrollees live in the village than is generally the case with the other villages. Of the enrollment of 334, 220 or 66% had addresses in the village in 1978. The rest live in Kodiak (41), other Alaskan communities, and other states.

Development priorities

In 1979, the highest priority for development was to initiate plans for a private plant for the processing of a variety of fish including salmon, halibut, herring and **bottomfish**. The hydroelectric potential and the extension of the city dock were noted as important requisites for this development. Also being considered for the future are agricultural developments on **Sitkalidak** Island; the relocation of some housing, if the airstrip is moved away from the center of the village; and the need for a fire truck and equipment, a jail, and school bus (KANA OEDP 1979).

TABLE 5
COST OF LIVING COMPARISONS: 1977

	Anchorage	Kodi ak	Ol d Harbor
Bread	.85	.83	1.10
Milk (1 gal.)	2.65	2.10	2.50
Flour (5 lb.)	1.15	1.25'	1.75
Coffee (3 lb.)	11.29	10.49	11.50
Hamburger (1 lb.)	1.39	1.49	1.50
Eggs (1 doz.)	.87	.89	1.05
Canned vegetables (No. 3)	.75	1.05	.75
Sugar	1.49	1.48	1.85
TOTAL	20.44	19.58	22.00
BASE	100%	96%	107.10%

Source: **KANA CETA** Title VI - Public Service Employment Proposal, July 1977.

Reprinted: Five Year Health Plan, **1979**. OEDP **1978:51**.

Priorities in both the 1978 and 1979 OEDP reports included interest in OCS developments. This interest is reflected in the following quote from the most recent report:

"If gas and oil is extracted from the Outer Continental Shelf in the Western Gulf of Alaska area, Old Harbor would like to be considered for on-shore facilities location. Old Harbor would lease land to the oil companies and provide facilities. The companies would construct the facilities. Up to 40 or 50 jobs would be created with this development also. The oil companies have training programs for local people which could be made available to them. This project would create jobs and skills and help expand the community facilities." (KANA OEDP 1979).

In November 1978, during a village visit, a discussion was held with the Mayor about OCS development and Old Harbor's interest in these activities. (See pages 164-169 of this report for excerpts.)

The Future

Old Harbor's stance seems to be a progressive one of soliciting and adopting as much of the modern world as possible. And the residents appear quite successful in their dealings with the world beyond the villages. Old Harbor seems consistently to get what it applies for, making some of the other villages somewhat envious, and perhaps puzzled. As someone commented: "Some villages get what they ask for." Somehow Old Harbor seems to get programs and services, while others feel left out.

It is suggested here that a range of skills was developed following the earthquake while dealing with external agencies; these experiences assisted

the leaders of Old Harbor in learning both how to apply for and how to follow up on government-funded projects. Other villages did not have an intense period of contact, and consequently have more slowly learned "the ropes" of applying for and receiving new facilities and programs.

The Northern Villages

The two villages in the northern part of Kodiak area are Ouzinkie and Port Lions. Historically, the two shared a more extensive Russian influence than the other villages, and they are located closer to services and facilities available in Kodiak city. Considerable intermarriage has occurred in the past both between the two communities and with non-Natives; as one result, the mix of population appears greater than is evidenced in the other areas.

OUZINKIE⁴

Ouzinkie is located 16 miles north of the City of Kodiak on Spruce Island.

One early description of this village noted:

"Near the entrance to this strait in a sheltered cove we find another settlement of **creoles**, generally known as Uzinkee. The dwellings are **well-built** log houses, surrounded by stables, saw-pits, garden patches, and other evidences of industrious habits. Here also a small chapel has been erected by the people on an eminence overlooking the village" (Porter **1893:74**).

⁴Additional information about Ouzinkie may be found in Porter (**1893:74**); Kozely (1963); Kodiak Island Borough Comprehensive Plan (1968:132-142); Norton and Haas (**1970:377-381**); Simpson Usher Jones (**1977:104-105**); and the Overall Economic Development Plan (KANA **1978:62-74** and 1979).

Hunting sea otters and whaling were also mentioned. Of special interest is reference to "cutting cordwood" and "sawing out boards by hand" (Porter 1890:74) suggesting a traditional, or perhaps a creole, interest in carpentry. These activities were also noted at Afognak and they are congruent with current interest in forestry by these northern villages.

A Baptist mission was established in Ouzinkie in 1896; it closed in the 1970's but the missionaries continue to live there and provide a number of services to the residents, such as running the generator, delivering goods, and health care. A school opened in 1933. In 1935 Grimes built Grimes Packing Co., which provided local employment until it was destroyed in 1964.

Population

The population of Ouzinkie peaked at 253 in 1939. The population in both 1963 and 1979 was 200. Information about the village is available from the report of a BIA economist who visited in 1963 (Kozely 1963).

There may have been a period when quite a number of people from Afognak moved to Ouzinkie. Ten of the residents on the 1963, Census had been born in Afognak, 4 of them before 1900. Four Afognak men had married Ouzinkie women, a suggestion of **matrilocal** residence. However, by far most of the marriages were between persons born in Ouzinkie (13 families; 79 total persons). One Afognak woman had married an Ouzinkie man (1920); and a woman born in Chignik married an Ouzinkie man (1926). Another village was represented by a Ninilchik man (married to an Ouzinkie woman) (Kozely 1963:2-6).

The names of villagers recorded in the census taken by **Kozely** reflect the diversity of origins of the residents. For example, traditional **Koniag** names, such as **Alinak**, are rare. Much more common are the Russian surnames such as **Panamarioff**, **Katelnikoff**, **Chernikoff**, **Squartzoff**, **Pestrikoff**, **Chichenoff**, and **Boskofsky**. The later Scandinavian influence is reflected in other names: **Torsen**, **Anderson**, **Peterson**, **Nelson**, **Haakanson**.

Employment

Until 1964 **Ouzinkie** had a cannery and a store in the center of the village, but the tsunami following the earthquake destroyed the cannery, store, and two homes. Following the earthquake the store was rebuilt, although it later closed.

Some cannery buildings noted by **Kozely** in 1963 had been built in 1915 and 1921, with the main one built in 1935 by **Grimes**. There were 49 fishermen and 19 boats at that time. In 1978, there were 55 fishermen and fewer boats, although an exact count was not made.

In 1968 a new plant, the **Ouzinkie Seafoods** was constructed for processing king crab; it employed 35 to 40 persons. Per capita income at that time was reported to be about \$645. However the cannery burned in 1975 and has not been replaced. As one result, the villagers may be becoming increasingly dependent on construction jobs that come to the village. For example, on a **BIA** road construction project, **13 young** men were receiving on-the-job training and being paid good wages. Perhaps if similar projects occur in **Ouzinkie**, these people can continue to be employed in non-fishing jobs.

However, as the jobs are completed, there is some uncertainty as to what might be funded next.

In 1978, in addition to the 86% of the reported work force involved in fishing (55 persons), there were a total of 9 jobs available in the village: 3 school-related (2 teacher aides and a janitor); 3 office-related; 2 health aides; and a postmistress. Four or five men were reported working as longshoremen with KONCOR, a logging venture of the Ouzinkie Village Corporation, Woody Island (Lesnoi, Inc.) and the Natives of Kodiak, Inc.

Fishing

When the Mayor was asked about fishing, he commented that fewer people were fishing, including his own sons. Then he added:

"It's not as exciting as it used to be; there was competition. If they grew up with it, they would go out on their own and get their own gear, but that law that passed (limited entry) has stopped that. . . If a man has three sons, maybe one gets a permit and one got the boat and the other didn't get anything. It doesn't work."

His 21-year-old son came in from working as an apprentice operator of heavy road building equipment. His father suggested he be asked why he doesn't like to fish:

"I just don't like to go fishing. I like construction. I don't like the grind, the weird hours, and the hassle (of-fishing). I would rather work steady and earn more money."

He was earning \$18.90 an hour on the road system being built in Ouzinkie.

When asked if he would work with OCS, he replied without hesitation:

"It depends on the pay."

Political Organization

Formal political developments were long in coming to **Ouzinkie**; autonomy of households seems to have been the preferred pattern for many years. For example, in 1947 there was an unfruitful attempt to create a village council (**Kozely 1963:10**). Then in 1950 a public meeting was held in the hopes the villagers would organize and apply for a charter, thus becoming eligible for a government loan to buy the Grimes Packing Co. property, which was thought to be for sale. The first council was elected then, but by 1963 it had become inactive; apparently it had not organized by charter. On September 11, 1963, perhaps under the encouragement of **Kozely**, another attempt was made to form a council and elections were held. Still, no formal charter was agreed upon. Throughout this period the only organization was the traditional Church committee.

In 1968, **Ouzinkie** organized into a fourth class city; in 1972, the status was changed to second class city. By 1978, the village had three formal organizations: the City Council, the Tribal Council, and the Village Corporation.

One characteristic experienced while visiting with the people of Ouzinkie living both in Kodiak and in **Ouzinkie** was their willingness to talk about the internal problems confronting the community. It was far more difficult, however, to elicit comment about conflict between the village and the outside world.

Enrollment under ANCSA

The village population itself has remained fairly stable over the past 20 years at about 200 individuals, but many more people than that chose to enroll to Ouzinkie under the ANCSA provisions. Ten per cent of the total Kon-igag enrollment - 334 persons - are shareholders in this village's corporation. Of these, 138 (41%) had addresses in the village in 1978 and 75 (22%) lived in Kodiak. The remainder were located in other Alaskan villages and outside.

Considerable concern was expressed about the delay in land conveyance. The people in the new houses could not receive title to their land until after conveyance and the houses were paid for. The surrounding village land was still pending conveyance as well. Two related concerns seem to be the fact individuals would not receive land and that there are squatters at Eskimo Point. These people could not be removed until the land was conveyed to the Native corporation and some villagers feared by then it would be too late to remove the colony growing so near the village.

The Future

Ouzinkie in the spring of 1979 was alive with activity. Almost as if a dam had burst, many long awaited projects were either underway, or about to get started. For example, 18 HUD houses had been installed and 5 more were awaiting completion of the road. The extensive road system that was criss-crossing the village and surrounding forest was far more complex and wider-ranging than envisioned in the 1960's when the request was initially made. Associated with the construction of the road was dust as had never

been experienced before. As one person noted when the road equipment came and the project began:

"The boardwalks were flying and the mud was knee deep!"

And accompanying the dust and debris was a frequently expressed fear of accidents. There was a general concern about the introduction of cars to the village.

Although there was this expressed concern, and even some regret that the request for roads had ever been made, there was also an acceptance of the unwanted consequences. "Life is change" commented one person. "Anyway it will be easier to get the groceries home," commented another, who had moved into one of the new homes far from the beach where groceries were unloaded from small float planes.

In the immediate future there will be more activity. In addition to the houses and roads, water and sewer systems and community-wide electrification were all scheduled for 1978-79. Next anticipated is the building of an airstrip, clinic, high school and the installation of telephones. In addition, the people of Ouzinkie can expect a constant parade of miscellaneous agency personnel checking on all these various projects. The impact of all these facilities, their construction, the associated wages, and needed maintenance will most likely permanently change the community.

But even though Ouzinkie appeared in 1979 to be a very busy village in transition to a modern town, there still exist many aspects of Koniag culture. For example, the villagers have a long tradition of affiliation with the Orthodox church, a number of large, strong, families, and a pre-

ference for village life.

Contemporary topics discussed during the short site visit included **bottomfish**. No one indicated particular interest in developing this resource at that time. In fact, one person commented that **bottomfishing** would bring in more Filipinos, and another added that dragging **the bottom** "would kill everything down there." No specific plans for acquiring the larger boats, equipment, or processing facilities was mentioned.

Interest in future development appeared to fluctuate between timber and seafood processing other than **bottomfish**. Forestry seemed to be occupying an increasing role in future planning. The **lack of** planning for and availability of funds for maintenance of the new water, sewer, and electric systems could pose problems for **Ouzinkie** as it has for other villages around the island. The **common** problems being encountered elsewhere include the necessity of individual households to absorb the increased costs of the services.

PORT LIONS⁵

The village of Port Lions was created following the 1964 earthquake and tsunami. The former village of Afognak was located on the southeast tip of Afognak Island, about **20 miles** northwest of the City of Kodiak. It had a population,

⁵**Additional** information about Port Lions-Afognak may be found in Petroff (1884: 25); Porter (1893: 74); Norton and Haas (1970:381 -391); Kodiak Island Borough Comprehensive Plan (1968:124-132); Pt. Lions Comprehensive Plan (Galliett & Silides 1975); Simpson Usher Jones (1977:106-108); An Alaskan Community Profile (Alaska Division of Economic Enterprise 1978); and the OEDP reports (KANA 1978:75-85 and 1979).

in 1964, of about 180 people, spread along Afognak Bay in three areas: South Afognak, Afognak proper, and **Aleut** Village. There were 45 major structures, including an Orthodox church, Protestant mission, store, school, community hall and a non-operating sawmill. Afognak was exclusively a fishing village; a Wakefield Fisheries cannery was located on Raspberry Strait at Port Wakefield, about **10 miles** to the northwest.

The tsunami following the earthquake of 1964 flooded **Afognak** village, contaminated the wells, and destroyed or damaged about half the buildings. The International Lions Club "adopted" the village and assisted in relocating the community at a new site at Settler Cove on Kizhuyak Bay, about **10 miles** due south on Kodiak Island. The villagers voted to call it Port Lions. Construction of the new village lasted into 1966. Funds from the Lions ran out after seven houses were built and the BIA built thirty-eight additional homes at the new site. The villagers moved in December, 1964, but six months later many persons were already nostalgic for Old Afognak.

Port Lions continued to grow in the years following its establishment.

The **Wakefield** Company constructed a modern cannery there; it burned in 1975. The following is the description of the village in the state's community profile series:

"Two churches, general store, post office, city hall with offices, library, sanitary landfill, city dock and float, city warehouse, airport, fuel storage and delivery by Port Lions Oil Co., Municipal water and sewer, and refuse collection. Kodiak Electric Association power plant, Construction of a 52 acre **small** boat harbor by the U.S. **Army** Corps of Engineers is projected within five years."

--An Alaskan Community Profile (1978)

In addition Port Lions has a ferry stop, **telephone system**, road maintenance, a doctor, well equipped clinic, restaurant, lodge, a high school, **4 miles** of road, street lights and many vehicles.

Population

In 1978, the 250 residents of Port Lions were primarily **from** the village of **Afognak**. Most of the non-Native residents, about **20%** of the total, have moved to the community within the last ten years. The population of Port Lions is growing, and the council's comprehensive plan includes a growth potential of 400 to 600 persons. An additional 35 houses were expected in 1979.

Employment

Important to the economy of the town are 15 privately owned boats, many of which are equipped for crab fishing and are **active up to 8** months a year. However, despite the local jobs that are available, the unemployment rate has been high since the processing plant burned in 1975. Therefore, Port Lions is "actively **seek'ng** re-development of the seafood processing industry" (Alaska Community Profile 1978:2).

Enrollment under ANCSA

A total of **114** persons enrolled to the Port Lions village corporation.

Many of the original residents of **Afognak**, although living in Port Lions or Kodiak City, chose to enroll to the original village. In May 1974, court hearings were held concerning the eligibility of **Afognak** as a village under **ANCSA**. The court held in favor of the village; thus many of the residents of Port Lions were enrolled to Afognak. However, in 1978 a merger of the two village corporations of Port Lions and **Afognak** completed; the combined enrollment of the two is 512 individuals.

Political Organization

Politically, the town has a reputation elsewhere for being dominated by non-Native residents. However Native persons are involved on the City Council, the library board, school, health clinic, and in community events. In contrast to Old Harbor, however, the local businesses are operated by non-Natives.

In general, Port Lions' Natives appeared during the short site visit to be less involved with either **Koniag**, the merged village corporation, or KANA. As expressed by one non-Native resident:

"We are a self-contained community. We are getting along by ourselves."

There may be tension between the Natives and non-Natives especially concerning Native organizations. Most of the Native corporation affairs appear to be managed in Kodiak.

The Future

Although this community appears quite capable of handling the type of industrial

activities associated with OCS development, the priorities expressed are clearly for fishing and forestry. The persons talked to in May 1979 (an admittedly small number) were far more vociferous against OCS development than were the residents of any of the other villages visited. The desire for re-establishing a cannery and obtaining a small boat harbor, cited earlier, reflect the emphasis on fishing.

The Western Villages

Karluk and Larsen Bay are located on the far west side of the island. They share a similar economic history with the fishing industry, but are quite different communities in other respects. Presumably they would be more directly affected should OCS development occur in the Shelikof Strait area, but they also share a future with the City of Kodiak and the other villages. They are included here as part of the Regional Koniag Native population, though no field visit to these villages was possible during this research period. (Note also that the Shelikof Lease Sale area is not included in the task statements for this contract work.)

LARSEN BAY⁶

As early as 1890, the value of the sheltered cove then called Larsen Harbor was reported by Porter (1890:79). At that time there was a village named Uyak not far from an Arctic Packing Company facility nearby. The present village of Larsen Bay is at the location of a cannery built in 1911 by the

⁶Additional but limited information may be found in Porter (1893:79); Kodiak Island Borough Comprehensive Plan (1968:163-174); Simpson Usher Jones (1977: 100-107); and the Overall Economic Development Plan (KANA 1978:33-43 and 1979).

Alaska Packers Association. The equipment was moved there from Karluk to avoid the storms which frequent the Karluk area (U. S. Congress, Committee on Insular and Interior Affairs 1952:144). In 1975 this cannery and 25 boats were purchased for \$1.9 million from the Alaska Packers with funds from the village corporations of Karluk, Old Harbor, and Larsen Bay. In 1978, the venture received additional funding when it was joined by the Koniag Regional Corporation, and Woody Island and Old Harbor village corporations.

Erosion has been a problem in Larsen Bay since the 1964 earthquake which caused subsidence of 2 to 2-1/2 feet. Recent efforts have been made to curb the damage to the area.

Between 1961 and 1979, Larsen Bay has experienced an impressive increase in population. In 1961, only 82 people lived there. By 1978, KANA reported a total of 118 persons living in this relatively new village (OEDP 1978). The updated 1979 report indicates 143 residents, an increase of 61 individuals. A family of 6 was planning to move there from Karluk in 1979, pending the location of a house in which to live.

Larsen Bay has experienced a spurt of activity on many fronts. In addition to having the only Native-owned cannery on the island, it is the only location that has operating processing plants in the village. The community has television, roads, and 15 new HUD-funded houses. A high school and gym are planned for completion in 1980. From the available reports, this village appears to be thriving.

KARLUK⁷

Nearby, in the next inlet and connected by a trail to Larsen Bay, is the village of **Karluk**, once referred to as "the most important fishing station in Alaska, and perhaps on the whole Pacific" (Porter 1890:79). In 1890 the population was over 1,100, though only 180 were Native. It was at that time a fairly prosperous village. They had a government school house and teacher's residence, along with **Akhiok's** one of the earliest on the island. After a serious decline in the salmon industry the school apparently was closed, for a later report indicates one was established in 1924 (BIA 1952:1448). No commercial canning has been done at **Karluk** since 1911, when the one remaining cannery moved its equipment to the more favorable location of Larsen Bay on Uyak Bay.

Under the Russians, **Karluk** became an important fur trading center. Salmon was salted commercially as early as 1867 and by 1870 two companies were actively salting salmon. In the late 1880's came an explosion of canning activities. By 1897, three canneries operated out of **Karluk**. The Alaska Packers Association bought them all in the hopes that conflicts between competing companies could be resolved. However, that same year, two new canneries opened at nearby Uyak and litigation over this development went to the San Francisco courts (Moser 1899:144, 148).

⁷ Additional information is available in Petroff (1884:99); Moser (1899: 148-157); U.S. Congress (1952); Kodiak Island Borough Comprehensive Plan (1968:174-184); Simpson Usher Jones (1977:99); and the Overall Economic Development Plan (KANA 1978:23-30 and 1979).

Something may have happened concerning Native involvement in the industry in the years 1896 and 1897. In 1896, 18 Native fishermen and 16 Native cannery hands were reported at **Karluk**; but in 1897, no Native fishermen or cannery hands were reported. The number of Chinese laborers increased in the same period (Moser 1899:161).

The hypothesis that something happened is supported by the comments of the Orthodox Priest **Shalamov**. He regularly visited the villages from his base in Kodiak. In 1896, when he landed at **Karluk**, the Natives did not come to meet him, which was unusual and bothered **Shalamov**. He expressed indignation concerning what he observed happening in **Karluk**:

“Millions of cans are packed by the fish cannery annually. Millions of dollars are extracted by this cannery from **Karluk** River. However, the **Aleuts** are poorer here than in other places. Only they, the lawful owners of the river and its wealth of fish, are deprived by the predatory and greedy **explorer-cannery** owners and by more than three hundred homeless vagabond cannery hands imported by the Company” (**Shalamov** 1898).

Shalamov also commented on the amount of drinking that was occurring in the village. He noted that the Natives were not brewing alcoholic beverages themselves but that “they buy from the Chinese the so-called vodka ‘**shamsha**’ which they import from San Francisco.”

In 1898, Father **Shalamov**, with Andrew **Kashevarov** and an interpreter, **Alexandrov**, again visited **Karluk** and other villages. He reported conditions were even worse: “now it has only about a hundred people.” In tones that only a shocked, religious observer of the late 19th century could use, **Shalamov** wrote:

"Nowhere is the mortality of Aleuts so high as here. Drunkenness, lewdness, poverty, filth, fishermen, Chinamen--all these lead to the degeneration, sickness, pulmonary troubles, syphilis, scrofula, tuberculosis, epidemics, etc. The violences of the fishermen attained such proportions that last spring one of them murdered an Aleutian girl without cause, another stole a wife from an Aleut, and a third intoxicated and ravished

"Each summer about three hundred homeless vagabonds of various nationalities come to the Karluk canneries. The majority of these people are corrupt, have no conscience or honor, have gone through thick and thin, sometimes have a criminal, and always a dark, past. They have neither kith nor kin.

"The cannery, depriving the Aleuts of everything, of their souls and bodies, does not give anything in return except whiskey, lewdness and syphilis. If there were no canneries, the Karluk Aleuts would be rich: here is a tremendous wealth of fish and furbearing animals. Now everything is being depleted and destroyed. The Companies exploit the Aleuts! Their wealth is rapaciously seized. Nobody cares about the Aleuts " (Shal amov 1898).

At the height of salmon exploitation of the area, the impact on the Native population must have been tremendous. More research into experiences such as these needs to be done to try to reconstruct the effects of past industrial developments on the Native peoples.

At the time of Moser's report (1899) the canning companies were competing for the fish in the streams where Natives traditionally fished.

"A rival cannery tells the native that he must sell his catch to it, and that otherwise their men will fish the native's stream. The result is overfishing, complaints, bad feelings, blows, and threats of bloodshed (Moser 1899:23).

Despite this disruptive period, the Karluk Natives persisted in their vil

lage and kept their Orthodox traditions alive. The **community** never regained its former numbers, and seems now to be losing population as families move to Larsen Bay, to Kodiak and elsewhere.

Taylor (1966) reported that many ancestors of the residents living in **Karluk** in 1962 were originally from other places. For example, 22% of the great grandparents of the **Karluk** villagers in the 1960's had come from **Afognak**. Thus, we might suggest a moving of people from **Afognak** to **Karluk** to Larsen Bay over the last century.

Marriage patterns and church relationships are also included in Taylor's study. Apparently more women than men left the village, leaving an unusual sex ratio of **155:100**. One explanation given for this emigration was that there were no employment opportunities for **Karluk** women, which resulted in their marrying out of the village (Taylor **1966:219**).

Following a 1978 **Karluk** storm, the village was declared a disaster **area**, and considerable confusion followed as a number of agencies became involved. Later that year 22 HUD houses were built but they were placed in a new area far from the church. Traditional factions (which may keep the village lively) may have been further enhanced by the new physical separation of village segments (personal communication from a resident).

With respect to enrollment under the provisions of ANCSA, a total of **186** persons enrolled to **Karluk**. In 1978, 87 of these had addresses in the village; 40 had Kodiak addresses, 24 were living in other Alaskan communities; and 25 in other states. This dispersed enrollment suggests

the strong identity persons feel toward their village of origin. Karluk, though now a very small village, has 6% of the total Kodiak enrollment.

The City of Kodiak

Kodiak is an important regional town with ties to the villages elsewhere on the island. Numerous subgroups exist in the town based on social factors, kinship relationships, and special interests; the analysis by Payne (1979) discusses the nature of many of these groups.

The Alaska State Housing Comprehensive Plan came to a conclusion that, "It is difficult to define a true neighborhood in Kodiak" (1962:85). This may still be the case - especially if one uses the definitions of a neighborhood that fit western urban and rural towns - but there do exist important groups of people in the city and knowledge of their existence will assist in assessing the consequences of change. There are three major segments of the population each of which may be affected differently by OCS or other development.

OLD TIMERS, NEW IMMIGRANTS, AND TRANSIENTS

Old timers include those residents, both Native and non-Native, who were born and raised in Kodiak. For the Native segment, they represent long-established families whose descendants have lived for many generations in the town. Some are important business and political leaders.

New immigrants include both Native and non-Native residents who have moved

to Kodiak since about 1960. Among the non-Natives are new business people, teachers, and military and government personnel; among the Natives are families from other areas of Alaska, particularly the Alaskan Peninsula and Cook Inlet area, and those who moved to the city from island villages after the earthquake and tsunami. This latter group tends to maintain close ties to the villages of their origin, and they often enrolled under **ANCSA** to these villages. Also included among the more recent immigrants is a Filipino population now establishing residency in Kodiak (see Payne 1979). Like every growing town, Kodiak is experiencing increased heterogeneity among its population. Data concerning the interaction between these groups remains to be gathered by other researchers, who may find more "social mixing" between the old timers, regardless of whether they are Native or non-Native, than there is between the groups represented in the new immigrants.

Transients or temporary residents include seasonal workers, especially in the fishing industry. They encompass fishermen from outside and cannery workers, who are most often white and Filipino youth. Also included among the transients are Natives who come from the villages for periodic visits; these individuals' primary ties are elsewhere.

In addition to these three groups, other close-knit groups of Natives may exist in Kodiak. There are a number of families from **Chignik** and **Perryville**, on the Alaskan Peninsula, who spend the winter in Kodiak and return to their home village in the summer. Also a number of families from **Seldovia** and **Ninilchik** live in the city. How strong an **affiliation** these individuals have with their home village, where they are enrolled, and

their relationships to KANA, **Koniag, Inc.**, and **original regional** affiliation needs yet to be explored. However, they are all people whose lives may be affected significantly by either **OCS** or fisheries development both in the vicinity of **Kodiak and of** their villages.

POPULATION

The Natives living in Kodiak **range widely** on economic, educational, and social spectrums. There are some whose families have **lived in Kodiak** for generations, providing leadership in the church and **in business**. Others have become residents in the city only within the last 20 years. This segment more **often** maintains village ties but makes their home in the town. Yet other Natives live in Kodiak during the winter and return to camps and homes along the **coast** during the summer. **Some of** these individuals are enrolled to the villages still under appeal. An unknown number of Native residents were originally from other areas **in** Alaska but now have relocated in Kodiak. The complexity **of** this Native population in Kodiak has just begun to appear. The relative significance of these different, socially distinct segments within the Native population of the town has yet to be determined; the analysis could not be undertaken within the time constraints and resource limitations of this contract.

No data on the composition of the Kodiak population are available since the 1970 Census (table 6). To try to get a more up-to-date figure, an initial estimation of the Native community in Kodiak was made by consulting with the 1978 telephone directory. With the assistance of a person who knows the city, a total of 171 names were identified as Native. Some of the phones are listed to Natives from other communities who reside in Kodiak only during the winter months. Recognizing that this technique has shortcomings - especially since Native residents may choose not to have telephones - the figure approximates the 244 Aleut men listed in 1970. Considering that many of these would have families, it seems safe to guess the percentage of Natives living in Kodiak (12.6 in 1970) is no lower today than it was a decade ago. A better count apparently will have to await the 1980 Census.

EMPLOYMENT

The Natives living in Kodiak work in a variety of jobs. Hiring by **KANA** and **Koniag, Inc.** is a large part of this employment. Another major employer is Krafts, a large supermarket and department store. At least five local businesses are owned and operated by established residents who are part-Native. They include a tax and accounting service, a gift shop, a dress shop, a heating fuels company, and a body shop. Other enterprises are owned by persons married to Native individuals.

The largest source of employment is fisheries and related activities. Natives are employed at a cannery run by a Native entrepreneur for Columbia Ward, a company which also has canneries at Port Bailey and **Chignik**. A num-

TABLE 6

Composition of Population by Race and Sex
City of Kodiak, Alaska,

1970

Race	Sex		Total	Percent of Total
	Male	Female		
White	1,668	1,426	3,094	81.5
Negro	27	17	44	1.2
Indian	32	21	53	1.4
Alut	244	235	479	12.6
Eskimo	14	17	31	0.8
Other	70	27	97	2.6
TOTAL	2,055	1,743	3,798	100.0

Source: University of Alaska, Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research. September 1973. Age and Race by Sex Characteristics of Alaska's Village Population. College. (Alaska Review of Business and Economic Conditions. Vol. X, No. 2.) as quoted in Alaska Consultants 1979:396. Also cited in Payne (1979:21)

ber of fishing boats are owned and operated by Natives from **Koniag** and other Regions; each boat represents a significant business investment. In addition to the boats themselves, capital must be invested in gear and permits.

The Kodiak Small Boat Harbor Permanent Stall List (1978) was reviewed by a Native fisherman who knew the boats and operators well. He was able to identify at least 36 fishing boats, one salmon tender, and 3 skiffs that are owned by Native persons residing in Kodiak. Of these, 15 are boats equipped for both crab and salmon fishing and 21 are salmon fishing boats.

In addition to these, Native-owned boats from other locations are listed on the Transient Vessel List in the Harbormaster's office. This list included an **additional 23** boats whose Native owners have Kodiak addresses, and six large boats that are owned by four different Native Regions.

Other boats which frequent the Kodiak harbor often enough to be on the transient list and identified as Native-owned, come from **Ouzinkie** (5); Port Lions (10); **Old Harbor** (7); **Chignik** (8); **Chignik Lagoon** (1); Cordova (1); and Seattle (2). All told, combining the transient list and the permanent list, a total **of 99** Native-owned boats frequent the Kodiak harbor.

Especially important for future consideration is the fact that a total of 17 **Chignik** boats frequent the harbor (9 in permanent stalls; and 8 on the transient list). **If oil** and gas development occurs, it may affect these fishermen at home on the Peninsula, on the fishing grounds, and in Kodiak.

THE FUTURE

The changes and **continuities** in this seaport can be seen in a **brief comparison** of Kodiak in 1930 with 1979. In 1930 the population was 440; there were two large general **stores**, a Standard Oil distributor, two wharves and only 15 small boats **in** the harbor. The port of calls numbered 300 a year; there was one salmon cannery and one **saltery** (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1932). Obviously, the "village" of 1930 has grown impressively (see table 7).

But then, as now, the fishing industry was requesting that something be done about the harbor facilities. A public hearing was held in 1930 concerning which channel should be dredged, the north or south. Then, as now, there was great controversy over the location of new docks. Expanding the **fishing** industry (then it was halibut) was a central **con-**cern of the residents of Kodiak. Clearly, there are continuities in the life of the community that will continue in the future,

One major difference is especially noticeable, In the report of what the village was like in **1930**, there was no mention of the Native population. Now it seems unlikely that Kodiak could be described without reference to the **Koniag** people. A combination of factors has led to this recognition: ANCSA, the consequences of the 1964 earthquake and tsunami, and the increasing importance **of** the two island-wide Native corporations. Change and continuity undoubtedly will also characterize the future.

For a description and impact analysis of the Kodiak non-Native **socio-**cultural systems consult Payne (1979).

Table 7

Population of Kodiak City, Alaska

Year	Pop .	Year	Pop .
1880	288	1929	442
1890	495	1939	864
1900	341	1950	1,710
1910	438	1960	2,628
1920	374	1970	3,798

Source: Rollins 1978.

Also reproduced in Payne (1979:20)

Comparison of the Villages

In this section of the chapter the villages are compared and contrasted on common dimensions. In most cases, each of the dimensions has just been discussed in the descriptive section. Much of the data for this portion have come from the KANA publications: the OEDP reports of 1978 and 1979 and the Five Year Regional Health Plan for 1981-1985. Whenever possible, the information in this section is related to the narrative descriptions in the remainder of this report.

POPULATION

Recent population trends are indicated in table 8. There has been a marked increase in three villages: Old Harbor, Port Lions, and Larsen Bay. **Ouzinkie** has remained steady. There has been a noticeable drop in the remaining two villages: Akhiok and **Karluk**.

Changes in the sex ratios also are noted. Overall, there was a greater balance between men and women in 1978 than in 1961. The change is most apparent for Akhiok and **Karluk**. The remaining villages show no great alterations in the ratio. Some caution in using these figures is indicated since the 1961 data were gathered in the summer. The ratio may change considerably during the summer months in small fishing villages as women and/or men are absent fishing, working in canneries, or berry picking.

As part of the Regional Health Plan, KANA prepared population projections

TABLE 8

Village Population and Sex Ratios, 1961^{1/} and 1978^{2/}

	Akhi ok	Old Harbor	Ouzi nki e	Port Li ons	Larsen Bay	Karl uk
<u>Popul ati on</u>						
<u>1961</u>						
Number of residents	107	202	198	(Afognak) 176	82	148
<u>1978</u>						
Number of residents	69	298	204	251	118	98
Men	37 (54%)	160 (54%)	113 (55%)	134 (53%)	59 (50%)	53 (54%)
Women	32 (46%)	138 (46%)	91 (45%)	117 (47%)	59 (50%)	45 (46%)
<u>Sex Ratio</u>						
1961	174:100	122:100	122:100	117:100	110:100	155:100
1978	116:100	116:100	124:100	115:100	100:100	117:100

^{1/} Source: Taylor (1966:216), based on actual count in the summer of 1962 in Karluk and 1961 figures provided by Dora Kramer, Public Health Nurse in Kodiak.

^{2/} Source: Compiled from OEDP KANA report, 1978.

through the year 1995 (see **table 9**). Three sets of projections are provided. The first were done by the Indian Health Service and are based on the 1970 Census figures; since they only go to the year 1985, they do not provide long-range estimates. The first set of I(ANA projections are the most detailed; they are year-by-year estimates through 1995. These projections are based on a house count in 1977 and use a projected growth rate of 3.4%. A third set are based again on the 1977 house count but use Alaska Economic Research projection factors for cohort survival. This technique gives essentially the same projections as the OCS annual rate, especially in the short-term.

The I(ANA projections are considerably higher than the Indian Health Service ones. This can probably be attributed to **actual** population increases between 1970 - the base for the IHS projections - and 1977 - the base for the I(ANA figures - which would make the latter figures more accurate. It will be of considerable interest to compare the 1980 Census with these projections.

EMPLOYMENT

Employment by season is shown in table 10. The concentration of jobs in the summer months is clearly reflected. A comparison of the actual number of jobs, labor force as given in the Health Plan, and population as cited in the 1978 OEDP report is provided in table 11.

TABLE Y

KONIG NATIVE POPULATION PROJECTIONS

YEAR	IHS* PROJECTIONS	KANA** PROJECTIONS	KANA*** PROJECTIONS
1977		2478	
1978		2562	
1979	1885	2649	
1980	1962	2739	2739
1981	2060	2832	
1982	2083	2928	
1983	2103	3028	
1984	2120	3131	
1985	2134	3237	3227
1986		3347	
1987		3461	
1988		3579	
1989		3701	
1990		3827	3802
1991		3957	
1992		4092	
1993		4231	
1994		4375	
1995		4524	4479

*Based on 1970 Census

**Based on 1977 House to House count by name and 3.4% annual rate of increase developed by Outer Continental Shelf Study (1973-1977 rate)

***Based on 1977 House to House count by name and Alaska Economic Research Projection rates:

5 Year Rates		
Birth	Deaths	Migration
+ .115	- .030	+ .093

Source: Five Year Regional Health Plan, 1979:63

TABLE 10

Types of Village Employment Koniag
Region

	Total Labor Force	Summer Employment No.		Year-round Employment No.		Ni ne-month Employment No.	
Akhiok	40	32	80%	5	12%	3	7%
Karl uk	31	20	64%	5	16%	3	19%
Larsen Bay	52	100	100%	6	11.5%	6	11.5%
Ol d Harbor	190	100	53%	13	7%	31	16%
Ouzinkie	64	55	86%	6	9%	3	5%
Port Li ons	166	52	31.3%	26	15.7%	88	53%

Source: Five Year Health Plan (KANA 1979:55).

TABLE 11

COMPARISON OF NUMBERS OF JOBS WITH LABOR FORCE
AND POPULATION

	Akhiok	Old Harbor	Ouzinkie	Port Lions	Larsen Bay	Karluk
Number of 9 & 12 month jobs	8	44	9	114	12	8
Total labor force	40	190	64	166	52	31
Population (1978)	69	298	204	251	118	98

Source: Compiled by the author from the Overall Economic Development Plan prepared for KANA, 1978.

Using the actual figures shows a little more clearly the nature of employment. For example, table 10 indicates for Karluk a year-round and nine-month employment of 16% and 19% respectively. Note, however, from table 11 that the total number of jobs in Karluk is only 8 out of a labor force of 31 and a population of 98.

Neither set of figures speaks to the age of the villagers who are or are not employed. As noted in the narrative sections of this report, in many villages those who are unable to obtain employment are the younger men. These kinds of qualitative factors need to be introduced along with the quantitative measures; showing a high percentage of employment may not reveal the dislocation for those who are not able to find jobs.

Ranking the villages in terms of number of nine- and twelve-month jobs and by total population gives the following continuum:

Akhiok Karluk **Ouzinkie** Larsen Bay Old Harbor Port Lions

The total labor force figures do not give the exact same order but they approximate this distribution. The continuum may serve as a limited **indicator** of the modernity of the communities; it supports the range of differences between the communities discussed in the narrative portions of this report.

Information about the number of fishing-related jobs in the villages is available in the Overall Economic Development Plan (KANA 1978). The total number of jobs reported, including seasonal, part-time work, is 453. Of the total, 359 (80%) of the jobs are in the fishing industry (see table 12.) Some individuals extensively involved in fishing may envision OCS develop-

TABLE 12

Village Employment, Including Part-Time Jobs

	Total Work Force	Fishing- related jobs	Percent of total jobs available
Akiok	40	32	80
Old Harbor	100	84	84
Ouzinkie	64	55	86
Port Lions	166	125	75
Karluk	31	20	65
Larsen Bay	52	43	77
TOTAL	453	359	80

Source: Compiled by the author from the Overall Economic Development Plan prepared for KANA, 1978.

ment as threatening; however, as participation in the fishing industry decreases, others may become more amenable to alternatives.

A more detailed analysis of the types of jobs found in the villages is given in table 13. Note that, after fishing, many of the positions are related to programs operating through KANA or related to the schools. Not reflected in these figures, though, is the role played by committees and boards of the various agencies and corporations. For example, in 1979 in one village a man served on so many of these groups that he was home only five days of one month. On the one hand, this was difficult on his family life; on the other hand, the per diem and fees for his services provided the main source of income for the family. This individual does not own a boat or fishing gear, nor does he have a limited entry permit, so involvement in fishing-related work is difficult for him.

PERSONAL INCOME

The earliest reference found with approximate per capita income for the villagers was Tryck, Nyman and Hayes (1968); their data are based on personal communication with Huckins of the BIA. The figures range from \$659 per capita in Port Lions per year to \$478 in Akhiok. Though the range is not great, the distribution from highest to lowest may reflect approximate ranges of levels of modernization of the villages:

\$659	Port Lions
\$645	Ouzinkie
\$600	Old Harbor
\$567	Larsen Bay
\$489	Karluk
\$478	Akhiok

TABLE 13
Village Employment

	Fishing	Health Aide	Teacher Aide	Janitor	Post Office	Tribal Clerk	Lodge	Other
Akhiok	32	2	2	1	1	1		*CHR-1
Old Harbor	84 (crab fishing:9) processor:19)	1-2	2	1	3			Store-2 Office empl.-8
Ouzinkie	55	2	2	1	1	3		
Port Lions	125 (Cannery:25)	2	2	1	2	2	3 (Cafe: 2)	Store-3 City maint.-12 Electrician-1 Phone technician-1 Recreation coordinator-1
Karluk	20	2	2	1	1	1	3	*CHR-1
Larsen Bay	43 (salmon: 40) (crab:3)	2	2	1	2			Store-2

Source: Compiled by author from the Overall Development Plan, KANA, 1978.

*Community Health Representative

In 1970 the median yearly income per Native person for the Kodiak Region as a whole was reported, in the ANCSA-related 2-c report (Nathan and Associates, 1974), to be \$1,750. Kodiak was third highest of the 12 regions, after Cook Inlet and the Aleut region. The reported median yearly income for non-Natives in the Kodiak area at that time was \$3,512 (Nathan and Associates, 1974:Vol. 1, Pt. C, Sec. 5, p. 4). Inspection of related 2-c study data reveals that the disparity of median yearly income between Native and non-Native was smaller in the Kodiak area than elsewhere in the state. Even so, reported Native income was 50% less than non-Native income at that time.

Consideration of the factors discussed earlier about the nature of employment (year-round vs. summer), the availability of jobs (especially in fishing-related industries), and the importance of subsistence in some of the villages suggests that these figures be used with care. Also there is no indication of the reliability of the figures. The KANA Health Plan adopts a more cautious approach, suggesting:

"The average income for a family of four in the villages would range from \$3,000 to \$6,000 annually" (1979:56).

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Five of the villages are incorporated as second class cities. Port Lions was the first to incorporate, in 1967 shortly after the village was established following the earthquake. It was at first a fourth class city but later changed to second class; there is now some consideration being given to its becoming a first class city. Old Harbor incorporated in 1968;

Ouzinkie in 1972; and Akhiok and Larsen Bay in 1974. Karluk has never incorporated but has maintained instead its formal IRA (Indian Reorganization Act) Council. The Karluk IRA Council was one of the first to be established in Alaska (1939) (U.S. Indian Service 1947:29).

Recently, IRA Councils are being reactivated or established for the first time in some villages. The 1979 OEDP report identified a "traditional village council" in Ouzinkie, Port Lions, Akhiok, and Karluk. During the site visits to the villages, it was suggested that this was a recent development in response to possible funding advantages with the BIA.

All of the villages have corporations created under the provisions of ANCSA. The complicated nature of enrollment has already been discussed. In villages where there are City Councils, IRA Councils, and Village corporation boards, it is inevitable that there will be some overlap of membership between the groups. How these positions are allocated within each village is a topic that deserves some in-depth investigation.

Such factors as the village of origin of leaders and the position of their spouse in the kinship system appear worthy of examination. For example, in Old Harbor four out of eight City Council members have married into the village, and five out of nine Village corporation board members were raised in other communities and married local residents. **Matrilocality** was suggested in a previous study (Davis 1971) and appears further supported by analysis done for this report. Using Old Harbor again as the example, the Mayor is married to a woman whose immediate family accounted, in 1965, for 35% of the village population; the Vice-

Mayor is married to a woman who was related to 40% of the residents. The significance of these types of patterns in terms of the allocation of political power has yet to be explored.

EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

By 1979, Old Harbor and Port Lions each had a completed high school and gym. The construction of high schools and gyms in Ouzinkie and Larsen Bay are planned for the 1978-79 season. Thus by 1980 four villages will have educational facilities through the high school level and recreational facilities through a local gym. Recreational personnel were already employed in Ouzinkie and Port Lions. Karluk and Akhiok are the last to be scheduled with construction for Karluk indicated for 1983. The concentration of educational facilities in the City of Kodiak also is indicated in table 14.

HEALTH SERVICES

A concentration of health personnel in the City of Kodiak is clearly illustrated on table 15. Only one village (Port Lions) has a doctor. A Public Health Nurse visits the villages every three months. The dependence for health services on the local health aides and the communication system to Kodiak is thus highlighted. The Health Aide positions are significant to the villages, providing not only paraprofessional services to residents but also income for up to three households in a village. There are three positions in each health team: the health aide, an alternate, and a community health representative (CHR).

Table 14

KODIAK ISLAND BOROUGH EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES INVENTORY

Education Level	Kodiak	Larsen Bay	Old Harbor	Ouzinkie	Port Lions	Akhiok	Karluk
<u>Public:</u>							
Day Care	2						
Preschool. 7 Months	2	1	1	1	1	1	pending 1.980
Kindergarten	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
Elementary grades 7-8	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
Junior High grades 7-8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
High School grades	9-12	9-10	9-11	9-10	9-12	const. pending 1981	const. pending 1983
College 2 yr. program	Kodiak Community						
<u>Private:</u>							
grades 1-8	St. Mary's Parochial						
Grades K-7	Kodiak Christian Bible school						
College 4 yr. program	St. Herman Seminary						

Source: Five Year Regional Health Plan, 1981-1985. (KANA 1979 : 48).

TABLE 15
HEALTH MANPOWER BY LOCATION

KONIAG REGION

	Public Health Nurses	Physicians	Dentists	Optometrist	Clinical Psychologist	Physical Therapist	Emergency Paramedics	Health Aides	Registered nurses	Licensed Practical nurses	Nurse Practitioners	Nurses Aides	Anesthesiologist	X-Ray Technicians	Laboratory Technicians	Physicians Assistant	Support Personnel
village																	
Akhiok		1						1	1								
Karluk								1	1								
Kodiak	1	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	8	1	7	1	2	2	1	4
Larsen Bay																	
old Harbor																	
Ouzinkie																	
Port Lions		1															

*Includes 1 Sanitarian, 1 Social Worker, 1 Psychiatric Nurse and other personnel in Administration and Finance. This chart does not contain those assigned to the U.S. Coast Guard Station at Kodiak. Coast Guard medical staff not including Support Personnel.

- 4 Physicians (PHS)
- 1 Physician Assistant
- 3 Dentists
- 6 Dental Technicians
- 1 Anesthesiologist
- 2 Lab Technicians
- 6 Nurses

Source: Five Year Regional Health Plan. 1981-1985. (KANA 1979:187)

Generally, the health care delivery system to and within the villages is one of the most effective and dependable of the modern services available. Separate clinics in some villages, with clinics planned for all of them, trained health aides, satellite communications to Anchorage in two villages, and the support services of the Coast Guard for evacuation in emergencies combine to offer both preventive and emergency care. The long tradition of care provided by the U.S. Public Health Service set the stage for this delivery system. Expectation of health care by the consumer has become an integral part of Kodiak family life.

This fact suggests that any disruptions in the established patterns would be viewed by the consumers with dismay. Should changes, such as demands for health service professionals by OCS development, be foreseen - especially if these changes suggested a reduction in present services - it is fair to say they would be resisted. The possible impacts of OCS development on the health care delivery system to the villages therefore needs to be examined closely.

A proposed delivery system, projected for 1985, is included in the Five Year Regional Health Plan (KANA 1979) (see figure 4). This proposed system introduces a Kodiak Clinic as the primary outpatient center that would integrate the flow of services to the villages. The services would be managed by KANA.

HOUSING

Information about the number of houses, the persons per dwelling, and the

KODIAK AREA NATIVE ASSOCIATION

Delivery System Model
primary Health Care Center with Satellite Clinics and Referral Networks

(proposed FY1985)

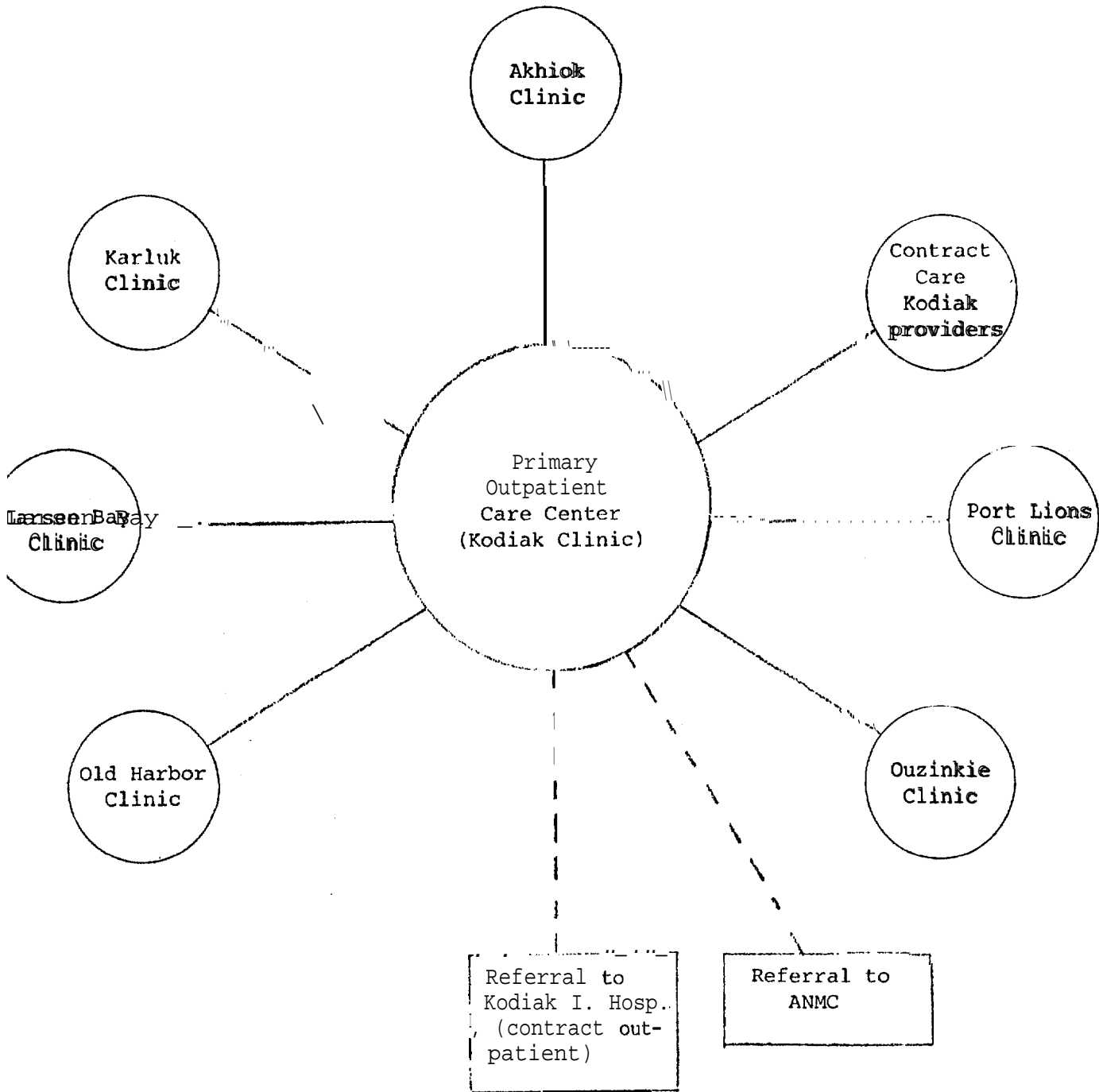


FIGURE 4

Source: Five Year Regional Health Plan - 1981-1985 (KANA 1979:xvi)

number of Native housing program units is available for each village for 1977 (see table 16). Since 1977, 115 new homes have been built in five of the six communities, in some cases doubling the number of units available. Forty more houses are planned for 1979 and an application has been made for 50 low income rental units to be constructed in Kodiak city. This application, as well as most of the funding for the recent construction, is to the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

COMMUNICATION FACILITIES

The nature and location of over a dozen different types of communication systems available in and between the villages is shown in table 17. As might be expected, the largest concentration is in the City of Kodiak. Each village, however, has a PHS radio and all have either an RCA (now ALASCOM) or other telephone system. The table does not show whether the systems work or not, which is probably more important than whether they have been installed or not. For example, Pt. Lions had during 1978 a continuing problem with its emergency fire department phone. Like many of the modern services in Alaskan villages, keeping a system working sometimes is more trouble than getting it put in to begin with.

COSTS OF SERVICES

Related to the problem of keeping services working is their cost to the villagers. In many instances the impact of the cost on the income of households is not anticipated. The costs of energy in the villages is shown in table 18. It may well be with the escalation of prices being

TABLE 16

1977 Housing and Population by Village

	Median Age	Dwellings	Population	Persons per dwelling	Native Housing Program
Akhi ok	23	15	114	7.6	15
Karluk	21	21	98	4.6	22
Larsen Bay	27	38	137	3.6	15
Old Harbor	25	49	330	6.7	45
Ouzinkie	27	50	200	4.0	23
Port Lions	26	67	251	3.7	35

Source: Five Year Regional Health Plan, 1981-1985. (KANA 1979:48).

TABLE 17
COMMUNICATIONS

COMMUNITIES	TYPES OF COMMUNICATION											
	TELEPHONE	RCA PHONE	SCHOOL RADIO	PHS RADIO	NAVY RADIO	LOCAL GOVT.	DEPT. PUBLIC SAFETY	OTHER STATE	OTHER FEDERAL	TELEVISION ATS-1 SATELLITE	RADIO STN	TV STN
KODIAK	2,382 and 2,000 ext.	X	X	X	13	FD, HOSP HM, P.	X	NG DFG	DOD, FAA USDA, NWB		2	1
KARLUK		X	X	X								
AKHTOK		X	X	X								
LARSEN BAY		X	X	X	1							
OLD HARBOR		X	X	X		FD				X		
OUZINKIE	1			X	USB 1 CB 1							
PORT LIONS	82			X		FD						1

FD - Fire Department NG - National Guard DOD - Department of Defense-Coast Guard
HOSP. - Hospital DFG - Department of Fish & Game FAA - Federal Aviation Administration
HM - Harbor Master USDA - U.S. Dept. of Agriculture- Forestry Service
P. - Police NWB - National Weather Bureau

Source: Five Year Regional Health Plan, 1981-1985. (KANA 1979: 39)

TABLE 18
Cost of Energy (per annum)

	Akhiok	Karluk	Larsen Bay	Old Harbor	Ouzinkie	Port Lions
Oil	\$ 500.00	\$1,240.80	\$ 500.00	\$ 726.00	\$ 707.04	\$ 686.40
Gas	\$ 500.00	693.00	\$ 500.00	\$ 429.00	\$ 429.00*	\$ 429.00
Electricity	**	**	**	\$1,800.00	**	\$1,200.00
TOTAL	<u>\$1,000.00</u>	<u>\$1,933.80</u>	<u>\$1,000.00</u>	<u>\$2,955.00</u>	<u>\$1,136.04</u>	<u>\$1,315.40</u>

*Kodiak price.

**Electricity dependent on individual generators.

Source: Kodiak Area Native Association, CETA Title VI - Public Service Employment Proposal, July 1977.

Reprinted: Five Year Regional Health Plan, 1979:59.

experienced in 1979 that these services may no longer be economically feasible for the villagers on a community-wide scale and that individual home light plants will return to the scene.

CHAPTER VI
CONTEMPORARY ISSUES: SOCIOECONOMIC
Introduction

To lay the foundation for the analysis of the non-OCS baseline case, the contemporary issues have been divided into two parts: socioeconomic considerations and **sociocultural** dimensions. This chapter addresses the question, "What are the implications of the content, force, and direction of post-1970 economic developments for our understanding of likely responses to future development?"

The topics that have emerged as most significant are (1) land issues; (2) fisheries development; and (3) the effects of a specific episode surrounding OCS development which occurred in the mid-1970's. These issues are not independent of one another nor do they exist in isolation from other concerns. Thus this chapter must be viewed, along with the topics discussed as **sociocultural** dimensions, as part of a cultural whole.

Land Issues

The 92nd Congress passed the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, which was signed into law by the President on December 18, 1971 (Public Law 92-203). The settlement will ultimately result in the distribution to Native Alaskans of approximately 44 million acres and \$962,500,000. The Act established a complex set of procedures including the enrollment of eligible persons to village corporations, the creation of twelve Regional Corporations, and the selection of lands for conveyance to the different

corporations. Implementation of the Act has proved a difficult endeavor (Federal State Land Use Planning Commission for Alaska 1979).

The Regional Corporation for the Kodiak Island area is **Koniag, Inc.**¹ **Koniag, Inc.**'s share in the cash distributions under the Act should approximate \$40,425,000; the amount dispersed as of March 31, 1978 was \$15,066,793.57. The total land conveyance remains undetermined. There have been delays in determining the amount of land for which the various villages are eligible (see Chapter IV) and certain land exchanges have been proposed. The exchange is the subject of an amendment to the Act that is currently pending before" the Congress.

The significance of the conflicts over the status of lands needs to be carefully addressed. A discussion of the ownership situation is available in Working Paper #6 prepared by Alaska Consultants (1979:Table 94; 451-456). As of 1978, **Koniag** had been conveyed 183,943.08 acres under **ANCSA** (see **table 11**). This is a greater percentage of land conveyed than other Regions have received. But the tensions in Kodiak concerning land issues are **still** high, and we must concur with Alaska Consultants in their statement that land matters **will** continue to be "in dispute for years to come" (1979:455).

Some of the conflicts are in the City of Kodiak. In 1968, only nine lots were owned by Natives (Federal Field Committee Report 1968:496) Yet the site **had at** one 'time been a Native village. The process of **hav**ng the

¹The name for the corporation was derived from the **original** designation given the inhabitants of Kodiak Island: **Koniagmiut**.

TABLE 19
Koniag Land Status

Village	Conveyances (Acres) Village	Subsurface Conveyance to Region	Decisions to Convey Pending	Year
Ouzi nkie	46,296.02	46,296.02	9,695	1977
Afognak	72,962.62	72,962.62		1977
Natives of Kodiak	21,734.00	21,734.00		1978
Karluk	34,733.00	34,733.00		1978
Kaguyak	325.00	325.00	6,296	1978
Larsen Bay	7,892.44	7,892.44	72,145	
Akhiok			56,826	1977
Port Lions			64,926	1977
Old Harbor			93,925	1978
TOTAL	<u>183,943.08</u>	<u>183,943.08</u>	<u>303,786</u>	
<u>Proposed Easements</u>				
<u>Pending</u>				
Lei snoi	44,361.00	Add		1978
Koniag	820.00	*Further entitlement to be conveyed later		1978
TOTAL	<u>45,181.00</u>			

Source: Koniag, Inc. Office, November 1978.

land surveyed and subdivided in spite of this fact began about 1939 with the incorporation of the city. After the 1964 earthquake and tsunami, some Native families who had lived in homes in downtown Kodiak for generations, were resettled in apartments so that urban renewal could proceed. This caused considerable disruption of social patterns, especially for the elderly Native people.

Conflict over the ownership of Afognak Island apparently has a long history. A Tundra Times article of May 3, 1972 begins, "The Native people of Port Lions are protesting an attempt by the Kodiak Island Borough to block their selection of land on the island of Afognak." In March of that year the Borough Assembly passed a resolution expressing their intent to establish Afognak primarily as a recreation area. There is some indication that the Natives, at that time, were not interested in the timber potential. With the current interest in developing this potential, the conflict over Afognak continues, unresolved as of May, 1979.

Who shall own Bells Flats also continued to be an issue in 1979. The borough has selected the area, as have two village corporations. Litigation may be pending. Koniag, Inc. and the two village corporations (Lesnoi and Bells Flats) have offered to exchange their selections in Bells Flats for selections on Shuyak Island. However, the borough also has plans for Shuyak - as does the state.

Shuyak is desirable, among other reasons, for its forests; some think they should be harvested for their wood products while others would devote them to parkland. The Kodiak Times (May 11, 1979) noted that

Shuyak has been suggested in an OCS study as a possible site for a staging facility or oil terminal.

There is some conflict between Natives and non-Natives over the issue of land for the uncertified villages under ANCSA. Included in an amendment proposed for an Alaska National Interest Lands bill is certification but only small land conveyance (640 acres or less); resolution of these matters awaits action by Congress.

Important from an economic point of view is ownership of the coastline. In contrast with the past, when few shore lots were in formal Native ownership, a Native corporation officer commented:

"I don't think you could find a potential water port site that does not belong to the Natives on Kodiak Island. This is not accidental."

Fisheries Development

The sea is both a new frontier and a new battleground (Smith 1977:2). It is valued for the protein, fertilizers, metal, and oil potentials it contains; it serves as a highway for trade and commerce between nations.

The land mass of Alaska is also a new frontier and a new battleground, a fact which compounds the difficulties of this study. We need to understand the relationships between the land and sea, and the people who live on the edges of both.

THE SALMON INDUSTRY

In a report of the U.S. Fish Commission in 1898, Moser documents the

activities of canneries in Alaska for a 20-year period beginning in 1878. Of special interest for this report is his description of the activities on the west side of Kodiak Island. The most striking facts are the speed with which the canneries were built, the intensity of the early competition between companies, the consolidation of companies as the fish run declined, the large number of Chinese workers employed, and the absence of Native fishermen and Native cannery workers in the early years (Moser 1898:).

These observations are confirmed in another early report that notes the small number of Native fishermen participating in the fisheries. Those fishing were Americans, Norwegians, Swedes, Germans, Sicilians, and Negroes and those working in the canneries were predominantly Chinese (Bean 1891).

"The number of native fishermen employed at Kodiak is very small. At Karluk one of the companies, the Karluk Packing Company, has about twenty of the natives for one of its seining gangs, but their work is not so satisfactory as that of the white men. It is said to be very difficult to keep the natives engaged. At Afognak many of the natives are employed about the canneries as carpenters. . also in making boats of various kinds and their labor in this direction is appreciated" (Bean 1891:205-6).

A similar pattern occurred in other parts of Alaska. The late entry of the Natives into the fishing industry of the Bristol Bay area is discussed in a chapter on the history of commercial fishing in Van Stone's ethnography of the Eskimos of the Nushagak River (1967:63-82). A valuable comparative study of two Aleut cannery-based villages has been done by Jones (1976). Her book contains an insightful analysis of the fishing industry, the Scandinavian influence in fisheries, and the role of canneries in village life. For the Kodiak area, a general history of fishing, with supporting data, is provided in Alaska Consultants Working Paper #6 (1979:417-435)

and Payne (1979).

Native fishermen have made an impressive mark on commercial fishing in spite of their late entry into the industry. Today Koniag stockholders are reported to own 37 per cent of all the salmon permits (Interview, Koniag, Inc. officer, November 1978). The extent of Native interest in participation in salmon fishing is documented in the Overall Economic Development Plan (KANA 1978). By far, the most jobs reported are salmon fishermen: Akhiok, 32; Karluk, 20; Larsen Bay, 40; Old Harbor, 56 plus 19 fish processors; Ouzinkie, 55; and Port Lions, 100 fishermen and 25 cannery workers. In contrast, the number of jobs independent of fishing range from 8 positions in Akhiok to 41 in Port Lions. Crab crew fishermen are reported for Larsen Bay, 3; and Old Harbor, 9; indicating some village fishermen have moved into crabbing. Out of a total of 453 jobs reported, fishing-related activities account for 347 positions (table 12).

The village emphasis on the fishing industry is further reflected in the KANA OEDP report (1978) in the frequent references to hatcheries, fish processing, and marketing. Surprisingly, there was no mention in the 1978 Plan of new fishing techniques nor of diversification by harvesting different species.

SHELLFISH

Relatively few village Natives appear to be involved in crab or shrimp fisheries; the extent of the involvement of town Native residents in

these industries has not been established. In general, it appears that most of the capital investment and large boat ownership has been non-Native. Koniag, Inc. does not appear to be investing in large ships or in shellfish processing, either. Instead, the Regional Corporation is providing on-shore services to the fishing industry. Koniag owns the store, Shelikoff Net, and has recently expanded by opening a branch in Dutch Harbor.

BOTTOMFISH

After over ten years of discussion and anticipation, some limited processing of bottomfish has begun. In May 1979, Pacific Pearl (a cannery) started filleting flounder; the product is frozen and sent to Bellingham, Washington (Kadiak Times 1979 11:6). The extent of Native involvement in bottomfish activities, however, is unclear. In November 1978 my impression was that the Native people were not particularly interested in bottom fisheries. For example, one Koniag officer stated:

"Bottomfish - it's too far down the pike. We're not really excited about it."

Later, the comment was made:

"I don't think too many [Natives] are going to be involved in it in the beginning."

A Native fisherman indicated:

"personally, you know, I like salmon fishing, and I like crab fishing. But then you have a whole bunch [who] just like salmon fishing. The bigger boats, the trawls. . . I don't think too many people are interested in that type of fishing."

Little interest in bottomfish was shown in the four villages that were

visited. Owning a small boat with sufficient gear for salmon was the goal envisioned by most village fishermen. One ~~comment~~ was made, however, that the villagers were worried about "being left out **again**;" that Kodiak would get all the **bottomfish** activity "just like they got crab and shrimp."

However, it turns out that **at** the same time villagers were referring to **bottomfish** as "scum fish," Danish representatives were talking with Koniag officials. Subsequently, in February 1979, two Koniag officers visited Denmark. The Kodiak Times (3 37:20) reported that Koniag, Inc. was interested in learning about smaller boats and in developing its own fleet. A village fisherman commented that if the villagers got into the larger **bottomfish** boats, perhaps relief crews and skippers could be trained by the Danes and Norwegians. In this way, the Natives would not have to be gone from home for long periods of time. The concept of rotating crews on ships, similar to the rotating construction crews that operated on the Trans-Alaska Pipeline, was discussed.

FISH PROCESSING INDUSTRIES

In 1974 three village corporations contributed \$200,000 **each** for the purchase of the largest cannery on the island, located at Larsen Bay. In 1978 Woody Island corporation and Koniag, Inc. contributed additional funds, joining the three villages in ownership. Major expenses in upgrading the cannery had been encountered. The age of the factory and the subsidence of the coast as a result of the 1964 earthquake have combined to make this venture an expensive one, but the commitment the Koniag feel to salmon fisheries is reflected in the amount of support

that has been allocated for the maintenance and continuity of this facility.

Operating a Native-owned cannery has other difficulties. Individual fishermen often feel a deep loyalty to the canning company to which they have sold their fish over the years. For generations, companies such as Alaska Packers have enjoyed this kind of loyalty. The appearance of a Native-owned and operated cannery creates a conflict of loyalties for some fishermen; on the one hand, there is the economic loyalty to the old cannery; on the other hand, there is a cultural loyalty to the new Native-held operation. To keep their fishermen, the older companies may relax and extend their credit lines; this is something the Native cannery cannot afford to do. This emerging conflict over loyalties and credit is likely to continue for some time.

In the fall of 1978, International Seafoods of Alaska, a subsidiary of International Oceanic Enterprises, announced plans for the construction of a processing plant in Kodiak. The presence of the group did not appear to be of any great concern in November 1978 when the imminent purchase of land was announced in the local papers. However, reservations about the possible influence of the company were expressed in March 1979. In late June 1979 the Rev. Sung Myung Moon, sponsor of International Seafoods, visited Kodiak to inspect progress on construction of the plant. By then, concern about the presence of the group was growing (Anchorage Daily News, June 27, 1979 151:1). The time frame for preparation of this report did not allow for gathering any additional data about these events.

FEDERAL AND STATE REGULATION

The act extending the fisheries zone 200 miles offshore, adopted in 1976, was designed to give U.S. fishermen an advantage over foreign fishing ventures. However, village fishermen seldom venture that far out to sea in their small boats, nor do they fish for deep sea species. Therefore, the Federal 200-mile limit regulations appear to be having little direct effect on village salmon fishermen. An indirect effect may be that more salmon are reaching the coastline, where they can be caught with present gear.

To take advantage of the newly protected fisheries requires a level of capital investment not readily available to most Natives. Furthermore, village fishermen, with strong family and village responsibilities and ties, are not likely to want to fish far away from home and family at the high risks involved. Awareness of the numbers of drownings and wrecks on the high seas during the fall of 1978 alone would be caution enough to any family man considering entering the new kinds of fisheries. The attraction of more money is insufficient motivation considering the capital and personal risks involved. Like the Malay fishermen reported by Firth (1946), most Koniag village fishermen seem not likely to join in the larger, more technologically complex, more expensive fisheries - at least for the present.

The Alaska Limited Entry Law is a different kettle of fish. Intended to protect those who were actively fishing Alaskan waters, especially state residents, the implementation of the act has had some unhappy impacts on Native people. In spite of the state's efforts to spread the word about

the law and the provision of a long grace period for registration, some Natives who had fished for years did not complete the forms on time and were denied permits. One man on Kodiak Island who did not receive a limited entry permit owns one of the few fishing boats in his village.

Another consequence - predicted at the time of passage of the law - is the rapidly escalating cost of a permit. For a father who has a son who shows both interest and promise as a fisherman, the tremendous expense of trying to buy a permit is a heavy burden. Unless a permit can be purchased, or the law is amended to accommodate traditional patterns of continuity of family fishing activities, the practice of primogeniture appears inevitable. In the meantime, many capable young men, unable to obtain limited entry permits, will have no choice but to be deck hands on others' boats or seek other employment. The situation undermines the individual's independence and detracts from his contribution to the village economy; it compounds the difficulties faced by young adults who choose to remain in their villages.

LIFESTYLES OF FISHING PEOPLES

A Kodiak fisherman commented at a meeting in Washington, D.C. over two years ago that, "Fishing is not just an occupation; it is a way of life." Smith (1977) identifies the following characteristics of this way of life:

- Uncertainty of the resource
- Ambiguity of territory
- Mobility of the marine biomass
- Multiple subsistence potential

- Danger and risk
- Polarization of sex roles

The responses of individuals and communities to these factors contribute to their lifestyles, but clearly the responses are not uniform. Village Native salmon fishermen are different from workers on large ships who must spend long periods of time on the high seas. Often fishing involves only a segment of a community and the total group experiences difficulties when decisions must be made and the fishermen cannot be present. The result may be conflict which otherwise might be avoided by discussion and compromise (Smith 1977).

If more were known about the lifestyles of the various fishing industries and their associated communities, a better understanding of the contrasts would come about. Similarly, if more were known about the lifestyles of construction workers and oil rig workers, a comparison and analysis of their similarities and differences to fishermen could be made. The identification of potential sources of friction between the industries might possibly also be eased.

R.J. Firth's (1946) study compared Malay fishermen, who preferred to fish from small boats near shore, with Chinese fishermen, who moved into the area with large boats and fished for longer periods. "Foreigners" were perceived by the Malay as taking over the resources. Perhaps this is being repeated in Kodiak where "outsiders" with modern, capital-intensive fishing fleets are harvesting the new resources while the Natives continue to fish their traditional resources with traditional equipment. There is

no doubt that to expand into new fisheries requires a shift from labor-intensive to capital-intensive fishing.

As a final note about lifestyles, Orbach found that tuna fishermen on large schooners participated in two systems - one at sea and one on shore - with membership maintained in both systems (1977:1, 13). In contrast, we may hypothesize that village Native fishermen participate in only one system, based on shore with their families; the sea and salmon fishing are extensions of that system.

Summary

Salmon fishing is central to the culture of the Koniag Natives. Perceived threats to salmon fishing are of great concern to them. If the expansion of bottom fisheries destroys the breeding potential of the salmon, then even this expansion of a fishery may be seen as negative. Industries outside fishing, such as logging and oil development, may be seen in the same light.

Because of the centrality of salmon fishing, other kinds of work are not attractive to Native fishermen. If we better understood the values of the different kinds of fisheries, we would better comprehend the general lack of enthusiasm for alternative kinds of employment. The fishermen on the Scottish east coast did not stop fishing to go to work for an oil company (Baks and Postel-Coster 1977:33). If we knew more of the commitments to the lifestyles of the various fisheries, then we could better anticipate the responses of threats to these ways of life.

OCS Events - 1975-1977

In the mid-1970's there was a period of high anticipation, by some, and heightened fear, for others, that OCS development was both imminent and inevitable. What happened during that period is significant for our understanding of future responses to OCS activities. To assist in understanding how the people viewed the events, a reconstruction of the sequence of happenings and the attendant perceptions is provided.

National attention was focused on energy development following the OPEC actions in 1973. After a meeting with White House representatives in 1974, an Alaskan Native leader stated, "Native Corporations should try to get whatever benefits they can from OCS" (Hanrahan and Gruenstein 1977:87). After this, Koniag, Inc.'s board "placed as our highest priority the development of OCS" (1977:87). In June 1974, Koniag, Inc. signed an agreement with an oil company concerning exploration on Native lands; the agreement was made public in October.

The year 1975 was a period of gearing up for these activities. Then on March 9, 1976 The Anchorage Times ran the headline: "Natives Want Lease **Sale;**" the article indicated that officials of Koniag, Inc. were going to Washington, D.C. to urge Interior Secretary Thomas Kleppe not to delay the oil and gas lease in the Kodiak area.

Several communities, and other interest groups, in the Gulf of Alaska area favored a delay in the lease sale; but it appeared that Koniag, Inc. was urging that it not be postponed. This is reflected in the March,

1976 Koniag Islander (vol. 4, no. 3) which had a front page story "Koniag Focus on Oil Speculations" that reported:

"Kodiak is going to figure big it now appears. This means **Koniag, Inc.** and the village corporations will play a big role since they jointly own the places and areas along the coastlines of the island vital to the development of the oil potential of Kodiak OCS."

The villages and the Regional Corporation sought to concentrate potential on-shore OCS activities in certain locations; they formed the Chiniak joint venture, a coordinated effort to have the activities at Chiniak. Commenting on this period of time and the Chiniak efforts, a Koniag official said:

"Our major concern at the time was to get them (OCS developers) away from the villages. And we were the ones who went to the Borough and got the Borough OCS committee going."

Then, after all these preparations, the Department of the Interior announced the postponement of the lease sales. In retelling the episode, a Koniag official called it a "cancellation."

Davis: "From the stand point here, it seemed like a cancellation?"

Answer: "Yes. And to the oil industry it seemed like a cancellation, and there was no further dialogue, you know. Everything dropped off, and in fact it was very difficult for any of us to be terribly interested in the OCS although we realized this planning has to take place. And it is taking place. Perhaps the greatest effort is taking place on the part of the Borough manager and his staff."

Later, in a comment about current OCS planning, he commented:

"Everybody is there but the oil industry. "

In a seminar on ways to deal with development held early in 1977 (Tundra

Times, February 9, 1977), Koniag indicated they wanted a "good neighbor" policy that would include containing development to specific areas.

CURRENT INTEREST

In discussions with two Koniag officers in 1978, current interest in OCS was reviewed:

Davis: "It's pretty quiet around here now. . . regarding OCS. What if there was a renewed interest?"

Answer: "I think there would be a tremendous amount of resistance. . . The oil industry would have to come in, I think, with some sort of guarantee to the fishermen, that they would be taken care of in the event of a disaster. Similar to the North Sea."

Another officer commented:

"It would take a lot of effort on the part of the oil industry to convince us that they really mean business if they wanted to be out at Chiniak. . . I do not think. . . in terms of the oil industry being the ultimate users of Chiniak. That could happen, and we certainly would be approachable by them, but at the moment we're not approaching them any further because the option in that is up to them."

Borough preparations appear to be continuing, however; the OCS Advisory Committee became active again during the spring of 1979.

Koniag, Inc. has not completely withdrawn from oil-related activities as is indicated in their participation in the joint venture of the Alaska Petrochemical Co. (ALPETCO). But the conclusion drawn from the inquiries made as part of this study is that other issues are of greater importance than OCS. People appeared somewhat embarrassed about what happened in the period from 1975-77 and were reluctant to talk about those events.

Other evidence of the ramifications of the 1975-77 "boom" was reflected

in a conversation with two interested non-Natives who work in Kodiak. They indicated that the community was "all ready to become a boom town," and then it didn't happen. This discussion revealed that, as one result, property bought for \$3,200 six years ago would now sell for about \$38,000 an acre. They both agreed that land and realty values had peaked; the boom town syndrome was over for the present. One thoughtful insight they added was that the lending agencies would be more reluctant the second time around.

"What if OCS came again," I asked. "Would people be prepared?"

Answer: "They'd be caught with their pants down."

Other Economic Activities

FORESTRY

Sawmills have operated in several parts of the northern islands for many years. Old Afognak had a privately-owned sawmill, as did Ouzinkie. (For Afognak logging history, see Alaska Consultants Working Paper #6, 1979: 442-3.) The industry has received a boost with the conveyance of some of the land on Afognak. The Afognak/Port Lions village corporation is developing its own logging industry. On February 1, 1977, Ouzinkie, Woody Island, and the Natives of Kodiak, Inc. joined in a venture (KONCOR) to manage the sale and harvest of timber in the round to the Japanese. Other forestry developments remain in abeyance pending the resolution of the ownership of the remainder of the Afognak lands.

How the development of the forest industry might interact with OCS de-

velopment is yet another topic that remains to be discovered. Part of the answer will hinge on the extent of Native involvement in the forest industry. The effects may be different if the involvement is primarily in the form of capital from the corporations rather than in the form of labor. Forestry jobs for a few individuals might substitute for fishing-related employment if there is a decline in the latter. Some Natives are already anticipating such employment. A young high school student, when asked what he expected to study when he went outside to college, replied promptly, "Forestry." The fact his father is a carpenter and a fisherman suggests he has already been exposed to employment opportunities other than fishing. However, for Natives successfully involved in fishing, the highly specialized skills of logging operations are not likely to be attractive. When planning for economic development, policy-makers should consider the sharply contrasting lifestyle patterns of the two industries.

TOURISM

Catering to the seasonal non-Native visitor and marketing the local scenery appear to be of low priority in Native corporation development plans. Although two villages, Karluk and Port Lions, have lodges that provide some employment for local residents, the tourist industry is not likely to become a major source of jobs or income in the immediate future. This is in part the result of the more remunerative rewards of fishing and in part because the seasons conflict. Fishing continues to be a preferred activity and it may just be that providing tourists with services is considered essentially a non-Native, and therefore low status, activity. Reference in planning documents (Tryck, Nyman & Hayes 1968) to the poten-

tial of tourism in al¹ of the villages appears to be a feature more consistent with the views of the planners than with the wishes of the village residents.

Furthermore, some tourists (hunters and fishermen) participate in taking the island's scarce resources, and some Natives may prefer not to share these resources with outsiders. Even the lodges may be seen as encouraging the taking of these resources by providing the convenience of comfortable accommodations for the outsiders. Thus we may predict that any growth in tourism is likely to be a non-Native undertaking and any impact that OCS development might have on tourism will only peripherally affect this aspect of Native life.

Economic Priorities

Various individual Natives were asked to rank order economic priorities in November 1978. One person placed forestry first, followed by fisheries tourism and OCS. Two other corporation officers placed fisheries first, and forestry second. Tourism rated higher than OCS for all three. However, in one village, fisheries was followed by OCS. Forestry was far down the line (no trees!) and tourism was not envisioned as desirable at all. The relative weight given to tourism and OCS may be important (fishing is consistently at the top in all cases). From the remote villages' standpoint, OCS may appear less threatening and have more to offer on a year-round basis than tourism.

Assessing the fluctuation of priorities over time would be helpful. For

example, OCS rated high in interest at the regional level several years ago. Now forestry appears to offer more promise and immediate return. However, the fluctuations may occur at the regional level, but not at the village level, where interest in salmon fisheries persists. The relative success of the salmon catch may modify the level of interest in OCS. Given a good harvest, the interest in alternatives will be predictably low. Following a bad season, the interest may increase.

Oil Industry vs. Fishing Industry Impacts

The fishing industry creates seasonal impacts on the town of Kodiak and on villages with nearby processing factories. The new fisheries are bringing a great number of larger boats into Kodiak's already highly congested harbor, which creates great concern, but it seems to be a palatable concern. These summer fishing "booms" are traditional, anticipated, and enjoyed by the Native people who participate in the associated activities.

In contrast to the apparent acceptability of the fisheries, the potential of **OCS** development elicits an intensity of uncertainty and fear that appears out of proportion to the actual threat. We may propose that the continuity and familiarity provided by fisheries, of any sort, makes these industries highly favored by coastal communities such as Kodiak; it appears doubtful that non-fishing industries, such as **OCS** development, will ever enjoy the favor that fisheries have.

The Kodiak Island Borough Regional Plan and Development Strategy draft summary report (1978) reflects the high level of stress already engendered

by the fishing industry. Yet, the report does not seem to identify the situation as a "boom." Rather it is OCS which is envisioned as the threat which would "aggravate the existing socio-economic problems in the urban areas" (1978:11). The OCS boom would drive up prices, wages and, further, "could well force the fish processing industry to move out of Kodiak." Kodiak's draft regional plan refers to the strong and growing economy and notes that fishing is on the "verge of significant expansion" (1978:11). Yet it appears to this observer that it has already expanded to a point of tremendous crowding of the boat harbor and other facilities.

Rapid expansion of fisheries was absorbed, apparently, during several significant periods in Kodiak history (salmon 1878-1910; whaling, 1847-1930's; crab industry 1950-60's). Even now the potential of bottomfish expansion does not seem to require an impact analysis, nor did the Navy or Coast Guard Station. These industries seem more amenable to the local culture, more "familiar" than oil and gas industry. Yet fish, like oil, is basically an export resource. Most jobs do not go to local people; most capital is not local, or even American capital. Yet, fisheries are "in" and encouraged by the local people.

Likewise, the Coast Guard is welcomed as a valuable support service to fisheries and the villages. The frequency of reference to dramatic rescues by the Coast Guard during the fall of 1978 alone indicate they provide a highly valued service. Also the Native villagers have come to request and expect services from the Coast Guard in times of emergency. Yet the impact on housing, people, and jobs in Kodiak of the Coast Guard seems easily absorbed.

What, we might ask, is it about the oil industry that creates such resistance? Is it the industry itself? Unfamiliar hunks of modern technology imposed upon a familiar environment? Or its size? Or reputation? Why is oil and gas development suspect, and foreign capital in fisheries more acceptable?

The marked contrast between the quiet lull before the tanner crab price agreement in 1979 and the burst of activity after the price was settled may be indicative of the fluctuations of life in small, fishing-based communities. If this kind of variation is traditional, then seasonal variation of activities, the ups and downs of **employment**, and coming and going of people, is an inherent part of the life-style pattern of the community. How OCS development contrasts, complements, or accentuates this pattern needs to be assessed. For example, if OCS exploration does occur, should it be timed to minimize the intensity of activity during the height of the fishing season, by avoiding the season insofar as possible?

Or is it just as well if oil industry impacts join all the other ongoing impacts? If major OCS activity could take place in off-season, then the presence of the new "foreign" industry would be more obvious, even though possibly less disruptive. If the activity takes place at the height of the fishing season, then perhaps its impact would be partly absorbed by the general chaos of the season.

Siting OCS Facilities

Conflict concerning potential locations for OCS development may be noted.

Several references in the Kodiak Island Borough Regional Plan (1978) recommend that oil terminal development should be sited away from both the urban area and the villages (1978:1, 71, 72). This position was also clearly articulated in late 1978 by several officers in Koniag, Inc. However, it was not the position found in one village visited. Indeed, if a site was located on the island, and was not located close enough to a village for that community to benefit, then, it was indicated, they would "holler." The contrasting opinions between the urban view and the rural view remain to be further explored, for it is a significant difference in perception, the very kind which this program should uncover, document and understand.

OLD HARBOR AND OCS DEVELOPMENT

During a site visit to Old Harbor in November 1978 an interview was conducted with a village leader about OCS development. The person interviewed was impressively knowledgeable about OCS developments, had traveled to Yakutat, visited the Sea Ranger, and participated in the meetings which led the joint venture concerning the Chiniak location for an OCS on-shore base. This leader wants OCS development, and he wants it near enough to Old Harbor for the community to benefit both from the employment and from any facilities left after a future shut-down.

Several words of caution before beginning. Although the man interviewed is a strong leader in the community, no data were gathered concerning the attitudes of the rest of the village toward possible OCS development in their area. The purpose of the site visit was to be updated on current

issues in the village, which were dominated not with fisheries, or OCS, but by housing. Forty-five new units had just been put up, and people were moving in. New social patterns were developing. Thus, housing discussions were frequent, and **OCS-related** questions were not asked, with two exceptions: this leader, and one older woman. The leader wanted very much to talk about OCS, and wanted his ideas recorded. On the other hand, the woman, an established old-time resident, was far more circumspect. "AS for me, I don't think we should have any of that OCS going on," and we changed the subject.

Old Harbor, like any human community, is likely to have diverse opinions about new development, the nature of that development and the location of that development. This was one interview, in November 1978, in a community which at that time had no year-round economic base and was facing a lean winter, plus the new expenses associated with the expanded housing. Yet it is important for the program to know that not all Natives are against OCS development and that at least one leader in one community is receptive to the possibilities. With these cautions in mind, then, here are portions of the **interview:**^{2/}

Davis: "We were talking (before turning on the tape recorder) about sort of reconstructing the history that Old Harbor experienced a couple of years ago with **OCS**."

Answer: "Basically Old Harbor took a low profile on it because **Koniag** went into it on the **Chiniak** site. That would be fine because we'd be part of it that **way**."

"So figuring if they're going to come on this side of the island, we'd **like** to have 'em within our area to develop our land." (Problem of taxes). . . . "We'd like them (**OCS**) to come to our area, so we'd still have control on making sure that the

²Written permission has been received by the author of this report from the individual quoted in this section to include these comments.

fisheries and stuff was well protected, and also realize the benefits for jobs, job opportunities for people to work on the rigs, on the tugboats, crane operators, . . . the yards, stacking and on the supply end of it."

(After tour to Yakutat): "the support facilities I can see wouldn't be that damaging to our area. It's a place where during the construction would probably be a little boom of people, but they'll be gone, and after that it doesn't take more than 30 or 40 people. . . they could stay locally. They have about 40 people from the village working there, and this is what we'd like to do."

(No problem with the high technical people because they would fly in and out of Kodiak, won't stop in Old Harbor.)

"But support facilities is what we're interested in, and then from there we can get benefits, because once the oil is gone and all those facilities are left it could be turned into fish canneries."

Davis: "How close to this village could an on-shore location be. . . how close could it be?"

Answer: "Real close."

Davis: "Adjacent to your village?"

Answer: "Right."

(Interest in employment): "to train our people for warehousemen, welders and supplies, and stand-by clean up crews in case of oil spills, which people could get good money running these boats and be able to go out there and it's just like a fire department on stand-by all the time. They might be there 10 years without a spill, or there might be none the whole lifetime. of the rig, and they won't go out and pick up one spill. But it's a must they be there. It's a good job for, I think, lazy people." (laughter)

He had been traveling and reading up on OCS: "because I figure if it comes we gotta know something about it. . . and we gotta capture some of the benefits, so this is what we're looking to doing. Once we know it's coming we can select our people that want to go into this type, say, the cleanup crews who are on stand-by and there's some people who'd go out and measure the temperature of the water and stuff like that. Why not have it our own people doing it here, because they're all good boatmen."

"The town will stay basically the same way it does. You might see an addition to a hotel, or restaurant coming back in here for extra people. There might be, you know, crews from the tugs and stuff, but that won't be big enough where it demands all the things like Kodiak. "

(The topic **changed** to discuss the HUD housing, and how many people had come to work on it.)

Answer: "I think there's over 50 (people) with the housing, water and sewer and everything going on."

Davis: "Was that a kind of impact -- to have all these workers in?"

Answer: "Yeah, it was, but we handled it gracefully, I guess."

(After more discussion on housing, a return to OCS.)

Davis: "Did it (OCS interest) just sort of fizzle out, or . . .?"

Answer: "We let the people know after the sale was **cancelled**. We discussed it many times with our boards and stuff, and I explained just like I explained to you. If it does come, this is how -- and they all agreed -- this is how they'd like to see it come: just a support facility. "

"At first we didn't want it, you know. Well, all the news media and the oil spills and stuff that were happening -- it seemed like soon as the oil impact was coming out in Kodiak, they had those three big mishaps. It seemed like every time you picked up a paper -- oil spills, But the last two or three years we haven't heard of an oil spill. It seems like they all came out just when they were coming to Kodiak, and it scared everything."

(Discussion on legal difficulties concerning conveyance of land on Sitkalidak Island.)

(The interview returned to the postponed OCS lease sale date.)

"Everybody kind of dropped back off after they found out the sales were off. . . ● everybody just kinda buttoned up on it. They know it still exists there and whenever it opens up they'll pick up where they left off."

(Then to bottom fisheries. Concern that others will get to it before the Natives will. If they get into **bottomfish**, then they will be less enthusiastic for oil exploration -- "because it might hurt our **bottomfish**. "

(Discussion of bottomfish ideas appear elsewhere in this paper.)

(Return again to OCS, and I asked if it was a rumor about an oil company coming and offering to buy up the village, as I had heard from several Kodiak sources. The answer was somewhat evasive. The example of **Kenai** was given, and apparently he had been advised to talk with the villagers, and warn them about what might happen.)

"We were told, . . . this is what they could do. I mean, if they want a place, they'll come in and they'll start working on the

guys -- \$50,000, \$100,000 (for the houses). They will spend billions to get a place."

Davis: "Were people scared of that?"

Answer: "Some were wishing they'd come with the \$100,000." (laughter)

Davis: "And they would have sold?"

Answer: "No."

Regarding the future:

Answer: "Well, we figure by 1980 they'd try the sale again. . . when it comes, it comes and we'll just have to deal with it then."

Davis: "But would you actually go and seek it, or would you just wait and see what came?"

Answer: "Well, if they're coming onto Kodiak I think we're going to have to seek it. You know, so they don't go outside of us where we can't even sit down and have a drink of cola."

Davis: "Well, what if it becomes oil company policy to stay away from all communities?"

Answer: "Well, if they're going to stay away from it, we get no **benefits** from it. Then I think all the communities are going to band together and fight 'em on the fisheries. So I think if they're-gonna come they're **gonna** have to come in conjunction with the villages and the towns, and work closely with them. Otherwise, they're gonna find that they're not **gonna** allow 'em at all, because we're close with the fisheries. And I think if they do deal with the communities, with all the safeguards and stuff, and they employ people in that field, then I do think they'll have a better. . . they'll be able to go and do it than if they did without us."

Davis: "There has to be some benefits to the communities. . .?"

Answer: "We've got young people growing up, people who really sometimes don't care to go into fisheries. This (OCS) is an opportunity where they can work still at home, maybe the next 20 or 30 years, where they'll work in the oil industry. You know, on the tugs and the control crews, and the stockyards, and machine shops, and stuff like that."

(We had a discussion about Yakutat.)

Davis: "Well, that certainly helps me understand, you know, your interest in having oil development here. Everybody (in Kodiak) seemed so interested in protecting the villages from impact. . . ."

Answer: "Well they had the wrong information. They thought a boom town would come in, you know, like you read about Saudi Arabia and 900 Texans come in. It's not that case with a support facility."

Davis: "OK." (At this time I tried to switch the conversation back to **bottomfish** again, but the question was ignored, and further thoughts concerning OCS were shared, including the amenability of accepting new families into the village. }

One question to be asked about possible location of an OCS site near one of the villages is whether or not Natives now living in Kodiak would move to a village. The following has OCS relevance, though it was given in response to a question about return to the villages under the impetus of the Land Claims:

"Well, in my opinion many of the people who live in Kodiak are looking towards going back. A lot of young people. It's hard to explain, but if there was a job in the village they'd move back tomorrow."

"I think the land claims is definitely a part of it, but not one of the major considerations. . . Even before land claims people were talking about moving back to the villages because the life style is much more relaxed."

The most likely candidates for moving back to a village to be near an OCS on-shore site would seem to be those Natives who are not extensively involved in fishing, and who have relatives in the area.

CHAPTER VII
CONTEMPORARY ISSUES: SOCIOCULTURAL

Introduction

The last chapter discussed issues that have major economic components; this chapter looks at those dimensions of Koniag life that are important because of their unique cultural aspects. The coastal communities of Alaska where Native Alaskans live are distinct "ive **sociocultural** entities, each with its own special characteristics.

Subsistence

On March 24, 1805 a Russian scholar named **Lisiansky** visited **Ihack**, a village near the present site of Old Harbor. He reported the whole community was out on the beach digging for shellfish that provided the "chief food during this season" (Lisiansky 1814:173). Nearly 160 years later, on March 24, 1964 -- the evening of the Great Alaskan Earthquake -- shellfish were still being dug in both Old Harbor and nearby **Kaguyak**. In Kaguyak, the main staple for all households that evening was a subsistence food; in Old Harbor eight out of twelve households were preparing subsistence foods (Davis 1971:198).

In 1975, in response to the question, "What is your favorite food?" 30 of 48 individuals in Old Harbor identified fish as their most favorite, with sea lion, seal, game and duck also mentioned (Davis 1976:48). The 1979 Overall Economic Development Plan, prepared by **KANA**, reported the results of an informal one-week survey of the use of fish and game in Port Lions

and Old Harbor (table 20). The main conclusion from this survey is that these two villages continue to report the use of an impressive array of local foods. Both these villages have local stores yet subsistence foods remain important; these foods undoubtedly are as critical, and probably more so, for the other villages which do not have stores. An earlier KANA estimate of the reliance on subsistence foods gave a range of dependence from 53% to 80% (table 21).

The 1979 KANA study concludes:

"Local fish and game do constitute a significant amount of high quality food for the villages of Kodiak. Future planning should recognize this important contribution, and we must strive to integrate it in any projects we conceive. This initial survey suggests that the value could approach one million dollars a year" (OEDP Report 1979: Appendix).

The million dollar a year estimate is projected from the figures for Old Harbor and Port Lions (table 22). The report cautions against giving too much attention to the dollar amounts, however, and stresses other significant values.

"The nutritional quality of this local fish and game is far greater than could be supplied by shipping in processed foods. Local fish and game are fresh, and nutritional quality has not been harmed from processing or storage. "

"The cost of an elaborate transportation, distribution, and storage network to handle outside food are avoided."

"Hunting and fishing in the local area allows a person to provide food for the family without having to leave the village area. Often employment means a person will have to leave the village for long periods of time to take an outside job."

TABLE 20

Reported Subsistence Use in Two Kodiak Villages

	Port Lions Feb. 1-5, 1979	Old Harbor Feb. 10-15, 1979
Total number of people responding	22	35
Total number of meals reported	330	515
Number of meals using some local food	241 (72%)	430 (85%)

Source: Compiled by the author from the OEDP (1979)

TABLE 21

Reliance on Subsistence

	Akhiok	Karluk	Larsen Bay	Old Harbor	Ouzinkie Pt.	Li ons
Percentage of dependence on subsistence	<u>1/</u> 60%	80%	53%	*	**	60%

*No figures available, but a significant dependence on subsistence.

**Heavy dependence on subsistence.

1/The lifestyle of the coastline area depends on a subsistence way of life. The subsistence species consist of: salmon, crab, shrimp, clams, deer, rabbits, ducks, seal and ptarmigan.

Source: Kodiak Area Native Association, CETA Title VI -Public Service Employment Proposal, July 1977.

TABLE 22
Cash Estimates
OEDP Subsistence report
Port Lions and Old Harbor
February 1979

	Port Lions	Old Harbor
Total meals using local food	241	430
Total different items	19	16
Meals with local meat	198	516
Cash estimate @ \$1.50 per serving	\$ 297	\$ 774
Meals with local vegetable or fruit @ 25¢ a serving	43 \$ 10.75	122 \$ 30.50
Total value per week	\$ 307.75	\$ 884.50
Value per person per week	\$ 13.99	\$ 22.99
Population of village	230	350
Estimated value of 1 week's local food (value per person x population)	\$ 3,217	\$ 8,046.50
One year of local food (52 weeks x value per week)	\$167,320	\$418,418
One year per person	\$ 727.48	\$ 1,195.00
Estimated total for one year for both villages: \$585,738.40		
Estimated total for all six villages @ Pt. Lions rate of \$727.48 per person: \$980,118.		

Source: Compiled by the author from the OEDP Report (KANA 1979)

"A person's success at hunting or fishing are not determined by a college degree or a special training course not available in the village. People can meet their needs with the skills they can learn in the village."

"Just as important is the relative independence one enjoys in hunting and fishing for one's needs. Rather than being forced to act according to the demands of a bureaucracy or customer, the subsistence hunter can direct his own activities. He is his own boss."
(OEDP report 1979:Appendix).

Subsistence activities are central to the small-scale economic systems typical of village life. They are embedded in the Native lifestyle. In talking with a Native from a village, the following observations were made about that way of life, leading to a short discussion about **subsistence**:

"You don't have to do anything if you don't want to. And yet, there's a lot of things to do -- hunting, fishing, duck hunting, clam digging, getting oil, you know."

Regarding subsistence: (It's) ". . . very much a part of the way of life here. It's only that they never recognized that it's subsistence. They've done it all their lives and they've come up with a new name again. . . there's ample fish and game around here, where it's not a real problem. It's a tremendous dependence on subsistence that's not recognized."

The relationship of cash to subsistence was **mentioned**, and the possibility that a return to subsistence might be one **result** of having enough cash to enjoy again those time-consuming but pleasurable activities:

"The thing that I think will happen too is because **they won't** have to work so much they'll spend more **time** subsisting. . . .**If you** didn't have to make money **I** think **all** the cultural foods would come back, because there'd be time."

In response to a question about the effect of a possible influx of people associated with OCS:

"I think they're going to have enough money to go anywhere they want to go. . . .Right now people from town who go hunting in the villages know a local villager, and they go and they borrow their skiff and they go out. But if you have this new oil industry going in . . . they'll fly out anywhere they want to go. Kodiak is such an attractive place to hunt. It makes people want to go out and be around in the country."

Other anticipated consequences included:

"The deer quota would go down. And then they would have restrictions on how many salmon you can take for subsistence. How many crab you could take. . .it wouldn't be so evident in the beginning, but. . . ."

Although there may not be stress yet on the taking of subsistence resources around villages, incidence of increased conflict in areas connected by road to Kodiak was noted. For example, someone commented that the Filipinos are "moving in" and taking the clams from a favorite local clam beach. This was one of several incidence of interethnic conflict which may be developing in the City of Kodiak.

In June 1978, the KANA newsletter announced that the Kodiak Island Subsistence Advocacy Council was being organized with a grant of \$65,000 from the Human Development corporation, a Catholic foundation. The Kodiak Area Community Development Corporation would manage the grant. In November 1978, a director was hired, but he left in March, 1979. The influence of this council in sensitizing Native people to their traditional uses of subsistence was not established, but a number of village representatives, all men, are on the council.

Intra-island relationships

Historically, little contact occurred between the villages, **In** part, this can be attributed to the physical geography of the island. Socially, each village was autonomous and self-sufficient. Periodic feasts, raids, and wars led to some exchange and there were marriages between villages, linking those communities more closely to each other.

With the emergence of Kodiak as a religious, social and trade center for the region, the villages began to develop ties with the **town**. These ties were strengthened as it became increasingly easier **to** travel to the town and as villagers migrated there. Now the bonds between the villages and Kodiak include extensive kinship ties through relatives living there and economic ties through the availability of facilities and services in Kodiak.

Because of their physical proximity, the northern villages developed stronger ties with Kodiak. Residents were able to visit the town more frequently, but they seldom ventured south or west to the other villages. **Intervillage** bonds occurred primarily between adjacent villages, such as between Afognak and Ouzinkie and between Old Harbor and **Akhiok**. The development of the intervillage bonds was primarily through marriage. However, even with the convenience of air travel between villages, the stronger bonds seem to be with the town of Kodiak, as the center of activity, rather than a nearby village.

CURRENT RELATIONSHIPS

In the past decade, a new kind of tie has been added to these traditional village relationships. Through KANA and **Koniag, Inc.** new bonds are being developed between villages and with the town of Kodiak. Through the kinds of programs it undertakes and through the organization of its Board of Directors, KANA is tying the separate village units together around common programs. Meetings are held in different villages, bringing in individuals from other communities who never used to visit the location of the meeting. Also decisions must be made to allocate program funds fairly among all the villages.

Strong village identities still persist so that some competition for the money and services may exist. Some of this is based on old village rivalries that now extend to the new programs. Some villagers may feel that "those guys are getting more than we are" - a reflection of their continuing strong village identity and past rivalries.

The programs, services, and jobs now provided by KANA were formerly delivered through the 61A, **PHS**, and other state and federal agencies. With KANA's assumption of these responsibilities, a new management layer has been formed, serving as an intermediary between the funding sources and the recipients of the services. This new management group is both **village-based** and Kodiak-based and involves both Natives and non-Natives. All are relatively new relationships for the people involved.

In addition, the programs and **services are provided** not just for local, regional or village corporation enrollees; they are meant **for all** Native residents, including enrollees to other Native regions and Indians from outside the state. This aspect, which is sometimes overlooked, influences the relationships among the recipients of the services, and means that KANA programs must take into account a broader group than just Kodiak enrollees,

Kodiak, Inc. also is tying the villages and other Natives together through new economic relationships. For example, three communities (**Karluk**, Old Harbor and Larsen Bay) that in the past seldom cooperated with one another joined together to buy a cannery which operates out of just one of the villages. More recently, yet another village corporation joined with Kodiak to provide additional funds for the cannery - which is large, old, and expensive to operate. Another example is the timber venture, KONCOR, a **Ouzinkie-Woody Island** business which was also joined by the Natives of Kodiak, **Inc.**

The tradition of competition is influencing the new economic ties being created by the investment enterprises. For example, one village corporation board member declared with pride and conviction, "Just you wait. When you come back here, our village will have declared the first village corporation dividends. We will be the first in Alaska." This reflects not just a high expectation of immediate returns from the logging enterprise but an allegiance and loyalty to the village corporation and a sense of competition that extends beyond Kodiak Island to other Native regions.

Koniag also ties the villages to new relationships through the funding and management advice it provides to the certified village corporations. The profit corporation also has considerable responsibility to local Native enrollees who represent a large proportion of its stockholders. On the other hand, Koniag is accountable to the at-large enrollees and to other stockholders who are living elsewhere; as noted, it has many non-resident enrollees to whom it must answer.

Finally, Koniag, Inc. has developing connections with the business and political community, both within the town of Koniag and elsewhere. The corporation has served as the primary link between Natives identified by ANCSA and the legal profession. And, of necessity, the corporation has served as a bridge to the state and national political world. There were new bonds being forged between groups of Natives in Alaska during the mid-1960's, before ANCSA. In the absence of the Settlement Act, political ties probably would have developed anyway. With the passage of the Act, the processes were accelerated, as was the extension of economic ties beyond the federal and state government to private business.

In addition to these Native-to-Native ties, there are many other kinds of connections between individuals and groups. Some are in the Kodiak area through the city, borough, federal and state agencies, social and church groups, and other institutions. Others extend beyond the island to other Natives and non-Natives through health boards, education groups, and business contacts. The Native Alaskans living on Kodiak Island are a diverse group; some have traveled the world as members of the armed forces; others have sought their fortune in the South-48 only to later

return. Some of the ties created during these adventures still endure.

Attendance at the April, 1979 KANA board meetings reflects something of the complexity of the Native interrelationships. There were representatives from four of the six physically-distinct villages, from each of the two villages that have been declared "ineligible" for land benefits, from the currently appealed but uncertified villages, and from Natives of Kodiak, Inc. Of those in attendance, eight live in communities other than Kodiak, with four of the eight residing in Old Harbor. The four who live in Old Harbor are, in addition to the representative of that village, the representative of Kaguyak (a later certified village), a representative of Aiyatalik (an uncertified village), and one for Kitoi (an appealed village). Akhiok was represented by a person enrolled to Akhiok and by someone living in Akhiok but enrolled to the appealed village of Ayakulik. Among the representatives are an Eskimo originally from Western Alaska, an Aleut from the Bristol Bay area, and a Tlingit originally from Southeast who has been a long-time resident of Kodiak.

VILLAGE-BOROUGH TIES

Three organizational ties link the villages with the borough. One is through the Regional Education Board (REB) and another is through the Committee on Overall Economic Development Planning. The 1979 report by the OEDP (KANA) stated:

"It is incumbent upon the KANA OEDP process to stress the interrelationship between the village and overall borough desires. "

A third link is through the OCS Advisory Council. One KANA employee, a

non-Native, is the KANA representative to that council.

There appears to be a sense of tension between the Borough government and the Native villages. For example, there is continuing conflict over taxes. Some of this is related to the allocation of tax revenues; the local people in Kodiak consider they are paying for the village schools. The villagers point out the raw fish tax levied on the canneries as helping pay for services in Kodiak, such as the swimming pool and the addition to the hospital.

A portion of this conflict undoubtedly is rooted in the firm sense of village autonomy and pride mentioned earlier. The feeling of control over their own affairs, which is likely to persist for a long time, was illustrated in one interview in November, 1978:

Davis: "Does the Borough participate in what happens in (your village)?"

Answer: "Oh, they're always making comprehensive plans and everything, but their comprehensive plans just draw dust on the shelf because they never get out (here) and do anything. Everything we did here, we did on our own."

In another interview, a Native commented:

"Basically the villages are upset with the Borough because the Borough doesn't do anything but provide the schools, and most of that money is state-funded. The Borough has the power as far as zoning, but they've never really tested it. . . . One of these years there's going to be a confrontation. . . . I think that's something the courts will have to decide. Because the villages won't listen to the Borough. If the Borough says, 'Don't do something,' they're not going to listen."

Another discussant suggested that the creation of village governments

through the Alaska municipal laws might be a way to rebuff the influence of the Borough:

"They're coming into their own municipal governments. They're at a nice stage of the development of their local governments in that the governments aren't telling them what to do (re: taxes, ordinances, zoning, etc.). Villages are going to work it out."

About 1974 there were at least three Natives on the Borough Assembly; now there are none. There are no Natives on the City Council now either; yet, a Native had been mayor for many years. No explanation for this apparent "withdrawal" of Native participation in local politics has been clearly established but one individual indicated that "Natives are drawing back" for a while because of the hullabaloo over the land claims. This suggests a pulling back and "wait and see" attitude may be a traditional Native way of handling conflict.

Church Relationships

Six of the seven communities have a long established Russian Orthodox Church and the seventh, Larsen Bay, plans to build one. The importance of the Orthodox church in the mid-1960's is documented in Davis (1970). Since then, Father Herman was canonized, a seminary opened, and more resident priests are now serving the area. How this, and the students from other areas, has affected the leadership of the village churches is not known. However, in Kodiak, the seminary provides added voices to the choir, and attendance was high during my November visit.

Some difficulties may be encountered as more non-Natives with an Orthodox

tradition move to Kodiak. They may threaten to usurp traditional Native leadership in the church. Fishermen, with Greek background, are more likely to present this threat, than oil rig workers or loggers. The growth of the Coast Guard station also brings in people of many different faiths, and that influence on the churches of Kodiak might be considered.

In the village, the Orthodox church may be the only community-wide institution; in Kodiak there are many. However, the importance of the church to the Native people in Kodiak may outweigh, considerably, the relative significance of other churches to Kodiak's diverse population. Evidence of the continuing importance of the church to the villages is reflected in a series of articles titled "The Village Way of Life" and published in the Kodiak Fish Wrapper & Litter Box Liner in the spring of 1979 (1979 V:16-19).

Health

In May, 1979 a Five-Year Regional Health Plan was submitted by KANA to the U.S. Public Health Service. The intent of the plan is "to provide an optimum level of needed comprehensive health care services directly or through contract to the Alaska Native inhabitants of the Koniag Region" (KANA 1979: xiii). A total of sixteen key elements are addressed in the document; unfortunately, it was received too late for an in-depth analysis that could be included in this report.

ALCOHOL-RELATED PROBLEMS

One Native leader commented, about village drinking:

"In the summertime, the Native people are experts -- fishermen. And in the wintertime, they're not anything. "

A most comprehensive and insightful analysis of northern drinking patterns is found in an article by Brody (1977) about change and the industrial frontier in Canada. There he reports that drinking is a "very considerable pleasure" (1977:39) and that drinking is a kind of affirmation of the Native society. The contrast between Native and non-Native drinking behavior is captured in this statement:

"The guilty drunk is tense and slow to show the effects of alcohol; the joyous drunk is quick to show the effects, and tries as hard as possible to keep the effects alive" (Brody 1977:36).

Brody also notes that, in the Canadian North, the costs of buying alcoholic drinks are not a deterrent to drinking. The expense becomes relevant only when there are more desirable alternative ways to spend the money. Getting a better job with higher pay requires learning new skills but learning new skills is not an attractive alternative if better jobs are not in fact accessible or if the drinker does not particularly seek them (Brody 1977:39).

Concerning the impact of industry on alcohol consumption, Brody cites that at Pond Inlet between 1972 and 1974, the increase was from 2 cases to 30 cases in a single month, from 2.2 ounces to about 30 ounces per adult per month. This increase was closely linked to the recruitment of Inuit workers by an oil company which brought in about \$220,000 in one year alone (1973-74) (Brody 1977: 43).

Alcohol-related deaths and accidents are extremely high in Kodiak (Health

Needs Study 1978). Yet an interesting observation made by one Native leader at the Shareholders Potlatch in Kodiak in November, 1978 was there was much less drinking than in previous years. People were drinking but it did not lead to disruption.

Other Concerns of Native Peoples

A series of key topics from the Native standpoint were raised during a workshop held by the Kodiak Area Native Association in October, 1978. The villages were represented, as was the Kodiak Native population. The list of those topics captures most succinctly the range of concerns held at that time (Wente 1978):

- City vs. village
- Fish processing development
- Local hire vs. outside
- Utilizing Native resources
 - 1) Timber
- Lack of transportation stagnating development (cargo)
- Increased population to Kodiak Island
 - 1) Subsistence threatened
 - 2) Political voice threatened
- OCS impact
 - 1) cultural/social
 - 2) economic impact
 - 3) crime impact
- Communications
 - 1) availability
 - 2) costs
- Varying quality in education
- Loss of language
- White opposition
- Lack of government support funds
- White monopoly on fishing permits
- Taxation on ANCSA land
- Unification of city and borough
 - Social/economic impact
- Filipino threat and/or allegiances
- Rapid transition - **socio-cultural/economic** impacts
- Establish cultural center
- Political clout/education
- Life after KANA
- Local funds to stay here

Increased tensions between Native and non-Native may be better understood than some of the other tensions between Native groups. For example, this story is told about one Native convention:

"In Fairbanks, the room was being cleared of non-Natives, and the **Koniag** table was approached: 'Get the whites out' (we were told); our table looked like a bunch of non-Natives. Part Native, you know, blond with **blue** eyes. . . .The Kodiak group looked so different compared to them from up North. They all glared at us."

The fact that the Kodiak group is mixed, and has been for a long time, does distinguish them **physitally** from some of the other **regions**. (See section on population.)

Another kind of change has occurred within the Kodiak population. For example: "Most guys you talk to used to refer to 'you guys,' or something, but now it's 'you **Natives**.'" This suggests new classifications - or the old ones, verbalized in new ways.

Of greater concern is the increased racial tension brought in by the new fishermen, an impact not yet researched. Here, however, is an example of one villager's view:

"Well, what really makes it bad is the big influx in Kodiak. . . it's all these new people that have moved in with the shrimp trawlers. . . .**New** families coming in and they belong with the prejudiced type. Bring the same **feelings**. . .**as** the lower '48. So then in Kodiak it makes-it **look** bad. You hear their remarks and stuff like that, you never heard in your whole life before."

Also in the area of human relationships are the conflicts between the Filipinos and Natives. Some Natives see the Filipinos receiving more

attention in the schools, for example through special bilingual and bi-cultural funds. Even the intercultural events at the school and in the community appear to give more attention to the other ethnic groups, i.e., Vietnamese and Filipino. I was informed that the KANA people were invited to participate in one program at the last minute, almost as an afterthought. Perhaps one way the community is indicating its anger with the Natives over land issues is to subtly ignore them on some social issues.

The economic ramifications are also felt in competition for cannery jobs. Some Natives indicated they would not work at a cannery which employed a lot of Filipinos. Conflicts between this relatively new population and the Natives may be deeper than most non-Natives perceive. Needless to say, these are sensitive issues. They should be addressed with care and sensitivity to all parties involved. For this report, perhaps all that needs to be understood is that with increased heterogeneity amongst the population of Kodiak Island, new sources of tension appear inevitable.

Response Capacity

What is the threshold for tolerance of disruption? Does it vary according to size of community? Does the smaller community feel the most vulnerable and therefore the least resistant? Or does it vary by past experience? Does one disruption increase response capacity for more? Is that tolerance and capacity accumulative? We may tend to assume that the most isolated, and small community is the most vulnerable to the negative aspects of development; yet those communities may be the ones which feel the most left out, and therefore might be the most receptive to a chance

to join the road to modernity.

The literature that has developed in the past decade on social impact analysis has paid most attention to quantifiable characteristics such as the number of people and jobs. Yet what may be most important in gauging response capacity, especially for culturally distinct villages, may not be so much the sheer numbers, but rather the kinds of people different activities bring. Further, it may not be the number of jobs, but their relative duration, and their amenability to the local subcultures, that will most determine their effect.

As for an anticipated drop off of employment, that may not be as serious as is sometimes assumed. If the life style of some workers is such that people expect to be laid off, then fluctuation of employment is anticipated, even something to look forward to happening. Year-round employment is a peculiar phenomenon of the industrialized world, and does not fit well with the traditional seasonal activities of some Alaskan life styles. Quitting, doing something else, taking it easy, applying for unemployment, may be as much a part of some Alaskans' life style, as permanent employment and compulsive work habits are for those who study it.

Efforts to estimate response capacity also must take into account the dominant forces of the cultures being affected by development. The relative importance of kinship rather than economic factors is an example: the social impact analysis literature seems to presume that jobs matter more than relatives. For example, it seems assumed that transportation will open up access to jobs, and therefore improve the economy. For some

Natives, relatives come first, and relatives strongly influence work patterns and locations. In order to understand Native response capacity, we must try to understand Native priorities and how those combine with other factors to lead to their rational decisions.

Advantages and benefits of the preparation process of local impact studies, regardless of what ultimately happens in the oil industry, include the fact that such a study forces a community to become more aware of itself. This should improve response capacity because it encourages the kind of long range planning a community should be making in this complex age anyway. Also the process may serve to sharpen the issues, and involve a wide range of people who might not otherwise be concerned. A local-impact statement could focus a community on itself, and result in a positive clarification of the issues confronting it. However, in a complex area such as Kodiak Island, the problems may be more complicated than elsewhere. The fact of the **seasonality** of the main industries and the high turnover of some parts of the population places additional responsibility on the more permanent residents.

CHAPTER VIII

NON-OCS PROJECTIONS

Introduction

To try to determine the impacts of the proposed lease sale four scenarios were constructed: a base case without petroleum development and three **development** cases. The petroleum scenarios were derived by **Dames** and Moore (1979) from estimates of oil and gas reserves provided by the U.S. Geological Survey. **Alaska Consultants (1979b)** used the **OCS-related** employment forecasts to derive indirect employment and future population estimates.

Alaska Consultants and **Cultural Dynamics** independently prepared methods and assumptions papers to explain the logical processes through which the study was progressing. Baseline descriptive information on different segments of the population were gathered and perspectives were gained on what was most likely to happen without OCS development. This chapter attempts to describe future trends in Native **sociocultural** systems on the assumption no lease sale is held.

It is essential to note that the impact analysis prepared by **Alaska Consultants (1979b)** deals only with the City of Kodiak and the immediately surrounding area. No population or employment **projections** are available for the island as a whole nor is there any breakdown in the data between Native and non-Native groups. Therefore, the projections found in this and the following chapter are based primarily on the information provided in the earlier chapters of this report.

Roles of the Regional Native organizations

As noted in the baseline description, KANA and **Koniag, Inc.** had different origins and perform different functions for the Natives of Kodiak Island. Comparison of the two corporations suggests that **Koniag** represents to the uncertified villages what KANA represents to the certified villages.

Koniag, Inc. has invested a considerable amount of its resources in court proceedings involving the nine villages whose status was appealed under **ANCSA** provisions. KANA, on the other hand, has been engaged in programs that funnel services, and jobs, out to the six main villages. This is not to imply that both corporations are not concerned with the whole of their constituency but rather to indicate that the functions which the two organizations fulfill and the history of their development during the 1970's has highlighted the differences between the two.

There is overlap in the leadership of the two organizations. In 1978, three individuals served on both Boards; in 1979, two individuals serve on the Boards of **Koniag** and **KANA**. Those serving are key individuals; both the Chairperson and Vice-Chairperson of the KANA Board are on the **Koniag** Board. In addition, the chief executive officer, the President of KANA, is on the **Koniag** Board.

In general terms, the leadership of both organizations can be characterized as outgoing, pro-development, and willing to take risks. Some Regional Corporations in other parts of Alaska show a concern about preserving Native traditions and subsistence activities, a cautious approach to industrial development, and a suspicion of non-Natives. **Koniag, Inc.** and KANA appear less involved with these issues at this time.

Under the non-OCS case, each organization is assumed to continue pursuit of its goals. KANA, the non-profit corporation, will have to provide services to an increased number of Natives. If the services anticipated under the Health Plan materialize, there will be additional jobs for both Natives and non-Natives. Additional responsibilities may develop in the area of community relationships when the Job Corps center opens at Chiniak. The corpsmen will be from elsewhere and living in a setting without the constraints of their home communities; conflicts between students and local residents may develop and it could fall into the domain of KANA's responsibilities to deal with such difficulties.

Koniag, Inc. will continue to seek perceived opportunities for profit. Choices from the Regional Corporation's perspective will include continuing support for fisheries activities, such as the cannery activities at Larsen Bay, and for the development of logging on Afognak. The corporation will take advantage of its position as a landowner; it is already in the real estate business and likely will increase its activity as the demand for land and housing grows.

Based on an understanding of the apparent choices made by the Native corporations concerning development opportunities between 1972 and 1979, three main factors appear to influence their choices: tradition, opportunity, and leadership. The importance of each varies between villages, over time, and by level of organization.

Tradition is more important in the villages so that it will probably continue to play a central role in shaping decisions at the local level.

Continuity and development of fishing are likely to be preferred by the villages.

Opportunity, especially perceived opportunity for profit or for providing services and facilities, probably will continue to influence significantly choices made at the regional level. The chance to do something that will have an area-wide effect will most likely be pursued.

Leadership has played an important part in the past in decisions about development; the strength of leadership at various levels will most likely continue to determine the weight given one interest over another in future decisions. Village leaders are thus likely to favor tradition - fishing - whereas regional leaders are more apt to favor development - OCS but the possibility of a shift must always be considered. The role of leadership will be important but who will occupy which leadership positions and what interest they might favor cannot be guessed.

General Observations

From the materials provided in the baseline of this report and in the information from Alaska Consultants (1979b), the following directions are hypothesized for the villages:

- Populations will continue to increase in Old Harbor, Larsen Bay, and Port Lions.
- Populations will grow slightly in Karluk, Akhiok, and **Ouzinkie.**
- Unless the limited-entry permit law is changed, the involvement of villagers in fishing will decline as young men look for alternative employment and the elders have to sell their permits.

- When villagers visit relatives in town, housing will be increasingly difficult to find.
- Costs of food, fuel, power and transportation will increase.
- Dependency on government-funded jobs and projects will increase.
- Northern villages will receive revenues from the sale of wood products off their lands.
- Southern villages will feel increasingly poor in contrast.
- If congestion in Kodiak gets too onerous, some Kodiak residents may return to the villages.

The Southern Villages: Non-OCS Case

AKHI OK

The population probably will increase steadily in the short-term as more and more young families choose to stay and raise their families in the village. The increase, therefore, most likely will come from births and the greatest increase will be among the pre-school ages. Whether or not the trend continues into the longer term will depend on the availability of schooling, the ability of the families to maintain a subsistence lifestyle supplemented with cash income, and the continuity of family ties.

Subsistence foods and associated economic activities will continue to be significant. The use of local foods is likely to increase for a number of reasons. Greater recognition of the nutritional value of subsistence foods may validate their use. Increased understanding of subsistence activities and their importance to the social structure may enhance sub-

sistence activities. Increased costs of transportation and processed foods will make their purchase less attractive. The results are likely to be a new dignity to maintaining subsistence skills and eating local foods.

If there are no adjustments in the limited-entry fishing law, the availability of permits will continue to decline. Able-bodied workers will seek employment for wage income in areas other than fishing. Residents are likely to express discontent over the deterioration of fishing as a viable activity.

If there are no adjustments in the management policies of the nearby cannery, relations between the village and the cannery are likely to continue to be strained. The uneasy human relations with the workers there may also continue. As a result, expansion of cannery-related jobs for residents is unlikely, as business management will continue to seek labor elsewhere. State pressure for local hire might alter this situation.

The village is likely to become more dependent on income from outside funded projects. In order to meet new costs of modern housing, fuel, and **electrical** power, cash will have to become more available; federal and state programs that will make such cash available are likely to be **actively** sought. Maintenance of the new services will provide additional jobs but these, too, probably will have to be funded through external sources.

The probability of attracting a new fish processing plant to the village appears unlikely considering there is a major, well-established company only 15 minutes away.

Akhiok may become increasingly self-conscious of its role as the carrier of Aleut traditions; as a result, the culture will probably continue to be alive and viable. Local Aleut games, language, environmental skills, and similar characteristics may be validated both by village activities and through external programs provided through KANA. A revitalization of the village and of the traditions may occur.

Orientation to the Orthodox church will continue to be strong; church activities will continue to mark major annual events.

Social problems will continue to include periodic drinking at selected times of the year; this behavior will continue to be censured by outsiders, but accepted by local villagers. As increased awareness of the effects of alcoholism becomes widespread among the young people, less drinking, especially during pregnancy, may result.

As one result of their isolation from Kodiak events, Akhiok may come to depend on KANA to look out for their interests; KANA may come to play a buffer role between the village and the rest of the world. Internal conflict will continue to be handled locally.

Transportation difficulties are forecast to persist; unless weather conditions are altered significantly, transportation will be subject to the whims of Mother Nature, regardless of the scenario. The possibility of deterioration of air services as a result of deregulation is an island-wide problem; additional difficulties for remote villages such as Akhiok can be foreseen if deterioration comes to pass.

OLD HARBOR

Old Harbor will continue to be the largest village on the island. The 45 new houses will attract new residents; when the anticipated new processing plant is constructed, it too will attract new residents. The heterogeneity of the Native population is likely to continue with new in-migration.

The fishing economy will remain central; there are enough boat owners with permits to keep an active local fleet. Permit holders are most likely to continue to diversify gear and to obtain larger boats. Expansion by permit holders may serve to create a wider range of inequity in incomes between the holders, their crews, and those who do not have permits.

Expansion of fishing activities is forecast if a new fish processing plant is constructed. Without this plant, the village may stabilize when the new houses are filled to capacity (capacity as seen by the Natives may vary from non-Native views). However, even now more houses are being discussed. Land appears to be available so that the village may continue to expand.

As the village grows, more Native-owned small businesses may open. Interest in this possibility goes back to 1975. An effort to attract Native-financed enterprises from elsewhere could emerge.

The large families dominant now in the social structure are likely to continue to have some social control over their descendants. Among other

things, this might minimize the need for formal law enforcement. If however the village includes more and more Natives without strong kinship ties, then additional constraints on behavior may be required.

It is highly probable that the only publicly recognized religion will continue to be the Orthodox church. An ordained priest and his family have recently established residency in the village which is forecast to strengthen the church's role. Seminary students are also likely to contribute to this strengthening. The vitality of the church in the community is seen as guaranteed for the immediate future.

The village is expected to maintain its autonomy over local affairs. Some independence from Borough regulation may be sought. It appears likely the village will continue to develop ties to KANA and Koniag, Inc. The success in attracting Federal, State, and Borough programs and funds in the past makes their active solicitation in the future assured; whether the village will be as successful in the future as in the past will depend on external factors, such as the availability of funds, as well as on the activeness of their pursuit at the local level.

Social problems will continue to include accidents, such as vehicle deaths and drownings. Periodic heavy drinking will probably contribute to accidents. In spite of these risks, Old Harbor will probably continue to be considered a good place to live. The unusual combination of the benefits of being a Native village with the comfortable amenities of the modern world are expected to contribute to this feeling.

The increasing costs of modern services may cause difficulties for families without adequate cash incomes. If Old Harbor does not secure a year-round industry, these problems will be exacerbated. In this case an increased dependency on **outs** de-funded programs would be forecast. Alternatives to fishing-related industries might be seen as more **attractive** under these conditions,

The Northern Villages: Non-OCS Case

OUZINKIE

Estimating the future activities in **Ouzinkie** is complicated by the great flurry of activity occurring presently in the village. All of a sudden hopes and promises of the past are being realized: roads, housing, an airstrip, health clinic, high school, water and sewer, and **electrification**. After many years of inactivity, development is occurring on several fronts simultaneously. But spotting future trends in the midst of this activity is not an easy task.

Under the **non-OCS** scenario, the population should increase slowly, with some families being attracted to the village by the new **homes**. Except for births, it would be expected to level off once the houses are filled.

Employment may continue to be centered around the projects now being constructed. Maintenance of the new facilities may provide a limited number of jobs. Efforts might be made to replace the fish processing plant but there is no certainty. With few limited entry permits **avail-**

able, fishing is more likely to continue to decline. For those individuals who have permits, fishing would be expected to continue at its present level; fishermen able to do so will most likely diversify their gear as new species become marketable.

If KONCOR continues to be successful and pay dividends, an increased dependence on the corporation to provide cash would be expected. Some expansion of employment might occur through the development of the forestry activities.

Once the present projects are completed, an increased role for the City Council would be expected in overseeing their operation. An increased separation of the duties of the Council and the village corporation is likely, with the possibility of some increased friction between the two. Village conflict will most probably be handled by internal mechanisms.

The completion of the projects and the success of KONCOR should increase the sense of continuity of the village and probably will enhance the feelings of autonomy and separateness from the town of Kodiak. Most likely there will be increased concern about outsiders encroaching on Ouzinkie lands until the land conveyances are settled.

An increased flow of people in and out of the village is probable once the airstrip is completed. Villagers will most likely go to Kodiak more often, especially if a store is **not** maintained in Ouzinkie. Residents of Kodiak are more likely to come to the village with the airport available. This will increase visiting opportunities for Natives but may cause

difficulties if there is an increase of non-Natives coming in to the nearby squatter settlement of Eskimo Point.

PORT LIONS

The population of Port Lions is likely to increase; most of the immigration is apt to be non-Native, if the present trend continues. The economy will probably continue to be centered around fishing activities. The construction of a fish processing unit would provide nearly year-around employment. If the plant has the capability of processing bottomfish, an increasingly larger and more diversified fishing fleet might come into being. As everywhere, the expansion would be limited primarily to those holding limited entry permits, although there would be increased opportunity for some people to crew an expanded fleet. Income is likely to increase with the employment of women in the processing plant. Some expansion of employment would be expected through additional city projects and through the school.

The strong feeling of village self-sufficiency will most likely continue. Some friction might emerge between the Native and non-Native leaders with an increase of non-Native residents. The Natives are not likely to become extensively involved in tourism or "egging.

Data were not available on stress indicators, health, or similar factors and so cannot be addressed in this projection.

The Western Villages: Non-OCS Case

Although no site visit was made to the western villages, the following projections are made in the spirit of providing a greater balance to this report; the following observations also give the local people and history something to confirm, deny or correct at a later date.

LARSEN BAY

Based on the extremely limited information available on this community, a tentative projection of continued growth of population might be made. With the continued viability of the salmon industry, this cannery-based village is likely to attract, and keep, a steadily increasing population. The new housing, television, high school, and gym may make this village an increasingly desirable place to live the year round, similar to Old Harbor.

KARLUK

Given the durability of **Karluk's** continuity in face of **great difficulties** in the past, it would seem probable this small village will continue to persist in the future. However, like **Akhiok**, its residents must highly value the special character of remote village life in order to retain its residents. The attraction of the regional town, Kodiak, and the growing village of nearby Larsen Bay, may test the viability of **Karluk's** existence. One local **non-OCS** scenario might

state that **Karluk** will be reduced to a summer village; **another** envisions a major revitalization of the community through the establishment of a locally-based industry.

The City of Kodiak

With respect to the City of Kodiak, the following generalizations may be made:

- Continued increase of the Native population from migrations from the villages. Natives from other areas most likely will come through the Job Corps center if it is established, and from areas which have had traditional ties with Kodiak, i.e., **Chignik** and **Perryville, Ivanoff Bay**. This increased population will add greater heterogeneity to an already complex Native population. Ties to place of origin will continue to be strong, and could place some stress on the functions and performance of the services of KANA.
- Increased participation in non-fishing jobs in town, especially a continued withdrawal from cannery-related jobs as more aliens move in. Possibility of more small businesses both through **Koniag** enterprises, and **individual** efforts. Service related jobs in hotels, stores and restaurants may be increasingly held by Natives.
- Politically, there is likely to be a **re-entry** of Native leaders into city and borough affairs, especially after the d-2 and village certification problems are resolved. As one result of the land claims, considerable expertise in government and business affairs has been accrued, which may later be applied to new areas.
- There may be an increased participation of Natives in local affairs, especially if they come to be viewed once again as "residents" of the town instead of as "Natives" per se.
- At the same time greater attention may be given to Native traditions and history, with the support through KANA programs, increased tourism, and the **discovery** that the ethnic traditions are not **all** gone. The local non-Native opinion that nothing "**Koniag**" is left would then be modified. This possible trend of ethnic **revalidation** may be

encouraged by the organization and growing social and political power of other ethnic groups.

- Continued participation primarily in the Orthodox church for most village immigrants and the long established Native families. Other Native immigrants will bring with them the diverse religious affiliation of their areas of origin.
- In contrast to the improved mental health forecast for the non-Native populations (Payne 1979), it may be that the larger Kodiak becomes, the less powerful the informal controls of the family will become for new Native immigrants. This could be especially possible with students from other areas with no local family connections.
- Heavy drinking at certain times of the year will continue to be a cultural pattern for some Natives, as it is with some non-Natives. Attempts to find and apply culturally relevant ways of treating alcoholism will be honest, but probably ineffective. As Natives come to value other activities and items more, choices may diversify and drinking may peak and decline, as suggested in the baseline study.

Population

The population of the road-connected area is projected to increase by **135% or 8,817 persons** between 1978 and 2000 to a total civilian **population of 15,344** (Alaska Consultants 1979a).

In the 1970 Census, a **total** of 563 residents in the City of Kodiak were identified as Native, or about 15% of the total of 3,798 residents. The guesstimate of KANA health department in 1978 was that there were about 1,300 Natives in Kodiak, which is about 20% of the 1978 population figures.

If a forecast is made that **Natives** will continue to represent approximately 20% of the population, then by 1984 there would be about 1,900 Native persons living within the road-connected area. However, **if** the Job Corps center is operating then, at least an additional 300 Natives from different parts of Alaska may be frequenting the area. Further, some of them may elect to stay in the Kodiak area, marry, and participate in the various economic opportunities which will develop in the town. Should they be successful, their relatives may join them, and the population of **non-Koniag** Natives could substantially increase,

Economy

The figures provided by Alaska Consultants on employment **would** be useful to this paper if the numbers of Natives employed **in** different sectors were known. Unfortunately, this information is not available and therefore, projections about Native involvement in changing future economic opportunities cannot be guided by knowledge of who is doing what now.

The ratio of population to employment in **1978** was 1.71 and is projected to rise to 1.83 by 2000, which reflects a trend toward reduced **season-ality** of employment and fewer transient workers in fish processing industries. Concerning the Native population, if data were available, the ratio of population to employment probably would be found to be much higher. Not only does one pay check tend to go to many more people in a Native family, Natives tend to have many more family members around.

Since the degree of involvement Native people have in the economy of Kodiak is not known, the effect of projected future developments likewise is not known. However, a few general observations might be made:

- The anticipated diversification of fisheries in Kodiak will likely affect Native fishermen **less** than non-Native fishermen because Native fishermen have less capital to invest in the larger boats and gear. Strong traditional ties to salmon fisheries will persist, and in some ways inhibit diversification. Those fishermen with both salmon and crab gear are more **likely** to diversify, than the strictly salmon fishermen. A cautious lag may be anticipated.
- o Future developments in the bottomfisheries industry will more likely involve Native persons in processing than in harvesting the new resource. Although much **talk** has occurred over the last ten years about the promising **bottomfisheries**, Native people do not at this time seem enthusiastic about participating in developing this potential. **Bottomfisheries** require boats, equipment, technology and an orientation toward a certain kind of deep water fishing which is not now a part of the Native cultural system. Some already successful Native fishermen may expand their capabilities, and Native cannery workers will probably add the new species to their repertoire of expertise.
- o Although tourism and recreation industries are expected to grow in the Kodiak area, it is unlikely Native peoples will choose to participate actively in this potential development. A few jobs in new hotels may be taken if some Natives are interested in jobs in the facilities, **but it** is unlikely there will develop a widespread involvement in these activities.
- e Although the government sector is projected to have the slowest growth in Kodiak, government jobs and funds are likely to have a greater influence on the Native sector of the community.

Social Impacts

If the civilian population of Kodiak more than doubles by 2000, as forecast (Alaska Consultants 1979a:8), what effect might this have on the Native population?

Housing

The forecast of 3 persons per housing unit is probably low for the Native families who live in Kodiak. It is probable that between 5 and 6 persons will live in Native housing. Also depending on the extent of Native participation in the local economy, Natives will probably occupy more of the low and medium cost housing. The fishermen with larger boats, government and other employees with more dependable incomes are more likely to be able to afford larger houses. Other Natives may not value, nor feel great need for large houses, preferring to use their money in other ways, including assisting unemployed relatives and friends.

If the hoped-for application for 50 rental units is approved by HUD, and they are located near the community college, it is possible that a small, predominantly Native area of town might evolve. As also suggested by Payne (1979), Kodiak may develop some informal housing and social boundaries as it becomes more urban.

If a greater density of population per unit in some areas should develop, then the associated greater stress on solid waste disposal may need to be addressed.

Public Safety

The anticipated increase in public safety jobs (12 new police officers) will provide an opportunity for Natives equally with non-Natives, but it may be unlikely that Natives will desire these jobs. It is difficult to report and arrest relatives, and Natives in Kodiak are likely to have lots of relatives. Perhaps the anticipated new jobs on the police force could more easily be applied for **by Natives from other** regions of Alaska, possibly attracted to Kodiak through the Job Corps center.

Natives may be more interested, however, in new fireman jobs. Great concern for fires, and the need for fire fighting equipment, is clearly indicated in the OEDP report for the villages.

Intergroup relations

It is projected that the Job Corps center may have some impact on Native/non-Native relationships in the towns, perhaps complicating the already complex Filipino-Native-non-Native relationships. If everyone who wants to work, can get work in the healthy economy, tensions will probably remain under control. If, however, some people and some groups have greater access than others to scarce jobs, and resources and facilities such as housing, then increased **ethnic-**related conflict may result.

Health and Social Services

Through comprehensive planning in this area, it is likely that Native interests and concerns will be adequately addressed in the future. With the planned outpatient clinic, the facilities will be available. The five-year Health Plan also indicates interest in making its programs increasingly culturally relevant, which may enhance the effectiveness of some programs.

Recreation

Probably in the future, as in the present, Natives in Kodiak will continue to place relatively higher value on informal visiting between friends and relatives, than on participation in formal social groups. However, organized sports will continue to draw everyone together with basketball being preferred sport among Natives in the community.

Church relationships

New residents in Kodiak, such as Greek fishermen, with a tradition in Orthodoxy could result in increased attendance at the American Orthodox church. Intrusion in the traditionally Native church is highly unlikely to be from the Filipino community which is perhaps as strongly and traditionally Catholic as the Natives of this area are Orthodox.

Ties with the villages

If fishing and seafood processing Industries continue to concentrate **in** the urban area, then the villages may feel more and more **on** the fringe of economic activities. However, to the villager, the village will continue to be the focus of interest, with continued periodic **visits** to town. The attraction of the growth of Kodiak, if accompanied with jobs, may cause an increased migration from some villages to the city. However, if through revenue sharing, and other government-funded jobs and projects, enough jobs are **sporadically** available in the villages, this migration will not be great and the base case for each village must assume continuity of growth over time.

This chapter has considered hypothetical projections of future directions without OCS development in the **Koniag** Native regional area. The discussion of the roles of the Native organizations and brief consideration of the villages and Kodiak in a **non-OCS** future was derived from current understandings established in the baseline study. With the combined background information and projections of likely trends, the specific OCS scenarios can next be addressed.

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CHAPTER IX
PROJECTIONS FROM OCS DEVELOPMENT SCENARIOS

Introduction

This chapter discusses possible consequences from OCS oil and gas development based on three scenarios:

1. 95% Probability Resource Level Scenario. This is the low or exploration-only scenario, corresponding to that volume of recoverable resources low enough to have a 95% probability of being realized. Under reasonable economic assumptions, the 95% resource level is not commercially profitable and thus not produced.
2. 5% Probability Resource Level Scenario. This is the high scenario, corresponding to that volume of recoverable resources high enough to have only a 5% probability of being realized.
3. Mean Probability Resource Level Scenario. This is a statistical mean scenario which is a mean of the high and low scenarios (Alaska Consultants 1979 b:6).

The major activities expected in the city of Kodiak are summarized in table 23. The projections prepared by Alaska Consultants do not deal with impacts anywhere other than the city of Kodiak. Thus the discussion in this Chapter is based mainly on the information presented earlier in this report.

TABLE 23

MAJOR ONSHORE FACILITIES AND ACTIVITIES
 BY SCENARIO AND PHASE
 WESTERN GULF OF ALASKA
 LEASE SALE #46
 SEWARD AND KODIAK

	<u>Seward</u>	<u>Kodiak</u>
<u>95% Scenario</u>		
1. Exploration only	temporary service base	helicopter services
<u>Mean Scenario</u>		
1. Exploration	temporary service base	helicopter services
2. Development	expanded service base support	permanent service base, helicopter service
3. Production	no facilities	small service base operation
<u>5% Scenario</u>		
1. Exploration	temporary service base	temporary, then permanent service base, helicopter services
2. Development	expanded service base support, pipecoating yard	expanded service base support, LNG plant construction, oil terminal construction
3. Production	small service base operation	service base and helicopter services, LNG plant operation (.576 Bcfd, 50 jobs), oil terminal operation (384,000 bpd, 200 jobs)

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc. Derived from facility and OCS employment scenarios prepared by Dames and Moore.

Low Case - 95% Probability Scenario

In this case, Lease Sale #46 takes place in 1980 and exploration begins one year later. But after three years of exploration, no commercial discoveries of oil or gas are made and OCS activity in the Western Gulf of Alaska stops.

It is projected that during the three years of exploration, 17 wells are drilled. Eleven are in the Middle Albatross Basin, near Old Harbor, and six are in the Tugidak Basin, closer to Akhiok. Minimal effects are expected on the economy of Kodiak and the population is projected to increase only slightly; the off-shore crews are expected only to pass through the airport. According to Alaska Consultants:

"The 95% scenario stimulates no new industrial or port development and imposes no lasting burden on the infrastructure of either coastal community (Kodiak or Seward). Following earlier shutdown of the exploration phase, community conditions revert to the patterns forecast under the base case" (1979 b:89).

Helicopter service is estimated to provide 16 jobs, resulting in 32 new residents in the Kodiak city area. An estimated 168 workers will be required for the rigs, but these are all forecast to be **transients**.

Projected impacts in Old Harbor and Akhiok are suggested for the following reasons:

- Both villages are located near the exploration sites.
- Although drilling activity will be more than three miles away from the shore, vessels will be visible and helicopters will

pass overhead.

- The villagers will have heard about the exploration and will be interested in what is going on.

Among the possible impacts in the two villages are the following:

- Unemployed villagers may wonder why they are not eligible to fill some of the available jobs on the rigs. If there are no good reasons provided for the lack of recruitment of local labor, ill feelings may be generated.
- e The helicopter activity may be welcomed if it provides an alternative source of emergency assistance. Positive feelings will be generated if the oil rig and exploration vessels and aircraft assist with a boat accident or village emergency evacuation; considerable hostility may result if there is an emergency, these boats and helicopters are present, but they fail to render assistance.
- Attitudes toward OCS development may be modified. As more information becomes available about what is going on, as the villagers take their boats out to inspect the activity and, hopefully, are treated respectfully by the exploration personnel, and barring any events that disrupt fishing, the villagers observe that the activities are not particularly disturbing, and possibly positive attitudes will be enhanced.
- e If some individuals working on the survey vessels or exploration rigs should come ashore to hunt and fish on village lands and streams, then tensions could develop, especially if

workers visit the villages at times or for reasons viewed by the villagers as inappropriate. However, little contact with the villages is likely. There are only a few workers involved for only three years of exploration. Furthermore, it is not expected they will have access to the villages, but will be flown in and out directly from Kodiak.

AKHI OK - LOW CASE

Even though fishing is expected to continue as the highest priority for villagers here, alternative job opportunities may be welcomed. If, for example, expectations for jobs is high, then this low scenario may have a negative impact because the hoped-for jobs simply do not **materialize**. If persons are trained and want to use their skills in oil development related work, they will have to seek employment in those areas where commercial discoveries eventually are located - elsewhere.

A possible secondary impact may result if there is temporarily improved transportation between Akhiok and Kodiak. Then more trips are likely to be made to town by the villagers.

OLD HARBOR - LOW CASE

Probably the greatest projected impact on Old Harbor **will** be increased expectation that there will be an oil or gas find and that the village will participate in some positive benefits **from** subsequent development. Three years of high hopes are expected under this scenario.

Like residents in **Akhiok**, the people of Old Harbor will watch and listen with great interest to the OCS activities. Those young men who hope for jobs, and might otherwise leave the village in search of something to do, may choose to remain in case work materializes. After a period of high expectancies, the failure to find oil and gas may disappoint the villagers here more than elsewhere on the island.

KODIAK AND THE NORTHERN AND WESTERN VILLAGES - LOW CASE

No significant impact on Kodiak or the other villages of Kodiak Island is likely under the low case. Some secondary impacts may occur such as an increased apprehension about the fisheries, for those well established in that industry, or increased anticipation of future employment during the suspense of the exploration period, for those unemployed at the time.

In sum, interest, discussion, rumors, hopes, and fears are likely to be island-wide during the exploration phase of all three scenarios. The low case will be distinguished by no commercial find, an end of the search and accompanying relief or disappointment.

Mean Probability Resource Level Scenario

Like the 95% scenario, the lease sale takes place in 1980 and exploration begins a year later. Over the three year exploration period, 14 wells are drilled and a promising field is located in the first drilling season. A single commercial field containing 160,000,000 barrels of oil is found but no significant natural gas is hypothesized. The location of the find

is in the Middle Albatross Basin, nearer Old Harbor than Akhiok. For detailed description of this scenario consult Alaska Consultants (1979b) and for analysis of potential **sociocultural** impacts on Kodiak consult Payne (1979).

Here briefly, are some of the features of the mean scenario: As with the 95% scenario, Kodiak and Seward provide the key services during the exploration phase, and survey vessels, helicopters, and supply boats will be in the area. In addition, drilling rigs, supply/anchor, and tug boats will be present in greater numbers. The estimates of the expected population increases are given on Table 24. Note that few jobs are anticipated, except during one year, 1984, when the permanent service base on shore near Kodiak city is constructed.

AKHIOK - MEAN SCENARIO

No great changes in the impacts of the low scenario are foreseen under the mean case. Again, the anticipation of the employment by some of the young men from the village could be the most significant impact. Only in this case exploration is followed by further activity - but that activity and the limited jobs are located near Kodiak, far from easy access for Akhiok villagers. But some may move to the city, at least for the one year of construction of the onshore base.

OLD HARBOR - MEAN SCENARIO

If we assume that the village desires some of the development action

TABLE 24

ESTIMATED ADDITIONAL CONSTRUCTION, PERMANENT AND TOTAL POPULATION
 MEAN PROBABILITY RESOURCE LEVEL SCENARIO
 WESTERN GULF OF ALASKA - KODIAK AREA
 -----1981 - 2000-----

Year	Total Employment	Onshore-Onsite Construction Employment/Population	Permanent Employment	Permanent Population	Total Population
1981	11		11	22	22
1982	11		11	22	22
1983	6		6	12	12
1984	516	469	47	94	563
1985	33		33	66	66
1986	49		49	98	98
1987	40		40	80	80
1988	55		55	110	110
1989	31		31	62	62
1990	31		31	62	62
1991	31		31	62	62
1992	38		38	76	76
1993	38		38	76	76
1994	38		38	76	76
1995	38		38	76	76
1996	38		38	76	76
1997	38		38	76	76
1998	38		38	76	76
1999	35		35	70	70
2000	0		0	0	0

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc.

and if all of the activity is centered in Kodiak, then we can expect Old Harbor to express concern at not being included as a staging area or other onshore facility site.

Again, the effects suggested under the low scenario will apply to this case. The same anticipation will be experienced, but the hopes will be fulfilled with the find. If the events of this scenario occur, the Natives of Old Harbor who desire work in oil-related projects most likely will actively seek employment opportunities in Kodiak. Women's Bay is close enough to Old Harbor for them to return home after a work period.

CITY OF KODIAK NATIVES - MEAN CASE

Alaska Consultants indicate that the city would have limited onshore impacts in spite of the size of the hypothetical find. They draw this conclusion on the following assumptions:

- There are no gas finds
- The platforms handle all the oil production and storage
- All oil produced is handled wholly offshore
- The work force is located primarily at the support base, outside the city

For one year, 1984, an estimated 469 workers would be involved in the construction of the marine support base at Women's Bay, connected by road to Kodiak. As noted, some Native workers would be expected to seek these jobs; this may result in an in-migration from the villages to

Kodiak. The numerous projects going on in the villages between now and then may be preparing them for the kinds of tasks required during the construction phase, and **later**. It may be anticipated these people will definitely want to be a part of the work force. After the jobs are finished they may prefer to return to the village, therefore not adding permanent new population to the city of Kodiak. This kind of periodic employment may well be a kind **of** life-style in itself, and should not be overlooked.

NOR^THERN AND WESTERN VILLAGES - MEAN CASE

As with the low scenario, only indirect effects are expected for the remaining villages. Some of the secondary impacts might be felt more intensely under this case, but they should **remain as** secondary effects.

REGIONAL NATIVE IMPACT - MEAN SCENARIO

The following general observations are considered possible under this scenario:

- If **Koniag** owns the portions **of** Women's Bay desired for the large onshore base, then the Native Regional Corporation may anticipate revenues from the sale or leasing of that property.
- Since Women's Bay is linked by road with Kodiak, access to the jobs would be available for Natives and non-Natives **alike**.

- For those Natives who no longer have the option or the desire to fish, some opportunity for new industrial employment may be available.
 - If the new jobs are allocated primarily to previously-trained outsiders, or to other ethnic groups recently moved to the Kodiak area, then considerable conflict could be initiated.
 - Through planning, the Job Corps Center could provide some trained personnel for the tasks to be accomplished during the construction stage, **skills** which could then be transferred "back home" where related skill needs may also exist.
 - Any stress felt in the Kodiak area in terms of limited housing and social conflict will likely include Natives as well as other local residents.
 - Capital from the regional corporations could be allocated toward providing support services for the onshore base.
 - Natives skilled in the managing of boats, and who know and can accurately "read" weather conditions, might add a special contingent to the supply services.
- e Natives in the city of Kodiak may have to take an aggressive stand in order to get in line for any **local** jobs which might

accrue. The role of KANA in assisting in that process might be considered.

High Case - 5% Probability Scenario

In this hypothetical situation a large amount of both oil and gas are found in the lease sale area - 1.2 billion barrels of oil and 2.8 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. It can be considered at once the ultimate threat to fisheries and the ultimate hope for domestic energy production, even if it is the least likely scenario to become reality.

Exploration begins as in the other scenarios, in 1981, and in the same areas. A positive first result leads to accelerated exploration over a 7-year period. A total of 78 wells are drilled with three discoveries of oil and three gas finds in commercial quantities in the Albatross Basin and one commercial oil field in the Tugidak Basin.

For the development stage, the following description is given by Alaska Consultants:

Gas field development commences in 1984. Three production platforms are installed on Middle Albatross Basin, one each in 1984, 1985 and 1986. A Liquid Natural Gas plant is constructed on Kodiak Island at Ugak Bay during 1984-1986. About 71 miles of submarine gas gathering and trunk pipelines are installed in 1985 and 1986.

Oil field development starts in 1985. The first platform is installed in 1986, two more in 1987 and a fourth in 1988, all on the cluster of three oil fields in the Albatross Basin. Steel platforms fabricated on the West Coast and barged to site are chosen over other platform designs. A variety of

factors -- distance to shore, production volumes, field grouping, environmental constraints -- favor product gathering and transport by pipeline to an onshore terminal for trans-shipment rather than an offshore storage and transfer system. Construction of an onshore terminal, sited at Ugak Bay on Kodiak Island, is begun in 1986 and concluded by 1988. Submarine pipeline laying is undertaken over the 1987-1988 seasons; 74 miles of subsea pipeline is installed including a 47-mile-long 28- to 30-inch trunk line to Ugak Bay. Meanwhile, development drilling activities continue on the four Albatross Basin oil platforms with 160 production wells completed between 1987 and 1992.

Due to its lesser potential, the Tugidak Basin area does not attract exploration until 1984. Discovery of a single commercial oil field of 250 million recoverable barrels results in installation of a steel production platform by 1989, to be fitted out with 40 production wells over the next couple of years. Economic unfeasibility precludes the option of a pipeline/shore terminal product transport system. Instead, a SPM system with direct loading to stand-by oil tankers is selected for product storage and transfer (Alaska Consultants 1979: 129-131).

The key point of this hypothetical scenario is the fact that an on-shore site is planned for both a liquid natural gas plant and also for the onshore gathering of oil - rather than shipping it directly from the find.

The hypothetical onshore siting location of Ugak Bay may be of great interest to the villagers of Old Harbor; some of their ancestors came from that area. Of more significance, for the more pro-development minded, is the fact Ugak Bay may be too far away from the village for it to be of much direct use to them as a location for onshore facilities.

As in the mean scenario, the large permanent onshore service base is built in 1984, but it is expanded in 1986.

Production

The **timing** of production of these major finds is staggered. Gas production is projected to start in 1986, peak in 1992 and then decline. The Albatross Basin **oil** field would start up in 1988, peak in a few years and then taper off. The **Tugidak** basin platform would begin producing in 1991 and continue to produce through 1999.

About two-thirds of the support activities are anticipated to be based on Kodiak, but Seward will continue with some support services. The 5% scenario calls for the following four construction projects that will be labor intensive:

- The marine service base
- Liquid natural gas plant
- Oil storage facilities
- o Oil transfer terminal

During this construction period, from 1983-1987, an estimated peak employment between 325 and 973 jobs is projected. Following construction, more permanent operations-phase employment is forecast (see table 25).

The operations phase employment includes 420 new jobs, broken out as follows:

Service base	55
Helicopter service	40
Oil terminal operation	200
LNG plant operation	50
Off-shore platforms	75

TABLE 25

FORECAST OF EMPLOYMENT AND POPULATION
 5 PERCENT PROBABILITY RESOURCE LEVEL SCENARIO - 011 AND GAS
 WESTERN GULF OF ALASKA - KODIAK AREA
 1981 - 2000

INDUSTRY CLASSIFICATION/YEAR	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	
COMMODITY PRODUCING INDUSTRIES	2,919	3,088	3,916	4,436	4,551	4,122	4,496	4,131	4,124	4,205	4,270	4,312	4,368	4,434	4,504	4,551	4,597	4,641	4,684	4,730	
Agriculture, forestry and Fisheries					(1,133)	(1,189)	(1,237)	(1,274)	(1,312)	(1,338)	(1,365)	(1,385)	(1,400)	(1,421)	(1,442)	(1,464)	(1,478)	(1,493)	(1,509)	(1,523)	(1,539)
Mining					6	10	13	23	32	38	45	51	58	65	72	79	85	91	97	103	109
Manufacturing	(1,666)	(1,749)	1,839	(1,931)	(2,028)	(2,159)	(2,232)	(2,290)	(2,335)	(2,380)	(2,416)	(2,452)	(2,488)	(2,524)	(2,560)	(2,596)	(2,632)	(2,668)	(2,704)	(2,740)	(2,776)
Contract Construction	273	(308)	993	(1,366)	(1,424)	(1,482)	(1,540)	(1,598)	(1,656)	(1,714)	(1,772)	(1,830)	(1,888)	(1,946)	(2,004)	(2,062)	(2,120)	(2,178)	(2,236)	(2,294)	(2,352)
01 DISTRIBUTIVE INDUSTRIES	1,686	1,842	2,037	2,259	2,449	2,587	2,735	3,094	3,169	3,248	3,320	3,529	3,623	3,709	3,784	3,834	3,883	3,887	3,999	4,051	
Transportation, Communications and Public Utilities					(269)	(300)	(338)	(426)	(483)	(506)	(546)	(780)	(806)	(841)	(833)	(847)	(867)	(871)	(883)	(889)	(909)
Trade					(734)	(807)	(895)	(968)	(1,049)	(1,113)	(1,163)	(1,224)	(1,232)	(1,245)	(1,272)	(1,444)	(1,485)	(1,493)	(1,537)	(1,569)	(1,587)
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate Service					(133)	(140)	(150)	(157)	(167)	(172)	(179)	(189)	(192)	(196)	(200)	(202)	(206)	(206)	(211)	(213)	(216)
GOVERNMENT	2,099	2,120	2,158	2,103	2,214	2,232	2,263	2,311	2,337	2,361	2,376	2,394	2,404	2,415	2,428	2,441	2,452	2,465	2,471	2,477	
TOTAL EMPLOYMENT	6,704	7,050	8,111	8,878	9,214	8,941	9,494	9,536	9,630	9,814	9,966	10,235	10,395	10,558	10,716	10,826	10,932	10,993	11,154	11,258	
TOTAL POPULATION - KODIAK ROAD-CONNECTED AREA	10,302	10,861	12,188	13,253	13,865	13,809	14,570	15,073	15,292	15,593	15,940	16,493	16,861	17,245	17,623	17,919	18,209	18,420	18,812	19,104	
Coast Guard Base	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	
Non-Military	7,802	8,361	9,688	10,753	11,365	11,309	12,070	12,573	12,792	13,093	13,440	13,993	14,361	14,745	15,123	15,419	15,709	15,920	16,312	16,604	
City of Kodiak	5,198	5,567	5,996	6,473	6,902	7,242	7,556	8,121	8,312	8,512	8,748	9,120	9,372	9,625	9,875	10,069	10,263	10,403	10,665	10,859	
Remaining Road-Connected Area	2,604	2,794	3,693	4,280	4,463	4,067	4,514	4,452	4,480	4,581	4,692	4,873	4,989	5,120	5,248	5,450	5,446	5,517	5,647	5,745	
Permanent Residents	(2,604)	(2,794)	(3,037)	(3,307)	(3,554)	(3,742)	(3,927)	(4,365)	(4,480)	(4,581)	(4,692)	(4,873)	(4,989)	(5,120)	(5,248)	(5,450)	(5,446)	(5,517)	(5,647)	(5,745)	
Construction Camp Residents	(--)	(--)	(656)	(973)	(909)	(325)	(587)	(87)	(--)	(--)	(--)	(--)	(--)	(--)	(--)	(--)	(--)	(--)	(--)	(--)	

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc.

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In addition, an estimated 210 additional indirect employment figure is projected, resulting in a total number of new jobs of 630. Note, however, that this is only about 6% of the Kodiak area employment and less than 15% of the total projected increase up to the year 2000 (see table 26).

Two periods of influx are foreseen. About 600 new residents are projected for the exploration and development phase, and several hundred more may arrive for the construction of the Ugak Bay LNG and oil terminal.

AKHIOK - HIGH CASE

Although Akhiok is on the windy, southern end of the island, the on-shore facility at or near Ugak Bay and Women's Bay may lead to heightened anticipation of employment. If families migrated from the village in the hopes of employment, the job scene could become complicated. If other villagers were employed, and Akhiok residents were not, tension could develop. If, on the other hand, most of the people desiring jobs were to obtain them, then the diversification of employment could have a positive impact on the villagers, from Akhiok as well as elsewhere.

Even under the high scenario the basic cultural traditions of Akhiok are expected to persevere. There will be continuity in the Church and in the kinship relations. If the village persists in its desire "to keep this village Aleut", then we can expect these institutions to retain their strength.

TABLE 26

ESTIMATED ADDITIONAL CONSTRUCTION, PERMANENT AND TOTAL POPULATION
 5 PERCENT PROBABILITY RESOURCE LEVEL SCENARIO - OIL AND GAS
 WESTERN GULF OF ALASKA - KODIAK AREA

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Employment</u>	<u>Onshore-Onsite Construction Employment/Population</u>	<u>Permanent Employment</u>	<u>Permanent Population</u>	<u>Total Population</u>
1981	10		10	20	20
1982	22		22	44	44
1983	734	656	78	156	812
1984	1,113	973	140	280	1,253
1985	1,114	909	205	410	1,319
1986	568	325	243	486	811
1987	885	587	298	596	1,183
1988	696	87	609	1,218	1,305
1989	648		648	1,296	1,296
1990	651		651	1,302	1,302
1991	635		635	1,270	1,270
1992	625		625	1,250	1,250
1993	606		606	1,212	1,212
1994	614		614	1,228	1,228
1995	622		622	1,244	1,244
1996	630		630	1,260	1,260
1997	630		630	1,260	1,260
1998	630		630	1,260	1,260
1999	630		630	1,260	1,260
2000	630		630	1,260	1,260

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc.

OLD HARBOR - HIGH CASE

Again we must make some assumptions. Under the high scenario, it seems highly probable that Old Harbor will favor some kind of OCS-related activity located nearer to the village than Ugak Bay. In the event of a high find in the middle of Albatross Basin, the village might engage in actions designed to make the onshore siting on their land attractive to industry. (If facility siting is ruled out, then we might expect the leaders to seek to provide some of the services to the rigs. Manning the **supply** boats might be an alternative.)

If, for example, an onshore LNG site or oil terminal was located near Old Harbor, then a marked increase in population could be forecast - not just the new OCS workers who might be located near, but also Natives returning or moving for the first time to the village. In addition, young families that might otherwise **leave** can be expected to stay if there is the possibility of OCS-related employment in or near Old Harbor.

If Old Harbor were successful in "getting some of the action", expanded housing, increased retail trade, and the establishment of new enterprises (for example, a restaurant) could be expected. A decrease in some subsistence activities might occur as time and energy was diverted to these new efforts and to industry-related employment. The high cost of living would probably persist, and increase. A more active social life might result with more **social** events scheduled as relatives return

to or visit the village. Increased consumption of alcohol might be expected, with periodic heavy drinking, especially by those who might be left out of both fishing and new industry employment.

Another picture can be painted. Assume that Old Harbor is successful in getting a fish processing plant located in the village. If employment needs are satisfied this way, then OCS jobs might look less attractive.

THE NORTHERN VILLAGES - HIGH CASE

Ouzinkie's response under this scenario would depend on how highly involved the village might want to become in OCS-related events. If the possibility of fishing dims, then some villagers might seek OCS employment, particularly during the construction period projected under this scenario. On the other hand, relatives now living elsewhere, especially in Kodiak, might retreat to the village if they felt the hubbub and costs were too great. Since it is highly unlikely that there will be any OCS activities anywhere near **Ouzinkie**, the village itself is most likely to experience only secondary effects under this scenario.

Port Lions, though more favorably located for discussion concerning **Shelikof** Strait, might (perhaps reluctantly) join in OCS activities on the Western Gulf. The residents might consider provision of services to the developers. Some out-migration might occur if the

prospects of employment in Kodiak for Native laborers **looked** good. On the other hand, there could be some in-migration of families with ties to **Afognak** should these families wish to get away from OCS impacts in the city.

THE WESTERN VILLAGES- HIGH CASE

Karluk and Larsen Bay may receive secondary impacts if the OCS **development** elsewhere on the island diverts some of their residents to re-locating closer to hoped-for employment. They may also experience decrease in services and transportation if these are diverted to meet urgent **OCS-related** needs in Kodiak and **Ugak**. In sum, these villages are likely to experience inconvenience and other negative effects, and few direct benefits - a situation which could be compounded if, almost simultaneously, **OCS** developments occur in the **Shelikof** Strait area.

CITY OF KODIAK NATIVE POPULATION - HIGH CASE

Assessing the impact on the number of Natives residing in the Kodiak area is complicated with the same constraints noted for the villages. Some migration to Kodiak of families hoping to benefit from the jobs can be expected; some limited migration from Kodiak of families not happy with **the** development can be expected. The magnitude of these shifts cannot be forecast at this time.

With respect to the employment opportunities, a number of potential jobs appear to be available to Natives. The types of employment

anticipated are shown in table 27. Sea-oriented jobs seem especially appropriate; for example, supply/anchor/tug boats for rigs, maintenance and repairs for supply boats. If the Chiniak Job Corps Center focuses on employment for OCS-related jobs, then Natives may stand a chance of working under the conditions of this scenario, but they may be non-Koniag Natives. For the Natives already established in the Kodiak city area, they may prefer to continue whatever they are doing now.

Housing could be a real problem, especially if costs are driven up as they consistently are under boom conditions. The net increases in needed housing under the 5% scenario (see table 28) could put a severe strain on the resources of the city. Natives might be the first to feel the pinch. Crowding could result if relatives, dispossessed of a local home, moved in with family elsewhere in the town, at the same time village relatives arrived to visit or work.

Transportation could also pose difficulties. If there was increased competition for scarce air transportation services, it might become increasingly difficult for Natives to come or leave the area. This condition could put a crimp in subsistence activities and lessen the communication between the city and the villages. Also, villagers might not always be able to get their representatives to Kodiak for crucial meetings of boards or committees.

Some increased intergroup tensions can be expected under this scenario. With more outsiders coming to the city, the chances for racial and

TABLE 27

AGGREGATION OF ONSHORE AND OFFSHORE EMPLOYMENT BY TASK
WESTERN GULF OF ALASKA

ONSHORE (Functions requiring onshore employment)

Service Base

- Exploration Well Drilling
- Geophysical and Geological Survey
- Supply/Anchor/Tug Boat for Rigs
- Development Drilling
- Steel Jacket Installations and Commissioning
- Concrete Platform Installation and Commissioning
- Pipeline Offshore, Gathering, Oil and Gas
- Pipeline Offshore, Trunk, Oil and Gas
- Supply/Anchor/Tug Boat for Platform
- Supply/Anchor/Tug Boat for Lay and Bury Barge
- Longshoring for Platform Installation
- Longshoring for Lay and Bury Barge
- Maintenance and Repairs for Platform and Supply Boats
- Longshoring for Platform Operations

Helicopter Service

- Helicopter for Rigs
- Helicopter Support for Platform Installation
- Helicopter Support for Lay and Bury Barge
- Helicopter for Platform

Construction

- Temporary or Advance Service Base
- Permanent Service Base
- Pipe Coating
- Onshore Trunk Pipeline
- Marine Oil Terminal
- LNG Plant

Oil Terminal Operations

- Oil Terminal and Pipeline Operations

LNG Plant Operations

- LNG Plant and Pipeline Operations

TABLE 27 cont.

OFFSHORE (Functions requiring offshore employment)

Survey

- Geophysical and Geological Survey

Rig

- Exploration Well Drilling

Platform

- Development Men Drilling
- Platform Operations
- Workover and Well Stimulation

Platform Installation

- Steel Jacket Installation and Commissioning
- Concrete Platform Installation and Commissioning

Pipelaying and Burying

- Offshore Oil and Gas Gather Pipeline Laying and Burying
- Offshore Oil and Gas Trunk Pipeline Laying and Burying

Supply/Anchor/Tug Boat

- Supply/Anchor Boat for Rigs
- Supply Boat for Platform Development Drilling
- Supply/Anchor Boat for Lay Barge and Bury Barge
- Tugboat for Platform Installation and Towout
- Tugboat for Lay Barge Spread
- Supply Boat for Platform Operations

Source: Dames and Moore/Alaska Consultants, Inc.

TABLE 28
 FORECAST OF NET INCREASE IN HOUSING DEMAND
 5% PROBABILITY SCENARIO
 KODIAK AREA
 1978 - 2000

<u>Year</u>	<u>Net Population Increase</u>	<u>Net Increase Number of Housing Units</u>	<u>Single Family</u>	<u>Multi-Family</u>	<u>Trailer</u>
1978	477	159	92	41	26
1979	335	112	65	29	18
1980	365	122		32	20
1981	575	193	111	50	30
1982	559	188	109	49	30
1983	671	233	135	61	37
1984	748	260	150	68	42
1985	676	236	136	62	38
1986	528	183	106	48	29
1987	499	176	102	46	28
1988	1,003	386	223	102	62
1989	306	108	63	28	17
1990	301	100	58	26	16
1991	347	113	65	30	18
1992	544	180	104	47	29
1993	377	122	70	32	20
1994	384	130	75	34	21
1995	378	128	74	33	21
1996	296	100	58	26	16
1997	290	97	56	25	16
1998	211	70	41	18	11
1999	392	131	76	34	21
2000	<u>292</u>	<u>97</u>	<u>56</u>	25	16
TOTALS	<u>10,554</u>	<u>3,624</u>	<u>2,096</u>	946	582

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc., 1979b

ethnic complications increase (Payne 1979). All communities experiencing rapid growth report increased fragmentation of the social structure and greater friction between the parts of the structure. However, within the Native group traditional social ties should not be too greatly affected. Kinship would be expected to remain strong and the Church should continue to play its role.

Depending on the implementation of the Five Year Health Plan, there could be greater competition for hospital space and **healthcare** specialists. Certain of the impacts projected for the populace of Kodiak as a whole will also impinge on the Native population. Among these are impacts on the political mechanisms. Under this high scenario, the Borough is projected accruing a greatly expanded tax base. As noted in the Alaska Consultants scenario discussion:

"The most significant fiscal feature to local governments of the 5% scenario is the creation of a huge OCS industrial tax base exclusively in the Borough's taxing jurisdiction and outside the City of Kodiak" (1979 b:188).

An estimated assessed value of \$1.1 billion may be added to the Borough's tax rolls.

REGIONAL NATIVE IMPACT - HIGH SCENARIO

The region-wide consequences of the high case will depend partly on the positions taken by Koniag, Inc. and KANA. It may be expected, in the

most general terms, that **Koniag, Inc.** would support OCS development but that KANA might object to it. **Koniag** would expect some economic benefit for their shareholders while **KANA** may anticipate negative effects on the villages they serve.

Under the pressures that might occur should the high scenario come to pass, it is most difficult to project where the two organizations might come out. If the **consensus** favored development, then both groups could be expected to support the growth envisioned under the high case and want to become involved in the various activities. **Koniag** might wish to make capital and **land** available for housing construction and KANA might actively provide training programs and advocacy for Native laborers. But, if the **consensus** opposed development, opposition from both groups could place **impediments** at many points in the processes projected. If the two groups **failed** to reach consensus, the divisions within the Native community could have long-range effects.

Under the high scenario, Kodiak and the Natives of the Kodiak area would probably be eligible for some impact funds which could be allocated to minimize impacts anticipated to be negative for the communities. Perhaps under the high scenario the **Chiniak** center could also be eligible for additional funds for on-the-job training in energy development-related jobs. Although the students at the center may not choose to remain in the Kodiak area, they could take their skills elsewhere. This might be a special consideration for students from coastal areas in other parts of Alaska where **leasing** and

exploration schedules follow the Western Gulf.

If the tax consequences of this high scenario are realized, then it is projected some new relationships and allocation of funds between the Borough and the City of Kodiak will need to be made. (Alaska Consultants 1979; Payne 1979). How this might affect the Natives would depend partly on whether or not the facilities are sited on **Native-owned** land - in which case they might become parties to the conflict by implication - and whether or not Natives are active in leadership roles in the Borough and the City - as they have **been in the past**. Thus, while it is difficult to project exactly what the political implications of the high case might be because the land ownership questions have not been answered and because the leaders are not known, it is safe to guess that they will have some considerable bearing on Native people. For one thing, if the Borough receives that much money, perhaps the services provided to the villages could be greatly expanded.

This chapter has described the major features of the petroleum scenarios and some projected possible Native response to the three different levels of potential development. These projections are only hypothetical and are based on limited information, but they do provide perspective for the peoples of Kodiak, and history, to later refine, validate or correct.

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CHAPTER X
CONCLUSIONS

This report is not a study of highly specific impacts on a single community, but a regional analysis which led to some preliminary projections and serves as a background for identifying further research needs. It is a beginning that takes the process as far as possible within the present time, funding, and information constraints. This final chapter provides some additional observations, and proposed future research directions and suggestions for developing standards for the measurement of change. The main focus is the presentation of major findings of this research effort.

OCS Impact Studies

One assumption apparent in impact studies is that the critical variables are numbers of people and jobs. These are indeed important, yet it is not only the sheer numbers that make a difference, but the kinds of people different activities bring. Likewise, it may not be the number of jobs, but their relative duration, and their amenability to the local subcultures, that will most influence their effect. As for anticipated drop-off of employment, that may not be as serious as sometimes assumed. If the life style of some workers is such that people EXPECT to be laid off, then fluctuation of employment is anticipated, even something to look forward to happening. Year-round employment is a peculiar phenomenon of the industrialized world, and does not fit well with the traditional seasonal activities of some Alaskan life styles.

Quitting, doing something else, taking it easy, applying for unemployment, may be as much a part of some people's life style as permanent employment and compulsive work habits are for those who study it. Differences in perspective may be reflected in the studies accomplished.

Another difficulty with impact studies is that they seem to presume that jobs matter more than relatives. For example, it seems assumed that transportation will open up access to jobs, and therefore improve the economy. For some Natives, transportation means access to relatives, and enhances the social life. For many Natives, relatives come first, and relatives strongly influence work patterns and locations. In order to understand Native economic life, we must try to understand Native priorities and how those combine with other factors and lead to their rational decisions.

Advantages and benefits of the preparation process of local impact studies, regardless of what ultimately happens in the oil industry, includes the fact that such a study forces a community to become more aware of itself, and it encourages the kind of long-range planning a community should be making in this complex age anyway. Also it may serve to sharpen the issues, and involve a wide range of people who might not otherwise be concerned. A local-impact statement could focus a community on itself, and result in a positive clarification of the issues confronting it. However, in a fishing-based community such as Kodiak, the problems may be made more complex than elsewhere by the fact of the seasonality of the main industries, and the high turnover of some parts of the population, and this places additional

responsibility on the more permanent residents.

Recommendations

1. The Kodiak Native people, especially in the villages, need specific information about OCS scenarios, the kinds of tasks involved, the nature of the people and the magnitude of different levels of involvement. The setting is good for this kind of information; OCS has been an anacronym of considerable familiarity. But, what is associated with it in terms of process, people, and jobs is not known in the villages.
2. After specific information is provided, then time and discussion may be required for its integration on a family and community basis. (The fact that 14 representatives from villages attended the OCS advisory meetings in May, 1979, is encouraging. It may be important to establish if those individuals were actually residents of the villages or "enrollees" now living in Kodiak.)
3. After time to think and discuss the range of possible events, another session to discuss what people think about them may elicit valuable insights about the special ways villagers view these developments, and their potential participation, or non-participation, in them. In the process, a village may become self-aware in a new way, and subsequently be better prepared to respond creatively to whatever externally-introduced events may come their way. The future may not lead to OCS development, or bottomfish, or tourism, but the new skills for thinking about those potential changes may be credited to the OCS discussion process.

4. In future planning, the OCS socioeconomic study program should seriously consider including the communities on the western shore of Kodiak, and the southern shore of the Alaska Peninsula, as ones likely to be **directly affected** by OCS development in the vicinity of **Shelikof** Straits and indirectly by developments in the **Western Gulf**.

STANDARDS

Four suggestions for the development of potential measurements of change in the future can be made at this time. One concerns the possible use of changing addresses of **Koniag** enrollees over time. Since the Corporation must make an effort to keep track of its shareholders, that information is available in their records. Whether or not it would be available for the purposes of research will be up to its officers. However, for consideration, the following suggestion is made:

An analysis of where **Koniag** enrollees lived in 1973 and in 1978 might reflect a changing residency pattern on the island, between the villages, within Alaska and outside the state. How those patterns change over time might be assessed at 5-year intervals, and provide valuable planning information for the corporation, as well as indications of physical mobility of **Koniag** Natives over time. Follow-up on why people moved, and whether or not those transitions were in any way **related** to anticipated developments on Kodiak, might then be measured.

A second possible standard could be the simple analysis of the Kodiak telephone book over a number of years. A count of Native residences and businesses by telephone listing might be made by knowledgeable residents. Often ethnically distinctive names such as those from the Philippines are also easily identified, as are the surnames of Japanese, Korean and Vietnamese. Further exploration of the telephone directory for changes over time might develop into a useful, though very limited, general measure of changing ethnic relationships and locations within towns small enough to have municipal cable phone books.

The third measure might be developed through the actual counting of flights, freight and passengers in and out of the villages, by season and by year. The proportion of village traffic which moves by regular flights and by charter might also be graphed and provide indicators of change over time. Study of these critical small-scale transportation systems needs to be made to supplement statewide and regional studies such as those accomplished by Eakland and Associates (1979).

A fourth measure of change might be to have a local village log maintained which would record the numbers and frequency of government personnel passing through each village over a period of time. This, too, may reflect changing funding sources and projects, times of year, and the increase or decrease of agency funds and involvement in the small communities.

These four potential standards are identified in anticipation that they might eventually be developed and tested in the Kodiak area, or perhaps found useful elsewhere in Alaska.

Evaluation of the Method

It may appear premature to assess the value of the method spelled out in Chapter Two and demonstrated through the report. Yet a few of its obvious strengths and limitations can be identified. On the one hand, the discussion represents a coherent, integrated sequence of logical steps which clarifies the process through which this study was accomplished. It reflects a rigorous effort to efficiently marshal ideas, data, and time. On the other hand, a limitation is inherent in the fact of inadequate local information. To reach the level of sophistication we desire, much additional research remains to be done with the residents. Also, we lack at this point the **sociocultural** information about the new immigrants who (if they come) may modify the current Native systems. However, rather than inhibiting this effort, these limitations actually enhanced the challenge of seeing if this attempt might develop into an effective method for beginning impact analysis with ethnically distinctive populations.

This report has been a reflection of the evolution of a process, a process to try to understand distinct populations well enough to anticipate with them what future events might bring their way, and to project likely, though wholly hypothetical, responses to those events. So many variables enter in, this can only be an extremely complex process, with similarly tenuous findings. Here are two examples of fluctuation: In October-November, during the first field trip, OCS was nearly a dead issue. However, at the end of that three-weeks period, a possible change in lease sale area #60 including Shelikof Strait as an extension of Cook

Inlet appeared on the first page of the Kodiak Daily Mirror. This prompted the reactivation of the OCS advisory council; OCS came to compete with, and even supplant, D-2 issues during the spring of 1979.

For a second example, after a visit to three villages in April, it appeared that a statement could appear in this report that the villagers were not aware of OCS in enough detail to justify asking them questions about it, thereby this report simply could not deal with the village people's view of OCS, because not enough discussion had been held, nor information provided. Then shortly after the researcher left Kodiak, 14 "villagers" attended an OCS advisory meeting in Kodiak, received new information, followed by discussion. Clearly, the situation in Kodiak is so dynamic that little stated at one fragile time in history can be wholly appropriate for a period six months later. However, through this beginning assessment, a more sophisticated and predictable level of understanding is possible in the future, when, with new data, the relative accuracy or inaccuracy of the predictions can be more sharply defined.

Major Findings

This section begins with an illustration of the way questions and assumptions stated early in the research period led eventually to projections of likely response to future OCS-related events. Following this, only the major findings are identified. Needless to say, not all were so logically developed; some findings rather more spontaneously occurred as the research and writing progressed, a reflection of the continuing need for this kind of flexibility of thought in social impact analysis.

Question:

What effect did the earthquake/tsunami/resettlement have on the amenability of communities to resist or accept further development?

Assumption:

Those communities most affected by the 1964 disaster will be more receptive to OCS, or other development, because one result of that major disruption was irreversible change in the direction of greater dependence on the outside world and the wage economy.

Projection

The two villages most capable of positive response to oil and gas development seem to be the two villages most dislocated during and after the 1964 Alaskan Earthquake and tsunami. Port Lions and Old Harbor were wholly rebuilt following the disaster. Both have the most complex and complete infrastructures - for small, isolated villages. However, of the two, only Old Harbor has publicly indicated active interest in participation in on-shore siting within the general vicinity of the village.

Assumption:

In general, those communities with the least amount of previous external sources of impact will be less interested in responding in a positive way to new opportunities, because history has allowed them greater continuity with the past, which functions to inhibit rapid adaptation to future changes.

Projection

Akhiok, which is most isolated and little affected by the 1964 disaster, seems most interested in maintaining Aleut traditions, and will probably respond to OCS more cautiously than Old Harbor.

Other Findings and Discussion

- Akhiok and Ouzinkie are currently experiencing the "shock" of the simultaneous introduction of many new services: housing, roads, air strips, health clinics, community-wide electrical services. The impact of these combined hunks of modernity, and associated costs, are likely to have greater direct influence on village lifestyle than oil and gas development. Further, it is hypothesized even a high find will not equal in impact on village life as these other, highly localized events. Insofar as these villages do accommodate, integrate and "make Aleut" these new services, they will then be in a stronger position to benefit more from long-range developments of other kinds, including OCS development.
- Overall, the Kodiak Natives appear to be in favor of development. Recapturing, reliving, reviving old traditions has not in the past been a priority. They have, rather, seemed to be busy getting on with the business of participating more fully with the larger world. However, the pace has varied, from the slow, cautious changes in the small, remote villages, to the more aggressive pursuit by Old Harbor and Port Lions.
- The more remote the village from Kodiak, the greater the possibility of marked negative effects of OCS developments. Unlike suggestions made in planning documents, some villagers are likely to experience direct as well as indirect effects in the following

ways:

- increased competition for already scarce, and expensive, air transportation.
- increased costs of air freight, electricity, **fuel**, and food.
- increased sense of dislocation when visiting in the town of Kodiak.

- Considerable stress seems to occur periodically in some families, at certain times of year, which leads to increased incidences of heavy drinking, violence and accidents. However, no study of the causes, the **seasonality**, or indications of the increase or decrease of these **social** problems has been accomplished. In so far as additional employment may relieve some economic pressures, then perhaps some of the social problems will be lessened. However, if the social problems are not directly related to **economics** (and the real causes appear yet unknown), then any change as a result of the proposed scenarios remain unknown.
- Travel plays an important role for many Kodiak Natives. Given additional income from OCS-related job opportunities, it may be projected more funds **will** be spent to travel - further and more frequently.
- Native people appear to be less concerned about possible changes to their lifestyle in a future linked to OCS events than some non-Native people. The concern about the future, about oil spills, and about threats to fisheries appears to this researcher more a

characteristic of non-Natives, and rarely a specific concern for Natives. It is unknown whether this is the result of a lack of information, or a culturally-distinctive way of managing the same information that non-Natives have. This researcher believes the Native people in Kodiak are cognizant of the risks involved, but seem less concerned about it. Little on this topic can be postulated for the villages because discussion there has not been extensively enough to fairly ask what they think about it.

- In the past, Native response to industrial change has been to participate in it, but at a slower, more cautious rate than characterized by non-Native population which introduced it. For example, eventually the canneries did hire Native workers; Native fishermen first rented, then leased, then bought small salmon fishing boats. Eventually, a few invested in crab boats and gear. However, when canneries were destroyed by tsunami (as at Shearwater near Old Harbor, and Ouzinkie in 1964) or by fire (as in Port Lions, Ouzinkie and Old Harbor in 1975), the villagers did not move away in search for other kinds of work. Rather, most stayed home, and continue to anticipate the hopeful return of another cannery, another processor, perhaps even another industry. Rather than leave home to find work, it seems the Natives of Kodiak would rather remain home, and be poor for awhile, and hope for an industry to come to them. The priority clearly has been demonstrated to be in favor of fishing-related industry, and against tourism. The level of acceptability of OCS-related jobs was not a task assessed in this research, but

in the **four, short village** visits, the level of resistance toward OCS alternatives was never at the level expected, nor at the level reported by non-Native residents in Kodiak city.

- Native response to past externally-introduced changes such as relocation has been, in general, reluctant. The relocation of Afognak to Settler's Cove was not enthusiastic at the time, and there are some residents who **still** prefer Afognak. However, eventual acceptance of the present location seems to accompany a philosophy of life of taking what comes - a good fishing season, or a bad one; a good location, or a bad one. Clearly the people **of Old Harbor** did not **initially** want to return to the **debris** of **their** old, destroyed village, but the **vitality** and continuity of that village indicates that they were able to make that adjustment. **In contrast** to Port Lions which now has many non-Native residents and businesses, Old Harbor has very few non-Natives, **and** all businesses are Native owned.
- Like the reluctant relocation of Afognak people to Port Lions, the Kaguyakans reluctantly, and for some, temporarily, relocated in Akhiok. Like the people from old Afognak, they remain nostalgic for the old village. The implication for OCS **underlying** this finding is that the Native people may accept whatever comes their way **in** that industry also unless through the new organizations of Koniag and KANA they become politicized to resist it. At this junction both Koniag and especially KANA are urging the sharing of information outward to the villages,

rather than taking an advocacy position for or against UCS. As suggested in this report, the autonomy of the villages is strong, and it is unlikely that the new political Native "buffers" have as much influence over the decisions at the local levels as outsiders may think they have. The villagers simply will not allow it. Both Koniag and KANA are, however, clearly in significant positions of being influential for, or against, the kinds of industrial development potentially affecting the villages. The relationships with the villages are significant, and not to be ignored, but the relationships differ from that of a borough over its towns, or a city over its wards. To this researcher, a high level of autonomy and respect persists between the villages, and between the villages and the new Native political and economic organizational levels. These later relationships are new, and they are changing. Generally, communications appear healthy for a continuing relationship between them.

- A weak area in this report has been the attempt to address the questions of conflicts between the various levels of Native corporations, local governments, and federal and state agencies. Some of these conflicts are public, and known through the press. Others are reported by the studies accomplished in this program (i. e., Alaska Consultants, Payne). The lack of precision in the projections concerning these conflicts as reflected in this study is a combination of the following factors: the conflicts are highly visible to those involved, and they tend to

concentrate on a few individuals, Also, Native people generally seem not to like to talk about conflict between themselves and non-Natives; conflicts between Natives seem more comfortably addressed (perhaps because the researcher is non-Native). Finally, this researcher does not thrive on boldly initiating obviously conflict-laden topics. The preferred method was to wait for the opportunity to develop discussion around such a topic. As one result, much interesting, valuable insights were learned with the Natives of Kodiak. However, as another result, the intensity and specificity of conflict may not be wholly perceived nor reported. Perhaps conflict is not there in the intensity non-Natives would expect it to be, or alternatively, perhaps it was there, but not elicited through this research.

- o Little is known about Native coastal land selections, except those are their valued land for both traditional and modern business reasons. That OCS development would possibly figure in future revenues is anticipated.
- The **sociocultural** consequences of "land status changes are little discussed in this report. The Native people did not talk about them very much and the land issues were so controversial and intense during the research period that rarely was specific comment solicited. Dividends from wood products in the north and rights to keep non-Natives from squatting on Native lands and beaches were two verbalized expectations of conveyance. Revenues from

lands leased may be of the greatest potential significance to the Kodiak Native people in the long run. However, more important to them during the research period were the new services being installed in the villages, the jobs they would (temporarily) create, and feared expenses that would ultimately result. The possibility that revenues from lands leased could provide the funds for the many development plans outlined village by village in the OEDP reports of 1978 and 1979 seemed little explored. Perhaps time is too early to know the value of the land, the demand for its access, and possible income it might, in the long run, generate. These are fishing, and family, people. The legal status of the land may change more rapidly than their ideas about it. As with many previous points of this report, this area requires more research than possible at this time.

- Little diversification of industry has occurred in the villages, and therefore few individuals are involved in jobs other than those which are directly fishing-related. Greater alternatives are available in the town, but participation there also appears marginal.
- Fishing will continue to be highest priority for Native residents of Kodiak, but the amenability to diversifying and including OCS development will probably vary by area, by village and by age group. Most Natives are involved in fisheries, and most village Natives are exclusively involved in salmon fishing. Therefore, what happens to all aspects of the salmon industry will affect

them more directly than what happens to shellfish and bottom fish industry, or other developments which require high risk and extensive capital. One of the consequences of Native commitment to salmon fisheries is the concomitant limited flexibility to move into other fisheries if the salmon run is poor. If the salmon industry has stabilized (Alaska Consultants working paper #6), then we might project that those Natives currently involved in salmon fishing will continue to participate in that industry almost exclusive of other developments. However, if there is serious, or permanent decline in salmon fisheries, then some Natives will be amenable to exploring other fishing activities. However, the traditional fluctuation of salmon fishing will function to inhibit any rapid change to make the kinds of capital investments required for other fishing activity. The cultural pattern of predominant dependence on commercial salmon fishing will be extremely resistant to change. Unless Native people in the villages are given considerable inducement to modify current patterns, a continuation of salmon fishing and processing indefinitely into the future is likely. If salmon industry is seriously threatened by future developments, it is unlikely village Natives will shift to fishing something else. Unless significant steps are taken, a shift to increased government dependency is more likely than increased capital investment in larger boats and catching other fish, or pursuing careers in other industry.

• Unless significant modifications of the limited permit regulations are made in the very near future, the Natives of the villages, and the Native fishermen in Kodiak, may be forced out of a guaranteed continuity in the profession which they hold in highest priority: fishing. Unless access to fishing, permits, gear and boats are made possible for the men of the villages, social problems, unemployment, poverty and increased dependence on other sources of income will probably increase. The ramifications of the limited permit regulations and their method and manner of application may have more negative effects to lifestyle, quality of life, mental and social problems, than the development of oil and gas development accompanying a high find.

e Koniag enrollees are located in six villages and one town on Kodiak, in 33 other Alaskan towns and 36 other states. Future development on the island may draw some absentee enrollees back. This migration back may occur anyway, but increased employment opportunities may encourage and accelerate the process.

• In late 1978, other industries loomed so large and invitingly, OCS possibilities paled in comparison. At that time OCS issues were low priority, and remote possible developments seemed not likely to have much effect on current plans. It appeared OCS would not likely be embraced as enthusiastically the second time around, for other developments have occurred since 1976. OCS was placed third in priorities by several Koniag officers, and is likely to stay there until significant and convincing developments occur to change it. Fisheries and forestry appeared

both more promising and more predictable.

- If OCS development occurs in the northern vicinity, it will serve to further concentrate industrial development to the northern part of the island. It will join forestry and fishing as major industrial activities and will compound the inequity in employment opportunities which already exists on the island. A northern development could lead to the least degree of potential damage to Native cultures. That is, the southern and western villages could continue relatively unimpeded.

- If OCS development occurs toward the southern end of the island, then it would provide some distance from the concentration of industry to the north and would provide less competition for physical space, and harbor facilities. Also it would (perhaps to a limited degree), provide some employment options to an area which presently has few alternatives.

o The anticipation and serious consideration of on-shore siting near Old Harbor in the past may lead to disappointment in the future if no participation in OCS develops in that area.

- The economic and political organization of the regional profit corporation, Koniag, Inc., has placed the Natives in a strong position to negotiate. It is no longer possible to exclude Native involvement in any major development. The non-profit corporation, KANA (Kodiak Area Native Association) tends to be

more village and service-oriented, and it is through this organization that impacts could be both mitigated and monitored.

- The **Koniag** Natives can be characterized as optimistic in their outlook on the future. For example, high expectations were expressed by some in 1976 concerning **OCS** development. High expectations were also expressed on the use of **Chiniak** as a **Job Corps** center. Optimism concerning **forestry development** now appears widespread. Finally, some individuals **anticipate** a favorable outcome in the case of the Kodiak villages that were not recognized under **ANCSA** and have been appealed to the courts for five years.

A number of factors are hypothesized as contributing to this optimism. Traditionally, things have usually gotten better in the future. If there is a bad fishing season one year, a better one usually follows. Also, **Koniag** leadership continues to express high hopes. This outlook persists even though there have been some notable setbacks. Some of the White professionals working with the regional corporation may also function to keep morale high by anticipating success even in the face of major obstacles. Finally, the **Koniag** seem to have a general characteristic of enjoying **life**. This outlook appears supported by a lifestyle and child-raising tradition which encourages optimism.

The relevance to OCS of this finding is that **Koniag** Natives are likely to approach OCS development, and other developments, with

anticipation of its potential benefits, rather than a great concern over potential negative ramifications.

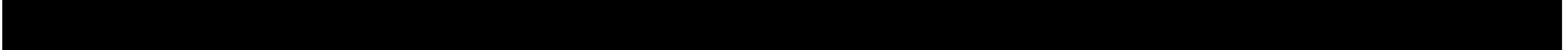
Summary

In prehistoric times the **Koniag** were at the cross-roads of many different cultures, including **Tlingit**, **Tanaina**, **Yupik**, and **Aleut**. In historic times the Kodiak area continued to be in the cross-roads, with the sea otter industry and consequent flow of foreign ships through Kodiak. In the 1880's and 1890's, the salmon industry was accompanied by the rapid arrival of workers of many nationalities. The goldrush brought increased traffic, followed later by the excitement of the 1912 **Katmai** eruption. As one result of World War II, a large military population was located in Kodiak, and the "village" was incorporated, ready for the next boom, a rather unexpected and sudden one initiated by the Earthquake, tsunami and reconstruction in 1964. The fisheries expansion begun in the 1950's, expanded rapidly in the late 60's. The land claims settlement of 1971 changed human relationships, especially in Kodiak. Then in 1975-76 Kodiak became, for a short period, a cross-roads with oil industry interests. Currently there is international discussion concerning bottom fish potential, and international themes are kept alive through concern about Japanese, Korean, and Russian intrusion on fishing territory. In many ways we may continue to view Kodiak as a cross-roads, sometimes a cross-roads of conflict. Two key arenas of conflict in 1979 appear to concern **Afognak** lands, resources and recreational potential, and the fisheries and OCS debate.

This report began with the identification of a theoretical base and ended with several specific OCS-related findings. A series of questions led to preliminary statements of the assumptions and guided both the selection of methods and the content and direction of the data gathering. The subsequent data analysis modified and strengthened some of those early assumptions so that they could be restated with greater reliability as findings and hypothetical projections. The projections which conclude this study may provide the beginning assumptions of the next one, allowing and encouraging in the future a finer and more accurate assessment of probable change in small Native communities, given certain circumstances.

Perhaps, in the long run, it will be possible to move not only from broad theory to projections, but also, if the effort is great enough, those eventual projections could contribute to new theory of energy development-related research.

Underlying this exercise is the hope that this report will assist decision makers in both Native and governmental organizations with their continuing efforts to be increasingly cognizant of the human consequences of their policies.



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