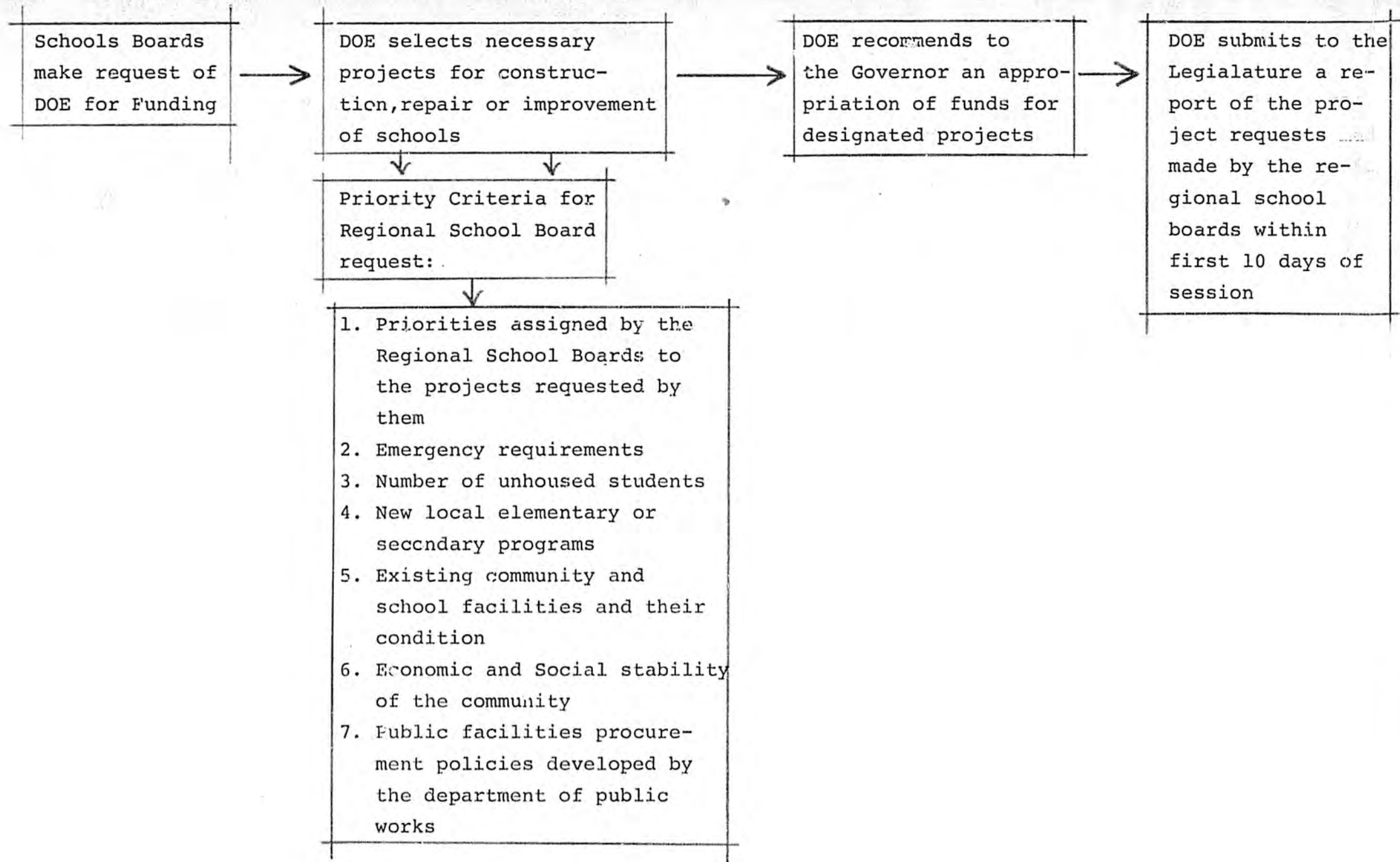


ALASKA LEGISLATURE SPECIAL COMMITTEE / SUBJECT FILES 86 / 2
398 SCOMM10: LOCAL GOVERNMENT STUDY 1979



Article 3. Community Facilities Grants.

Section

300. Civic, convention and community recreation centers

Sec. 43.18.300. Civic, convention and community recreation centers. (a) Within the limits of legislative appropriations for the purpose, the state shall make matching grants to local governments or their nonprofit designee equal to 50 per cent of the estimated reasonable costs of land acquisition, planning, and construction of municipal civic, convention and community recreation centers and 50 per cent of the cost of feasibility studies relating to these facilities, in accordance with the provisions of this section.

(b) Grants for only one study and one project may be awarded to a local government under this section. Applications for grants shall be made in a form prescribed by the commissioner. A grant shall be allotted according to an agreement made between the commissioner on behalf of the state and the local government receiving the grant. The agreement may include any provision agreed upon by the parties and shall include in substance the following provisions:

(1) estimates of reasonable costs of a study or project as approved by the commissioner after consultation with the Department of Public Works;

(2) a schedule of grant disbursements, if, as determined by the commissioner, a grant is to be disbursed other than in one sum;

(3) agreement by the local government to

(A) proceed with and complete the proposed study or project expeditiously;

(B) not discontinue operation or dispose of all or part of a project for which it receives a grant without the approval of the commissioner;

(C) apply for, and make reasonable efforts to secure, federal assistance which may be available for the study or project, subject to any conditions the commissioner may require in order to maximize the amounts of that assistance received or to be received for all projects in the state;

(D) provide for payment of the local government's share of the cost of the study or project;

(4) agreement by the local government that, if federal assistance for a study or project becomes available to the local government which was not included in the calculation of the amount of a grant authorized and disbursed under this section, the value of the federal assistance shall be ascertained and subtracted from the total value of the project and the balance shall be equally divided between the state and local government;

(5) provision for alteration or modification of an approved study or project and for remedies in case of failure to perform the agreement between the parties or noncompliance with regulations promulgated by the commissioner under this section;

(6) provision for alteration or modification of an existing facility

which would have qualified under this section as a civic, convention or community recreation center at the time of initial construction if this section had been in effect and provision for remedies in case of failure to perform the agreement between the parties or noncompliance with regulations promulgated by the commissioner under this section.

(c) If funds appropriated by the legislature to provide grants under this section are not adequate to satisfy amounts required by approved grant applications, funds shall be allocated on the basis of priority established by the Department of Economic Development by regulations promulgated to carry out the provisions of this section.

(d) This section does not require that a local government receiving a grant for a feasibility study under this section must proceed with construction of a project, notwithstanding the project is determined to be feasible.

(e) The commissioner shall require in the negotiations and agreements with the local government that continued maintenance of the facility is the responsibility of the local government and the local government must show the feasibility of this before authorization of state funds.

(f) The commissioner shall provide an annual report to the legislature with respect to grants made under this section.

(g) The commissioner may promulgate regulations to carry out the purpose of this section.

(h) In this section

(1) "commissioner" means the commissioner of economic development;

(2) "local government" means a city of any class or a borough having power to implement the studies or projects for which grants are authorized in this section;

(3) "costs of construction" includes, in addition to costs directly related to the project, the sum total of all costs of financing and carrying out the project; these include, but are not limited to, the costs of all necessary studies, surveys, plans and specifications, architectural, engineering or other special services, acquisition of real property, site preparation and development, purchase, construction, reconstruction and improvement of real property and the acquisition of machinery and equipment as may be necessary in connection with the project; an allocable portion of the administrative and operating expenses of the grantee; the cost of financing the project, including interest on bonds issued to finance the project; and the cost of other items, including any indemnity and surety bonds and premiums on insurance, legal fees, fees and expenses of trustees, depositaries, financial advisors, and paying agents for the bonds issued as the issuer considers necessary; it does not include the cost of feasibility studies.

(am § 26 ch 168 SLA 1978)

Municipality of Anchorage



ANCHORAGE ASSEMBLY

APR 19 1979

POUCH 6-650
ANCHORAGE, ALASKA 99502
(907) 274-2525

Assemblyman Don Smith
Box 57 SRA
Anchorage, Alaska 99507
Phone: 344-1098 Home
276-4325 Office

April 19, 1979

To Members of the Alaska Legislature

I'm urging that you consider freezing unspent Rural High School construction monies in order to give time for a review and re-evaluation of the program.

Why am I asking for such an action? My reason is that I do not believe that enough time and consideration was given to how the State of Alaska should attempt to solve the problem of education in rural Alaska.

I believe that Legislative action last year may have committed this State to a program which will not meet the needs of a small number of rural Alaskan High School Students and yet cost this State over a billion dollars within the next 20 years.

The out of court settlement of the Hootch case in my opinion can be delayed pending a reasonable review. The initial commitment on the part of the State was for \$20 million of the \$59 million dollar bond issue in 1976 to be used for construction of rural high schools. We should not allow the threat of further suit's or a continuation of the Hootch case to stop reasonable consideration of the consequences of building high schools in 126 villages in the State.

I think that we need to look at other alternatives besides just the construction of the traditional one room school house.

CURRENT RURAL ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PROGRAM

I've talked with teachers and parents from rural Alaska who indicate to me that the current program for educating elementary children is not working. Are we structuring the curriculum for the uniqueness of rural Alaska so that children in grades K - 8



are capable of actually going on to High School? I've heard that there are inadequate books, programs that just won't work in the rural environment and that the problems are immense in getting qualified teachers and then being able to keep them.

QUALITY OF EDUCATION

Just what kind of high school education are you truly going to give in a classroom with 8 or 10 or for that matter 15 to 20 students? Do you really believe that students coming from this type of school will be capable of competing with other students when they go to college? How many native leaders do you think there will be in the future with this kind of high school training? I'm convinced that you will set back many of the advances that the Alaskan Native people have made in the past 20 years. Our rural high school students cannot receive the kind of training they will need in a school of 8 to 10 students. They need more than just the basics.

What about the recent University of Alaska study on Rural High School Education? Isn't that a warning flag that should be looked at. Remember, once this money is spent the program cannot be re-done. I've heard that the Hootch lawyers are now beginning to complain that the rural high school students are not going to be receiving the same kind of education that a student receives at West Anchorage High School -- of course not!

WHAT ARE THE COSTS?

Just what sort of commitment has been made? While the figures are difficult to acquire, it's obvious that well over \$160 million has been committed to date. This breaks down as follows:

- \$ 59 Million from the bond issue in 1976
- 96 million from chapter 134 SLA 1978
- 4.5 million from chapter 137 SLA 1978
- 1 million from chapter 113 SLA 1978
- \$160.5 million

These monies are only for construction! Original estimates appear to be over 2 years old which means that with inflation the totals will be much higher in order to build schools in all 126 villages. I even understand that REAA officials are speculating that this program with all the money currently committed will need an additional \$250 million to be completed!

That's over \$400 million dollars in order to build schools in 126 villages for no more than 2,300 to 2,600 kids!

Page Three.

For most State projects there is a requirement for life-cycle cost estimates. Do you realize that this has never been done? What are the costs going to be to fly in fuel, buy costly electricity, repair the facilities, provide for staff including their accommodations? You can bet it will easily exceed the construction costs!

I've talked with architects, builders and contractors and they all have told me that there are tremendous problems in trying to build these type of facilities in rural Alaska and that construction costs will be out of sight. I'd suggest that you talk privately to some of these people and find out how they view this program. I've heard that some of the schools are even being designed with obvious deficiencies and will require additional money to complete.

WHO'S IN CHARGE?

You should try and find out information on this program. I've never seen such a mess! The Department of Education handles one part, the REAA's another and the Department of Transportation the other. I'm convinced from my attempts to gather information that no one knows what the other is doing. You'd think that it would be a simple matter to chart a specific school. How many kids, how many students each year for the next 5 to 8 years, design of the school, estimated costs, size, a schedule of when the school will be designed, bid and constructed, any over-runs, and on and on! Believe me, you won't get very far. I know that certain Legislators have tried to acquire information and have been given the run around.

WHAT KIND OF STAFFING WILL BE REQUIRED?

What will the staffing requirements be for these 126 schools? As noted in the appendix, I have a letter from a person in Eagle who cites the number of Teachers now in the Eagle School. Are we going to be structuring the schools like in Eagle, from one teacher for 28 students in 1971 to 5 certified teachers & 1 secretary for 35 students? You'd almost think so if any kind of program is to be offered. What kind of PTR are we contemplating for rural high schools? What sort of commitment will we have in terms of costs for these teachers and their accommodations?

Are we going to be doing away with the current correspondence study program? Will students be allowed at State expense as is done today to travel to a larger community and board in order to get a decent education?

What is the REAA program costing us and shouldn't there be

an analysis made of this commitment. I see REAA Board members staying in Anchorage for days at a time - wearing special jackets identifying them with a certain REAA. How much is this program costing? I've heard that the 21 superintendents are receiving salaries in the \$60,000 dollar range plus each REAA has their own large administrative staffs. Should consideration be given to combining some of these REAA's?

ALTERNATIVES

While Native Leaders have criticized the boarding school program, shouldn't consideration be given to building 8 or 10 high school centers in rural Alaska? These schools would then be much closer to the students homes and therefore would allow for more contact with families.

What about using our new satellite TV communication system? Maybe all we need is a small addition to the local grade school and some coordination through the grade school teacher to work with the students in their correspondence studies.

I'm sure that there are many other options that have not been adequately reviewed and could go a long way to solve the problem of rural Alaska high schools. They may not be the perfect answer to the problem but neither is just spending money and hoping that it will be the cure.

CONCERNS OF VILLAGES AND PARENTS

I understand that there have been numerous complaints in the Governor's office in Nome concerning this program. Parents have been complaining because there has not been adequate notice given nor no community input on just what kind of school is going to be built.

I have also been told that many villages, particularly in the lower kuskokwim, were interested in seeing some type of regional high school built in their region instead of the current program.

JUST WHAT ARE THESE FACILITIES TO BE USED FOR?

In my review of this program I looked at three plans for the different kinds of schools that are to be built. My first reaction was that they were glorified community centers! Each has a large gym with attached kitchen facilities. If the need is truly for classrooms, then why aren't we just flying out portable trailer units like Alyeska used on the pipeline and connect them to the existing grade schools? This would certainly not be the nicest facility but would meet the need of having a classroom for the rural high school student.

Page Five.

I think that while the buildings can be called high schools, we're really being asked to build 126 communities their own community center and as a second thought we're including a classroom or classrooms all under the guise of education!

CONCLUSION

We are still only a state of 400,000 people. There are lots of things we'd all like to have. The commitment of over a possible 1 billion dollars for high schools for such a small number of students is insane! Life in rural Alaska is tough and will always be difficult. Reasonable people I'm sure wouldn't object to a program that set up a few more regional high schools or an expanded correspondence program, but the State shouldn't be asked to expend its limited resources on this program, one at best that will not work.

As you know, I started a modest petition drive about a month ago. With very little effort I have collected over 2,200 signatures asking that you halt this program. This program should be stopped immediately and be given a complete review and re-evaluation. Alaskans deserve to know exactly what is planned and what the total costs are going to be. Not just construction costs, but a breakdown of all costs for the next 20 years. Various options should also be made available.

As a second recommendation, I would like to suggest that a blue ribbon commission be formed that could participate in the analysis.

Thank you for taking the time to review this request.


Don Smith

Eagle, Alaska 99738

April 7, 1979

Don Smith
402 W. 3rd Avenue Suite 18
Anchorage, Alaska 99501

Dear Mr. Smith,

While in Anchorage last week, it was with great joy I learned some one was finally concerned enough to do some thing about "run away spending in bush schools". I am appalled over the sudden increases with the new organization of Rural Regional School Districts.

In 1971, Eagle had one teacher with 28 students grades 1-8.

In 1978-79 Eagle has 35 students grade 1-12 with five certified teachers plus a secretary.

Eagle is located in the Gateway Regional School District, which has approx. 550-570 students the last time I asked, with an operating budget of 2 million dollars and a construction budget of 2.5 million dollars. Of course there is now an office building for a superintendent, ass't. superintendent, home studies coordinator who flies in to visit his students at regular intervals, a building personnel for construction plus several office staff. This structure was superimposed upon the already existing adm. personnel in the schools, such as principals, asst. principals and head teachers. It appears the major increases in the operating budget have gone for administrative personnel, and their per diem and travel.

Eagle has a mixed school of Indian and Caucasian since it serves the two communities. If I could get any inkling that the quality of education had improved, I might be less concerned. At \$3,636 per student, not including construction budget, which would more than double the cost per student, students could attend the best schools in the country.

Godd luck! If there is anything which I can do from this rural setting, please let me know. Attached are a few suggestions for change which I have listed.

Sincerely,

ALASKA REGIONAL RURAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS

How can one get hold of this FISCAL EXTRAVAGANZA RIP-OFF? Perhaps you already have some answers; one knows it is twice as difficult to cut back and to prevent budget explosion. I should think the urban area residents would be truly concerned, as they carry the taxation load while funds are limited for their schools. Only a few of these rural residents pay any taxes and many receive funds through other programs in order to live here, yet demand all the 1st class services.

1. Appeal the HOOTCH case - I believe there is enough evidence that the education received in small high schools does not counter balance the need for students to leave a community for high school, nor remain home and take correspondence courses. Presently a H.S. diploma does not indicate any achievement level. Need to set up specific academic standards to receive a H.S. diploma.

I believe a precedent has been set for rural services in the health services for which the state has been responsibility. In the small urban bush communities, emergency services and minor illnesses cared for (elementary schools); in the Regional Centers which would be Tok in our case, more diagnostic treatment available (high school) and higher medical centers only provided in large cities which would Fairbanks in our case (university settings).

2. Alaska Education Department interpretation of the HOOTCH case: Much could be done within this court decision without this financial explosion. Let the legislators take the reins and put down some fiscal ceilings under which they must operate.

3. Ceiling on administrative costs; money seems to flow like water; biggest job seems to get it all spent.

4. Ceiling on central administration staff per number of students. Outrageous to have a superintendent plus asst. superintendent when each of the schools already has a principal or head teacher depending on size. Why is a secretary necessary when two certified teachers H.S. only have 10 - 12 students between them? Lets get originality in staffing such cases.

5. If a community with less than 30 or 40 (?) students wishes a high school program, allow the state to provide a teacher and the local community provide the building and utilities; Eagle School grade 1-8 was provided in this manner 1899 - 1940's.

6. Correspondence courses - decide if the state or school district has this responsibility rather than duplicating as now occurs. Students living in Eagle, three miles from present school have elected to use correspondence courses - some under state supervision and others under school district. A good basic education can be received with home study, if ability and interest is there. Some correspondence students in Alaska (1-12 grades) have graduated from college Magnum-Cum-Laude.

7. Halt building programs when other community buildings are available. Fancy buildings do not mean good educational programs; lets look inside the classrooms.

8. Better supervision of necessary rural buildings; Eagle's last school bldg, a multi-purpose building cost over \$200 a square foot and is a night mare of problems. I have been told this is more than the Kennedy Center in Wash. D.C. cost. We have been building in same community for the past seven years and know this is not necessary.

9. School Board Duplication - Presently every school has a school board (5 members) plus a Regional School Board with a representative from each of the areas. That is similar in an urban area to a school board from each class room and a school board for each individual school (many urban schools have more enrollment than the entire Gateway Regional School District has.)

No salary, but much cost involved in travel and pre diem. Ceiling put on such costs as our Regional School Board voted to send members to numerous outside meetings, plus all members to a southeastern meeting when one could have attended and reported back. It is unfortunate not to find citizens more responsible for fiscal matters; in light of their actions, regulations are required.

10/ Term "certified teacher" seems to have lost most of its meaning, except for receiving large salaries. Univ. of Alaska has so watered down its programs to meet native inabilities that it has lost its credibility. I support their effort to provide programs for the 15% of our population (native) but not at the expense of the rest of the 85% of our population. LET'S STOP THIS SELL OUT TO ALASKA NATIVES - NO ONE IS HELPING THEM BY THIS TREND. I know - I live here with them and they are my friends.

One can now become a "certified teacher" via correspondence thru the Univ. of Alaska if one has worked as a teacher's aide in the rural school. This was intended for natives, but also applies to caucasians. Many of our native population have the ability and could meet all the standards set up for the "Caucasian population" and should share the benefits. Those in the "watered-down" programs, should be identified as such and receive benefits accordingly.

11. OPENING UP MORE ALASKA RURAL LAND could set us up for sky rocketing costs unless guide lines are set up on costly bush services, prior to opening of land. Historically, people have cried for land, to get into the wilderness; then they do get there, they begin to demand all types of services be provided to them on the spot by the state - education, roads, health and welfare to mention just a few.

I admire a family wishing to live out in rural Alaska, who educates their children via correspondence course and provides own health care and transportation *and welfare.*

THE STATE NEEDS TO SET UP SPECIFIC GUIDELINES FOR THESE RURAL SERVICES BEFORE THEY CONTINUE ON THEIR "BIG LAND GIVE AWAY PROGRAM."

PETITION TO THE LEGISLATURE

We the undersigned Alaskans **strongly urge** that a review and re-evaluation be made of the Rural High School Construction Program. We **ask** that **all funds** be frozen until a new plan is developed. The new plan should:

1. Call for no school to accomodate less than 250 students.
2. Have only **one** High School in each Rural Education Attendance Area.
3. Require a study of the programs total life-cycle costs.
4. Not allow the building of a High School where an already functioning High School exists.

Should the Legislature not take action this session it is our intention to promote and circulate an initiative petition to place this question on the 1980 election ballot.

PLEASE WRITE CLEARLY!

Name _____

Address

City

Zip Code

Please return in two weeks

Return to Don Smith 402 West Third Avenue Suite 8 Anchorage, Alaska 99501 Phone 276-4329

Xerox this form if you need more copies.

SCOMM

10:71

Inter-Department Route Slip

ATTENTION Gene Walsh

- ☐ Note & Return
☐ Initial & Return
☐ Return As Requested
☐ Return For Approval
☐ Necessary Action
☐ Your Information

I'm sending this with the caveat that it is incomplete, but should serve as a starting point. There are many "programs" which entail planning but which aren't included in this first

MAIL STATION NUMBER

DEPARTMENT DDP

BY Sally Ruel

DATE 4/25

02-002 (REV. 10/73)

Before going any further on it, I think we need some more focussed direction.

STATUTORY PLANNING PROVISIONS

- 02.25.010-110 zoning of airport hazard areas by DOT&PF
- 09.55.275 prior municipal replat approval of state acquisition of property requiring boundary change
- 16.05.092 comprehensive, coordinated state plan for rehabilitation, enhancement and development of all aspects of state's fisheries
- 16.10.375 regional salmon plans developed by DF&G and representatives of regional associations
- 18.07.090 state comprehensive health planning by DHSS
- 18.55.520-530 preparation and recommendation of redevelopment plans to municipalities, and implementation of redevelopment plans by ASHA; approval by local government
- 18.55.670 preparation of a general redevelopment plan by local governing body
- 18.55.690 urban renewal plans by ASHA
- 19.10.110 traffic planning by DOT&PF
- 19.10.140 long-range program for highway construction and maintenance by DOT&PF
- 19.10.280 municipality may assume planning responsibilities for transportation corridors from DOT&PF
- 19.20.080 development of master highway plan by municipalities and DOT&PF
- 19.30.141 annual development by DOT&PF and local governments of long-range program for the construction of local service roads and trails
- 29.18.300-310 development cities planning by DPDP, DCRA and other agencies
- 29.23.140,.290 borough administrator and city manager shall prepare and execute a capital improvements program
- 29.33.070 first and second class boroughs providing for planning, platting and zoning on an areawide basis
- 29.33.080-085 borough comprehensive plan
- 29.33.150 municipal platting authorities (subdivision control)
- 29.43.040 home rule, first class and second class cities in third class boroughs and the unorganized borough providing for planning, platting and zoning

- 29.48.037 power of municipalities to provide parks, roads, trails, playgrounds, cemeteries and airports, and to adopt ordinances to protect water supplies and watersheds outside its boundaries
- 29.48.110 establishment of historic districts in accordance with municipal plans
- 35.05.010-.040 public works planning by DOT&PF
- 35.15.080 assumption by municipality or REAA of planning and construction responsibilities for a public works project
- 35.30.010 review and approval by municipalities of public works plans; review and comment by village of public works plans
- 35.30.020 compliance of public works projects with municipal ordinances
- 38.04.005 state policy to plan state land for balance of public and private uses, and to involve municipalities and local residents in decision-making
- 38.04.065 DNR develop plans for state lands with local governmental and public involvement
- 38.05.020 DNR's authority to develop a comprehensive master plan for pipeline transportation development
- 38.05.037 DNR's authority to zone in the unorganized borough
- 38.05.305 notice to and consultation with municipalities and regional corporations prior to state land classification, sale, lease or other disposal by DNR
- 38.08.070 approval of municipal planning authority prior to classification as homesite entry by DNR
- 38.08.080 zoning by municipal government or DNR prior to offering of homesite entry land
- 40.15.070 authority of municipal planning authorities to approve subdivisions and dedications
- 40.15.075 authority of DNR to hear and act on petition for change in or vacation of plats outside cities in unorganized borough and third class boroughs
- 41.10.110-120 DNR's authority to develop comprehensive plans for soil conservation and erosion control, cropping programs, tillage practices and changes in land use after prior approval of occupier of land

- 41.17.070 DNR's responsibility to develop a long-range plan for development and management of forest resources
- 41.20.020 DNR shall develop continuing plan for conservation and use of scenic, historic, archaeologic, scientific, biological, and recreational resources of the state; DNR shall plan for and develop system of state parks and recreational facilities
- 41.20.025 DNR may zone private land in state parks, and native corporation lands if approved by corporation
- 41.20.355 DNR's authority to give grants for trails and footpaths to cities and boroughs in accordance with a comprehensive plan
- 41.20.360 DOT&PF's administration of trail and footpath plan along highways
- 41.40.050 land use planning duties of Federal-State Land Use Planning Commission
- 43.18.010 state aid to local governments providing land use planning (and other facilities and services, which would entail planning for them)
- 43.18.300,400 state matching grants to local governments for land acquisition, planning and construction of municipal civic, convention and community recreation centers, sport facilities
- 44.06.230 preparation of detailed development plan for the capital site
- 44.19.440 International Development Commission shall prepare a plan for joint use by U.S. and Canada of the water of the Upper Yukon River and its tributaries
- 44.19.880 DPDP shall prepare and maintain a state comprehensive development plan and shall participate in interstate and international planning
- 44.19.892,893 Alaska Coastal Policy Council shall develop and implement a state coastal management program
- 44.33.020 DCED shall formulate and administer a continuing program for economic development in the state, including planning for economic development, and tourism
- 44.33.050 DCED shall prepare a plan for the orderly development of Alaska's power resources
- 44.42.020,.050 DOT&PF shall develop a comprehensive, long-range intermodel transportation plan for the state
- 44.42.055 DOT &PF shall develop and annually revise a statewide comprehensive facility procurement plan for public facilities of the state and its municipalities

- 44.46.020 DEC shall have primary responsibility for coordination and development of environmental policies programs and planning
- 44.47.050 DCRA may supervise planning, management and other activities required for local eligibility for financial aid from community and regional assistance programs
- 44.47.080 DCRA may provide planning assistance such as surveys, land use studies, urban renewal plans, technical services and other planning work to a city, borough, or other platting authority
- 44.47.092 DCRA shall make recommendations to DOT&PF and other state agencies concerning the effect on local plans of the facility procurement plan
- 44.47.095 DCRA shall offer planning assistance to coastal resource districts for the development and implementation of coastal management programs
- 46.03.040 DEC shall formulate and annually review a statewide environmental plan for the management and protection of the quality of the environment and the natural resources of the state
- 46.03.060 DEC shall develop comprehensive plans for water pollution control
- 46.15.020 DNR may participate in and coordinate plans for the appropriation, use, conservation, quality, disposal or control of waters and related activities
- 46.40.010, development of state, district and resource service area coastal
030,110 programs
- 47.05.010 DHSS shall cooperate with the federal government in adopting state plans to make the state eligible for federal assistance funds
- 47.07.040 DHSS shall prepare a state plan for the provision of medical assistance
- 47.30.010 DHSS shall develop and administer a comprehensive program for the prevention of mental illness and care of the mentally ill
- 47.30.520 DHSS shall assist local communities in planning, organizing and financing community mental health services and programs
- 47.37.040 The Office of Alcoholism shall develop, encourage and foster statewide, regional and local plans and programs for the prevention of alcoholism and treatment of alcoholics and shall advise the Governor in the preparation of a comprehensive plan for treatment of alcoholics

SCOMM

#10:72

ALASKA NATIVE SELF-GOVERNMENT

by

Gerald A. McBeath

Associate Professor of Political Science

Department of Political Science

University of Alaska

Fairbanks, Alaska

and

Thomas A. Morehouse

Professor of Political Science

Institute of Social and Economic Research

University of Alaska

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for

Department of Indian and Northern Affairs

Ottawa, Ontario, Canada



Indian and
Northern Affairs

Affaires indiennes
et du Nord

Engineering and
Architecture

Génie et
architecture

REPORT

For Discussion Only

RAPPORT

Pour discussion seulement

REPORT ON TECHNICAL TRAINING COURSES
FOR REGIONAL DISCUSSION

First Draft

February 1979

J. S. Barber

Co-ordination Services Division

997-0101

D R A F T

ALASKA NATIVE SELF-GOVERNMENT

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Gerald A. McBeath

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Anchorage, Alaska

for

Department of Indian and Northern Affairs

Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

THIS DRAFT NOT TO BE QUOTED EXCEPT WITH THE EXPRESS
PERMISSION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AND NORTHERN
AFFAIRS, AND THE AUTHORS.

FEBRUARY, 1979.



Assistant Deputy Minister
Indian and Northern Affairs

Northern Affairs

Sous-ministre adjoint
Affaires indiennes et du Nord

Alfaires du Nord

This draft report, Alaska Native Self-Government, was prepared by Professors G. A. McBeath and T. A. Morehouse under the terms of a contract between the Institute of Social and Economic Research at the University of Alaska, and the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. It is the first of several studies now in preparation concerning various movements toward self-determination among native peoples of the foreign north. Other reports which we hope to release at a later date include studies of the development of "home rule" in Greenland, and of the social and political involvements of native peoples in Scandinavia and the Soviet Union.

In its present form, Alaska Native Self-Government, is being given limited distribution to selected Federal Government agencies, to the Governments of the Yukon and the Northwest Territories, and to a few non-government agencies having a special interest in the subject. Notably, these include Inuit and Indian associations representing native peoples in the Canadian North.

It is our intention to publish the report at a later date in a more finished format, and for a more general readership. In the meantime, any comments or criticisms of possible usefulness to the authors and editors would be most welcome.

Sincerely,

Ewan Cotterill.

PREFACE

The term self-government is richly evocative. In some places, it calls up visions of independence and freedom for the oppressed, images of release from colonial exploitation. The term has different connotations for citizens of the independent nation-state, who may mean by it an escape from bureaucracies and public routines. Two problems with the use of the concept are that it applies to both groups and individuals and that it applies to each level of modern government--national, state, regional, and local--that we analyze.

Our overriding goal in this study is to assess Alaska Native self-government in the context of American politics. In this context, the concept means "home-rule" and an orientation to the self control of groups at the level of the state or local community rather than at the level of national independence movements. The definitions of self-government we give below are at a moderately high level of abstraction; they are not conceptually complete or operationally precise, nor are they a model against which we attempt rigorously to test the experience of Alaska Natives. Rather, we use them as very rough yardsticks which, we think, are appropriate measures of political change, given the nature and complexities of the problem before us.

Although our central theme is the self-government of Alaska Natives, we devote considerable attention below to three subsidiary themes: the development of Native leadership, the development of a Native land claims movement in Alaska, and the formation and experiences of the North Slope Borough, the only Nativecontrolled regional government in the United States operating under a state's constitution and laws. We use the North Slope Borough as a kind of limiting case study, for we believe it represents concretely an advanced form of self-government for Alaska Natives.

Admittedly, the North Slope Borough is a unique case. The major condition explaining its development is the vast petroleum field at Prudhoe Bay, which is currently equalled nowhere else in North America. But this was a necessary and not a sufficient foundation for the present form of Native self-government in Alaska's Arctic. To understand the factors contributing to the development of self-government on the North Slope requires an investigation of the land claims movement, for it developed a common interest and awareness among Natives and exposed them to common group patterns. And, understanding the land claims movement, in turn, requires a focus on the development of Native leadership.

We do not argue that regional government is necessary in order that Natives achieve self-government (although we believe that it does facilitate self-government). The Native Land Claims Settlement Act of 1971 and the anti-poverty campaign of the 1960s provided other vehicles through which Native self-government can be realized--Native regional and village corporations, regional non-profit associations, Native-controlled school districts, and the like. What we hope to show is the multiplicity of patterns, the mosaic of groups, through which Alaska Natives in the 1960s and 1970s have been able to achieve some measure of self-government, compared to the absence of such vehicles in previous times.

We treat here, then, the self-government of Alaska Natives as a manifestation of their political development as groups. We have studied their formation into regional and statewide associations and their pursuit of social justice and equal treatment. We do not emphasize the ability of Alaska Natives individually to choose independent styles of life and to develop personally, which sometimes may be at variance with that of their group.

Political development, as we use the term, thus implies among other things the progressive capability of a group to bargain, reach favorable accommodations, and generally to cope effectively with other groups in the broader political (state and national) environment in which it functions by choice or necessity or both. In this sense, a group to some extent becomes politically assimilated as it becomes more effectively self-governing. Our analysis of Native self-government therefore has an unavoidable "assimilationist" strain, in the particular sense in which we use the term here. But our effort is to focus on phenomena of group political change and not to make implicit or explicit judgements about the values of social and cultural assimilation as applied to Alaska Natives.

We would like finally to describe briefly our basic sources and methods. The chapter notes and selected references indicate most of the materials reviewed in the preparation of this study. We relied most heavily on 1) personal interviews, 2) a survey of newspapers and periodicals, 3) an analysis of government documents and hearings transcripts, 4) secondary sources--books, articles, consultant and government agency reports, and 5) personal observations.

The interviews were conducted as part of a study of the political institutional development of the North Slope Borough, under the auspices of the Man in the Arctic Program of the Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of Alaska. Over seventy individuals were contacted in these interviews; they provide the basis for observations in Chapter VI and influence the interpretation of data elsewhere.

To recapture the events of the 1960s in Native Alaska and put events into perspective, all issues of the Tundra Times, Alaska's oldest Native newspaper, were read. This source was balanced with other state newspapers, particularly the Anchorage Daily News.

In the analysis of factors leading to change in Native Alaska and in the interpretation of land claims, particularly the Congressional resolution of the claims, we used the extensive hearings record of the campaign and related state and federal government documents and reports. The available secondary literature on Alaska Natives also was reviewed. Finally, both authors have engaged in direct, personal observations of Native politics in the state, and these have contributed to impressionistic statements made below.

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Naturally, we accept sole responsibility for any errors and omissions that may remain in the study.

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GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAIA	American Association of Indian Affairs
AEC	Atomic Energy Commission, U.S.
AFDC	Aid to Families with Dependent Children
AFN	Alaska Federation of Natives
ANB	Alaska Native Brotherhood
ANG	Alaska National Guard
ANCSA	Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971
ARCON	Arctic Construction Company
ASCAP	Alaska State Community Action Program
ASNA	Arctic Slope Native Association
ASRC	Arctic Slope Regional Corporation
AVCP	Association of Village Council Presidents
BIA	Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S., Department of the Interior
BLM	Bureau of Land Management, U.S., Department of the Interior
CINA	Cook Inlet Native Association
CIP	Capital Improvements Program
COPE	Committee for Original People's Entitlement
EIS	Environmental Impact Statement
FNA	Fairbanks Native Association
ICC	Inuit Circumpolar Conference
IRA	Indian Reorganization Act (of 1936)
IWC	International Whaling Commission
LAA	Local Affairs Agency, State of Alaska
LBC	Local Boundary Commission, State of Alaska
NANA	Northwest Alaska Native Association
NCAI	National Congress of American Indians

GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS (Cont'd)

NMFS	National Marine Fisheries Service
NSB	North Slope Borough
OEO	Office of Economic Opportunity
REAA	Regional Education Attendance Area
Rur- ALCAP	Rural Alaska Community Action Program
SOS	Alaska State Operated Schools System
VISTA	Volunteers In Service To America

ALASKA NATIVE SELF-GOVERNMENT

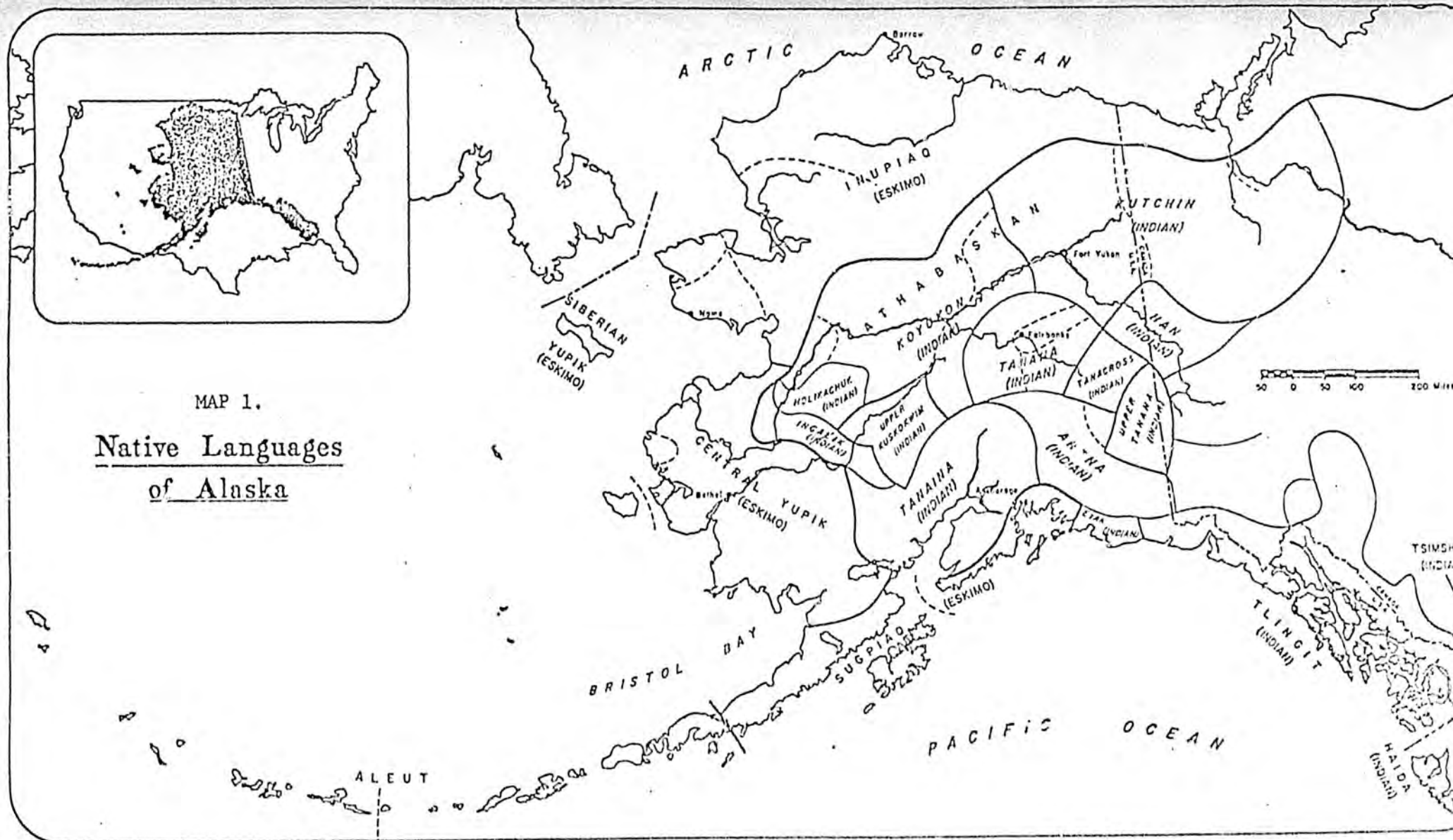
CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

Natives in Alaska are the largest minority group in the state, constituting more than one-sixth of the state's total population. Although sub-groups are clearly identifiable, we are concerned here with the Eskimo, Indian, and Aleut peoples, who are usually referred to collectively as "Alaska Natives."* Most Eskimos, comprising more than half of the Native population, have traditionally lived along the northern, western, and southern coasts of the state--near the Arctic Ocean, the Bering Sea, Kodiak Island, and down to Kachemak Bay. Major areas of Indian habitation include the vast interior of the state and areas near the southcentral and along the southeastern coasts. Together, the Indian groups constitute more than one-third of the state's Native population. The Aleuts, an Eskimoid people, make up the smallest of the three Native ethnic groups. Their traditional area lies along the Alaska Peninsula and the Aleutians (See Map 1).

Despite differences in values, living patterns, and language, there are important common elements among these Native groups. One of the most important of these is that they have relied traditionally on a subsistence economy based on seasonal harvesting of the resources of the land and water. It was in large part from those harvesting activities that the characteristics of the traditional Native cultures derived. Now, however, all these groups have been confronted with a western culture characterized by technological complexity and a competitive, cash-based economy.

Today there exists among Natives a wide range of individual and communal responses to the forces of the dominant culture. Although there are instances of

*This usage is preferred by Alaska Eskimos, Indians, and Aleuts when referring to aboriginal groups collectively or statewide. It avoids calling Eskimos "Indians," identifying Indians as "Eskimos," or Aleuts as either.



SOURCE: Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, "Native Peoples and Languages of Alaska," compiled by Michael E. Krauss. Reduction prepared by AEIDC, Anchorage.

individual Natives integrating themselves into the larger society successfully, they are rare. For large numbers of Natives, the confrontation of the two cultures has resulted in economic hardship and cultural dislocation rather than equal participation in the economic, social, and political life of contemporary Alaska.

We are concerned here with the extent to which this large and multi-pressured Native community has organized itself for self-government. By self-government, we mean basic control over decisions affecting the life of the individual or the group. This includes the structure and process of making decisions--procedural matters, such as whether the group is treated as equal to other groups under national, state, and local legal systems, whether Native interests are represented in state and national decision making bodies, and whether Natives are able to organize their local political affairs with some significant degree of autonomy.

But by self-government, we also mean Native control over the substance of Native society, including its economic pursuits, distinctive life-style, and unique environment. First, we wish to determine the ability of Alaska Natives to defend their subsistence livelihood as well as move into the modern, western cash-economy and to consider the extent to which Natives have found economic security--that is, have developed ways to support themselves off the land, through wage employment, or a combination of both without relying on government assistance. Second, we wish to determine the degree to which Native Alaskans have been able to exercise control over elements of their cultural system-language, customs, traditional life style--as they move into greater contact with Whites. And third, we seek to examine the degree to which Native communities have been able to control their social and natural

environment--to protect the homogeneous character of their communities and maintain the ecological balance of the environment in which they live.

Measurement of amount or degree of self-government is difficult because of the lack of operational statements and appropriate indices, which could be used to compare the amount of self-government of the various Alaska Native communities or contrast them with White groups and communities in the state. For the purposes of this discussion, however, we propose to use these rough measures:

- . Development of structures or institutions--political, social, and economic—which are primarily Native in composition and which pursue Native goals and aspirations.
- . Native participation in local, state, and federal programs which affect them, and Native influence on program goals.
- . Development of economic security and capability to protect Native cultural and environmental values.
- . Change in Native perceptions, reflecting belief in greater control over individual and community life.

Our comments below refer primarily to Natives living in "rural Alaska,"* exclusive of the southeast, during the period from statehood (1959) to the present.

The 1970 census placed the Native population in Alaska at 51,528, of a total statewide population of 302,173.¹ Natives in 1970 and today are distributed

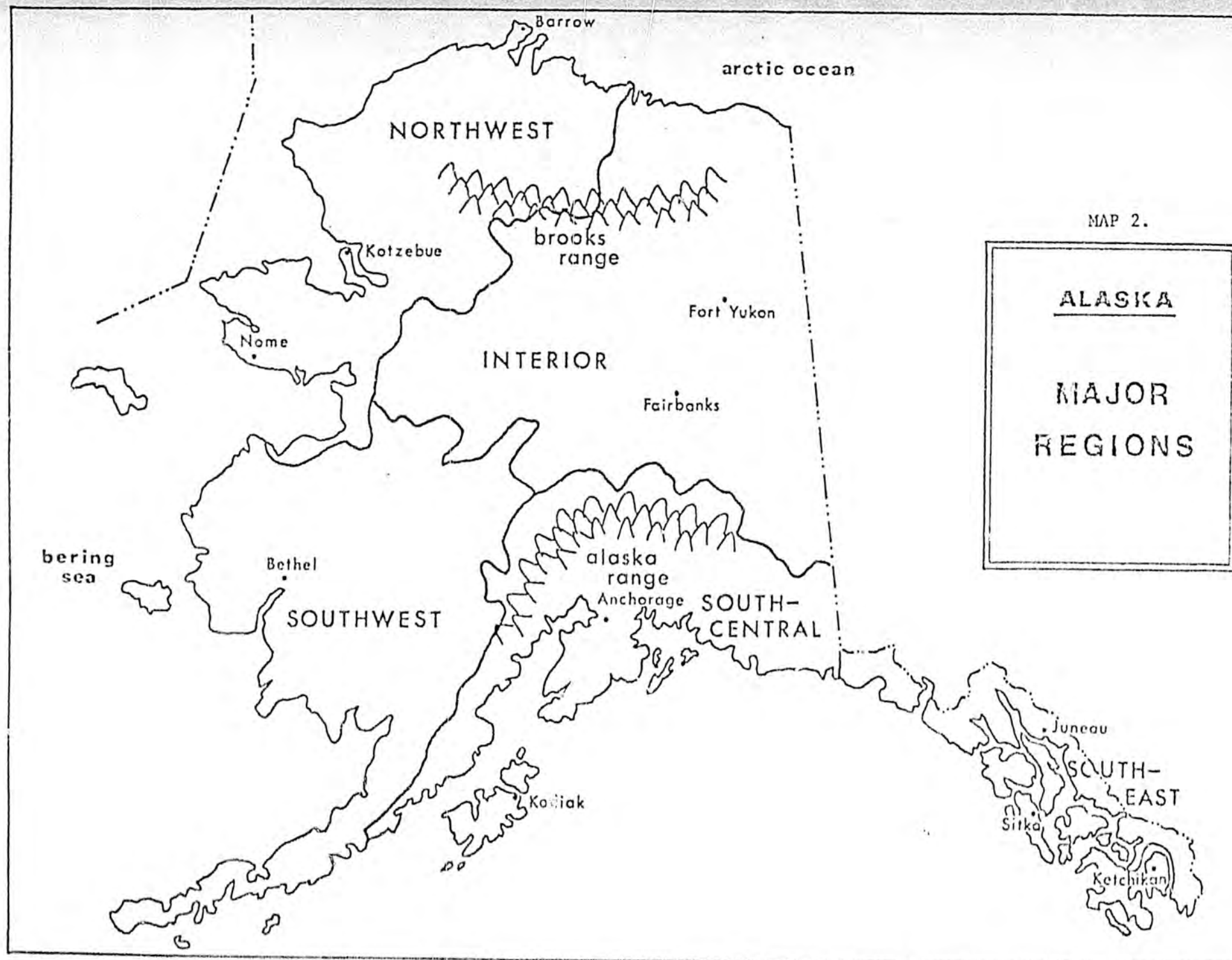
*In Alaska, the term "rural" is used generally to mean areas outside the major urbanized regions centering on Anchorage, Fairbanks, and Juneau.

unevenly across the state, generally along the extensive seacoast and the major inland waterways, with the majority far removed from the non-Native population centers. Although Natives represent only 17 percent of the state's population, they constitute 68 percent of the population of northern and western Alaska, which are wholly rural regions. Fully 60 percent of the total Native population but only 6 percent of the non-Natives are located in those regions.

The geographic separation of Natives and non-Natives can also be seen in the rural-urban breakdown. While 57 percent of the total non-Native population is located in the Anchorage and Fairbanks census areas, only 14 percent of the Native population is there. Approximately 70 percent of the Natives live in 165 villages with populations between 25 and 2,500. Fifty percent live in villages with populations under 500.²

Native villages, except for those in the southeast area and some whaling villages, do not have a long history. Historically, much of the Native population was characterized by geographic mobility and seasonal migrations. Contact with Whites eventually led to Native settlement in communities of more permanency, with population aggregations resulting initially from commercial contacts. Later, the attraction of certain public services, particularly education and medical care, accelerated the process. Today, although many Natives retain some elements of seasonal mobility in terms of their resource utilization patterns, Native life is centered in permanent villages varying in size from settlements with just a few families, to the four predominantly Native communities of over 1,000 residents--Barrow, Bethel, Kotzebue, and Nome (See Map 2).

Thus, today most Alaska Natives live in villages of under 2,500 inhabitants, not in large towns or cities. Notwithstanding some rural-urban mobility and



MAP 2.

ALASKA

MAJOR
REGIONS

strong urban ties of many rural Natives, we believe the Native experience in Alaska is defined by residence, justifying our focus on Natives in rural areas. While many of our comments and observations refer to general patterns of rural Native organization and life style, we will attempt where possible to suggest regional variations--especially insofar as there are important differences in the style of political growth and change in some regions (e.g., among Arctic Slope Eskimos) that have not manifested themselves in other regions.

In addition to excluding urban Natives, we will also exclude the particular developments affecting southeast Alaska Native communities. These groups—and we mean particularly the Tlingit-Haida Indians—are different from other Native communities in the state in several important respects. First, the region they occupy is geographically distant from other centers of Native cultures, and ecologically distinct. Second, this area is characterized by a pre-contact system of organized tribal associations. This foundation of relatively mature political structures permitted the southeastern Natives to respond to White immigration more effectively than any other Native region in the state. Third, southeastern Natives have had the longest continuing contact with White outsiders,* contacts enduring more than 100 years, which have deeply influenced Native customs and patterns of community life. And fourth, southeastern Natives initiated their land claims earlier than other Alaska Natives. Their role in statewide Native mobilization will be considered below, but the factors contributing to the distinctiveness and separate development of the southeast fall outside the scope of this study.

*The Aleuts had earlier contacts historically, but these were discontinuous.

In the analysis of communities which span millenia and which have been the object of much scientific attention, it is especially necessary to delimit time. A large number of early works document the post-contact history of Native communities in the state. These include anthropological and sociological investigations of life in single villages or culture areas and first-person accounts of whaling captains, trappers and missionaries who began a new course of change in Native societies. They also include summary accounts collecting these observations and analyzing differences among regions and rates of change and acculturation in Native communities. In addition, renewed interest by Alaska Natives in their own past has spurred historical research by Natives, including the collection of oral histories.³

We thus start this study with a description of Native communities at the time of statehood. This is a clear dividing point for it marked the end of struggle by Whites for political self-determination while postponing the issue of Native rights in land and self-government indefinitely. We end the discussion with the most recent data available on Alaska Native communities, focusing on that community of Natives--the North Slope Eskimos--which has attained and practiced an advanced form of regional self-government for six years as of this writing.

Endnotes

1. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population: Number of Inhabitants (Washington, D.C.: 1970)
2. Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska, Community Inventory - Alaska 1971 (Anchorage: June 1971), p. 35.
3. U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of the Secretary, Economic Development of American Indians and Eskimos, 1930 through 1967: A Bibliography, by Marjorie P. Snodgrass, Bibliography Series No. 10 (Washington, D.C.: September 1968); R.J. Carney and W.O. Ferguson, Arctic Institute of North America, A Selected and Annotated Bibliography of the Sociology of Eskimo Education (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1965).

CHAPTER II. ALASKA NATIVE COMMUNITIES AT THE TIME OF STATEHOOD

Socio-economic Situation

When statehood was achieved in 1959, socio-economic conditions in Native Alaska were those of substantial poverty. Housing, sanitation, health, education, income—all were far below norms necessary for the maintenance and enhancement of community and individual well-being. Comparisons between the Alaska Native population and the non-Native populations of the state and nation show clearly that the Alaska Native population was a seriously disadvantaged sector.*

Housing

Native housing was definitely substandard. Typical dwellings in Native villages were small, crowded, constructed of inferior materials, and poorly ventilated and heated. Well water was available for no more than 20 percent of these residences; sewage facilities were found in only 3 percent.¹ Such conditions were conducive to the dissemination of a variety of diseases, especially respiratory infections and enteric diseases.

More than 90 percent of Native housing needed substantial rehabilitation or replacement. In 1965, only 400 out of 7,500 units were sound, and only half were suitable for rehabilitation; an estimated 344 new units were needed annually due to population increases. However, it was estimated that only 1 percent of the Natives had the means to obtain adequate housing through their own efforts in the private market. Close to 100 percent of the Native population was estimated to be eligible for public housing programs.²

*Statistical data supporting observations made here are drawn from studies undertaken from 1960 to the mid-1960's.

Where available, electrical power in rural Alaska was provided primarily by privately operated generators and local, village-owned facilities. However, in 1960 most villages had neither generation facilities nor community-wide distribution systems; lighting and heating depended on traditional methods with their consequent hazards.

Health

The health conditions of Natives in the early 1960's were approximately one-quarter century behind those of the rest of the United States as seen by comparing selected health statistics for Natives with those for non-Native Alaskans and for the U.S. population generally.

Infant death rates were particularly high. The neonatal (under 29 days) infant death rate for Alaska Natives was almost twice as high as that for the total U.S. population. The rate of Native infant deaths occurring in the postneonatal age group (up to one year, when the child is usually in the home) was over four times the rate for the U.S. population as a whole.³

Death rates by age group show a high incidence of early death for Alaska Natives. Although only 39 percent of the deaths in the total U.S. population in 1960 occurred in age groups under 65, 78 percent of Alaska Native deaths were in those same age groups.⁴

Major health problems of the Native population included respiratory, enteric, dental, and eye diseases. Respiratory diseases, associated primarily with overcrowded and improperly heated or ventilated housing, were extremely serious. The tuberculosis death rate was 157.5 deaths per 100,000 population in 1955; the incidence of newly-reported active cases in 1963 was still nearly 20

times the rate of the U.S. as a whole.⁵ Among all Alaska Natives, influenza and pneumonia caused an average death rate of 75 per 100,000, which was ten times the rate for Alaska Whites.⁶

Otitis media, a serious infection of the middle ear, was the third-ranked cause of hospitalization; it was estimated that 10 to 15 percent of Native village children had chronic otitis media in 1966.⁷ The incidence of otitis media in Alaska populations is higher than for the total U.S. population; but the rate for Natives is significantly higher than for non-Natives.

Enteric diseases, associated with inadequate water and sewage facilities, were also prevalent. The death rate due to gastritis and related diseases was 23 per 100,000 population in the years 1959-65,⁸ some ten times higher than for Americans overall.

The incidence of eye disease for Natives was three to four times the rate for the total U.S. population. Dental disease increased where the rural Native population had greater exposure to western foods. Increased use of these foods, without an increase in oral hygiene, had produced a high incidence of diseased and missing teeth.⁹

These major health problems notwithstanding, accidents were the leading cause of death among Alaska Natives. During the period 1965-67, an annual average of 236 accidental deaths per 100,000 population was recorded for Natives, compared to the 59 per 100,000 rate for the total U.S. population. This high rate of death from accidents is usually attributed to the difficult environmental conditions of rural Alaska.¹⁰

Economy

The economy of rural Alaska at the time of statehood was a mosaic of

aspects of the traditional subsistence economy and the modern cash economy. Most Natives, however, remained largely dependent upon the renewable resources of the land and water to meet their primary needs. The village economy was typically characterized by a large demand for material goods. Although these items were usually for sale in local village stores, prices were exceptionally high because of general inflationary pressures throughout Alaska, small-volume purchases, and the high cost of transporting goods to rural areas. Cash available for these purchases was extremely limited.

Few opportunities for wage employment were available to Natives. Among all Native village adults, only an estimated 10 percent held permanent jobs in the early 1960's (often with a government agency providing local public services). Another 20 to 40 percent were estimated to be employed on a seasonal basis (construction work or firefighting far removed from the village). Thus, unemployment was always very high, ranging from 50 to 70 percent of the Native adults;* in winter months, it frequently reached 90 percent of the village labour force.¹³

Factors contributing to the high rate of Native village unemployment were the seasonal nature of economic activity in Alaska (including the influx of seasonal workers), low educational levels, lack of technical training for skilled labor, racial discrimination, and distance from centers of employment.

*Estimates of Native employment include cities as well as villages and are thus not a reliable measure of village joblessness. In the five census districts including only Native places in which unemployment was measured, joblessness averaged 67 percent.¹¹ Joblessness should not be attributed simply to lack of interest (though a significant percentage--perhaps as high as 25 percent--declined to pursue employment outside of their villages);¹² in fact, interest in jobs was high.

Consequently, public assistance and welfare represented a significant source of cash to the Native community. In the early 1960's, Natives comprised 69 percent of the total number of cases under four federal programs--Aid to Families With Dependent Children (AFDC), Aid to the Disabled, Aid to the Blind, and Old Age Assistance. This support contributed between 15 and 20 percent of the village cash economy.¹⁴ Additionally, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) general assistance program provided temporary financial aid for Natives ineligible for any of the four federal programs mentioned.

Although reliance on public assistance and welfare was high, the total cash income from all sources was usually inadequate. Thus, the harvesting of local resources remained a major source of livelihood, and the vast majority lived a generally marginal existence.

Harvesting activities of Natives were dependent on seasonal variations in the availability and quality of species populations. Each harvest had to produce supplies sufficient to last until the next season. However, there was not always a satisfactory balance between harvest demands and species reproduction.¹⁵ Thus, the availability of given species of fish and game varied from year to year, and at times supplies were insufficient to meet the basic needs of the growing population. The harvesting barely provided for subsistence needs in many communities. Moreover, the sparse populations of wildlife near villages required the Natives to travel great distances to acquire sufficient supplies to satisfy requirements. Resource harvesting also provided some Natives with a point of entry into the cash economy. Commercial fishing was a valuable source of cash for a number of Native communities, but the fishing season was only a few weeks long.¹⁶

Cultural Condition

The educational status of Natives indicated a serious deficiency in their preparation to participate in the economic and social life of the larger society. Grade completion levels were significantly lower than those for non-Natives in 1960.¹⁷ The census figures for that year indicated that 69 percent of Natives 25 years of age or older had not completed the eighth grade. This compared with 6 percent for the White population in Alaska.¹⁸

The median number of school years completed by Natives 25 years of age and older varied from a high of 9.0 years in southeastern portions of the state to a low of 1.6 in one census district of western Alaska. The Upper Yukon and Koyukuk regions of the interior showed median completion levels of 2.5 and 3.7 years respectively.¹⁹

Moreover, standardized testing conducted in all schools indicated that achievement levels in predominantly Native schools were below those in White schools. These differences in achievement levels were caused by inadequate educational opportunities at the small village level and by fundamental differences in cultural values, conceptualization, learning processes, and language.

Natives at the time of statehood were unprepared for the demands of life in a modern cash economy. Many did not speak English fluently; few had adjusted to the demands of time and achievement orientation characteristic of the dominant cultural group in American society. Traditional attitudes and values retarded change by maintaining a sense of satisfaction in spite of the economic hardship and the disruptive influences of a changing environment.

Yet some changes in traditional attitudes and values could not be avoided. For example, Natives who found cash employment had to adapt to employment patterns that conflicted with the seasonal harvesting of fish and animal resources. Further, they found that western values of thrift and accumulation of wealth for personal security conflicted with traditional-based orientations to the immediacy of rewards and the use of any accumulated wealth for the creation of social obligations.

In short, at the time of statehood, the vast majority of Alaska Natives in rural areas had not adapted to western society or to new roles within it.

Political Structure

After statehood, most Alaska Natives lived in small villages. The political structure of these villages was different from non-Native rural settlements in three respects: villages were less likely to be formally organized; it was possible for Native villages to have a federal Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) status; and villages tended to have fewer governmental powers under state law.

Of 177 villages surveyed in 1967, 98 (or 55 percent) existed only as "traditional" villages--meaning the village lacked a formal legal status under federal or state law. These villages were more likely to be sparsely populated; only 9 numbered more than 250 inhabitants.²⁰ Most had informal councils headed by elder males (elected in a few cases), limited to the discussion of minor issues.

Of the 79 organized villages, 58 (33 percent of all Native villages) were incorporated under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (extended to Alaska in 1936). Charters were granted to "groups comprising all Native persons in a

community" and to groups "though not a community but comprising persons having a common bond of occupation or association, or of residence within a definite neighborhood."²¹ These villages had constitutions and bylaws under which they provided municipal services and engaged in small business enterprises.

Twenty-one of the IRA-chartered villages and an equal number of those not chartered (a total of forty-two or 24 percent of all Native villages)* were incorporated cities under the laws of the new state. Of these, five were firstclass, six were second-class, and the remainder were fourth-class cities. In sum, most viillages were not incorporated under state law; of those that were, most were fourth-class cities empowered only to levy sales taxes to raise revenue, and limited to such functions as control of drinking in public, control of stray dogs, and the resolution of minor property disputes. Few villages were second- or first-class cities empowered to levy property taxes and to operate their own schools.

Evidence on the power and functions of village councils at the time of statehood is limited to various anthropological case studies that present mixed results. VanStone, for instance, suggested that Point Hope village council was an important arbiter of conflict over distribution of community-wide resources.²² Hughes, on the other hand, regarded councils as inefficient in resolving conflicts, stating they engaged only in ritualistic activities.²³

*Because twenty-one villages had a dual organization (were chartered under IRA and were cities under state law), percentages above do not total 100 percent.

It seems to have been the case, however, that after statehood, councils lost authority to resolve conflict as the magistrate system* was introduced in rural Alaska. Magistrates removed the power to impose sanctions from the traditional councils, and then tended to enforce state laws inflexibly. In the opinion of researchers studying "Northern Eskimos Law Ways" through council minutes and actions in the 1960's, the magistrate system substantially weakened village councils as authoritative agencies.²⁵

An exception to the village as virtually the exclusive arena of Native politics was the Alaska Native Brotherhood. Organized in 1912 by Indians in southeast Alaska, this association (with the Alaska Native Sisterhood) began as an Indian fraternity that joined several tribes in the southeast. It gradually enlarged its purpose to make protests on behalf of Indians and Eskimos who were subject to discrimination in jobs and education. Some Natives outside of the southeast area participated in this, but the organization remained limited in its effective representation to the region of its birth.

Participation in Politics and Program Administration

To the extent that there was any "leadership" in predominantly Native villages, it was likely to be traditionalistic and parochial. Leaders tended to be older men who ruled for the most part as family heads, not political leaders; limited in their ability to communicate in English, they were not natural foci for

*Magistrates are lay judges appointed by the Superior Court in each judicial district in the state. They have power to judge cases involving violations of village ordinances, hear state misdemeanor cases (upon consent of the defendant), and hold preliminary hearings to determine if arrested persons should be bound over to Superior Court.²⁴

the statewide organization of Native communities. At the time of statehood, few Natives participated in either the representation of their communities at the territorial level or in the administration of programs designed to benefit them.

Representation and Electoral Participation

Serving in the territorial legislature from 1925 to 1958 was only a handful of Natives—William Paul, a southeastern Indian leader, was the first Native to win a seat in the Territorial House of Representatives (in 1924). In the 1940's, five Natives were elected to the legislature, and Frank Peratrovich of the southeastern village of Klawock became senate president in 1948. There were no significant gains in Native representation in the 1950's, but a northwestern Eskimo, William Beltz, was senate president during this period. Natives held only a very small minority of legislative seats by the start of the land claims movement.

The state constitutional convention in 1956 included only one Native—Frank Peratrovich. No Native was a candidate for territorial representation in the U.S. Congress, or for any of the three seats available in the Congress upon statehood. Nor was any Alaska Native a candidate for major statewide office until Eben Hopson of Barrow filed for Secretary of State in 1966.

Native legislators were primarily those who had served as council members or mayors of larger Native villages (Barrow, Kotzebue, Nome). Their support was from their community, not territory-wide (in which respect, of course, they resembled most White legislators). They were more culturally assimilated than traditional village leaders and spoke English well. Unlike later Native leaders, they appear to have represented specific communities, not ethnic groups.

Native participation in state elections was relatively low. For example, in 1958 only 7,200 rural Natives voted (roughly 45 percent of those eligible to participate).²⁶

Role in Program Administration

Under the territorial government, there were no special programs provided for Natives alone. With the exception of public assistance and welfare, most of which was provided from federal programs, no major programs supported Native subsistence or enhanced Native life styles. And no Native occupied a policy making position in the territorial administration.

To the extent that Natives had an orientation toward governmental bureaucracies, it was to the federal government and not to the territory. Like Whites, Natives lived in a federally-administered territory on land under federal government control and management. Unlike Whites, however, Natives were wards of the federal government because of the terms of Native American Indian law which applied to them. Consequently, the federal government operated in Alaska through two agencies which provided for Native needs alone: the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) of the Interior Department; and the Alaska Native Health Service, Public Health Service (PHS), of the Health, Education, and Welfare Department. At statehood, the BIA operated 73 schools in Native villages, boarding schools at Mt. Edgecumbe and the Wrangell Institute (a vocational educational institution), and sent some Native students to BIA institutions in Oregon and Oklahoma. The Alaska Native Health Service of PHS had constructed hospitals in eight larger villages, staffing them with PHS doctors.

Both of these federal agencies could give preference to Native applicants for jobs; however, employment opportunities were limited to manual labor, such

as janitors in schools and hospitals and crew members of the BIA ship North Star. No Native Alaskans were involved in the determination of agency goals or in their implementation in village communities, justifying the epithet "paternalism" for these federal efforts.

In summary, by all major indices of growth and development, the Native community was the least advantaged and most neglected population sector in the state. And, at the time of Alaska statehood, interests of the Native community were not represented in the political structures affecting them. These factors explain the prognosis made by an authoritative observer having a strong assimilationist bent:

They sorely need leaders from their own ranks, not just the one or two individuals they have already thrown up, but an elite corps trained in modern skills and familiar with the day-to-day pattern of America's social and industrial life. They need this vanguard to draw them out of their semi-isolation and merge their activities and interests with those of white Alaskans.²⁷

While directed only at Alaska Eskimos, this observation applied to virtually all rural Alaska Natives at the time of statehood.

Endnotes

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3. U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, "A Study of the Impact of the Proposed Trans-Alaska Pipeline on the Alaska Native Population" (Washington, D.C.: 1971), p. 8.
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12. Ibid., p. 57.
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19. Ibid., Table 87.
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CHAPTER III. CHANGE AGENTS IN NATIVE ALASKA AFTER STATEHOOD

Statehood is the watershed for most political developments in Alaska and especially for the transformation of the Native population of the state. However, the changes that followed statehood were not in all cases directly traceable to the granting of state powers. Some of the most important, in fact, were influences external to the state that were mediated through and, in some cases, contradictory to the policies of state institutions. We begin by reviewing the direct implications of statehood for the Native population and then consider processes less directly related to state government and more characteristic of broad-ranging developments in the United States as a whole as well as in Alaska in the 1960's.

Consequences of Statehood

Three results of statehood influenced Native development: state land selections, the formation of independent state agencies, and the creation of regional government units in the more densely populated areas of the state. It was the first of these--state land selections--which had the greatest impact on the Native land claims movement.

State Land Selections

The source of the land claims issue lay in the fact that Native rights in the land, based on aboriginal use and occupancy, were recognized but never clearly defined and resolved after the U.S. purchase of Alaska in 1867. Unlike the Indians of the lower states, Alaska's Natives had not been defeated in war, treaties were not made, and reservations generally were not established. The Alaska Organic Act* of 1884 provided the legal foundation for the land issue.

*The Organic Act was the first in a series of laws passed by the U.S. Congress constituting civil government in Alaska.

According to the act, Alaska Natives were not to be "disturbed in the possession of any lands actually in their use or occupation or now claimed by them but the terms under which such persons may acquire title to such lands is reserved for future legislation by Congress."

Congress had not yet acted on the issue when Alaska became a state 75 years later. However, in the 1958 Statehood Act, Native rights were reaffirmed even as the state was authorized to select 104 million acres of land from a public domain of some 375 million acres. The act thus provided that "the State and its people ... forever disclaim all rights and title ... to any lands or other property ... the right and title to which may be held by Indians, Eskimos, or Aleuts."* Congress again reserved to itself the power to define and resolve the problem of Native claims, but did not exercise this power. Instead, it took the apparently contradictory position of authorizing state land selections while attempting to maintain the status quo with respect to Native land rights. This set the stage for direct clashes between the state government and the Native people.

The state's land selections were to be made by January 1984 through a lengthy and complex process involving notifications, adjudication of conflicting claims, tentative approvals, surveys, and, finally, issuance of patents.¹ Before this process began, the Interior Secretary had received Native claims to 122 million acres of Alaska land. These claims were made by Indians and Eskimos who maintained aboriginal title to the lands as affirmed under the federal acts discussed above. Before the filing deadline of the Indian Claims Commission in 1951, claims had been filed by the Tee-Hit-Ton Indians, Natives of Chitina,

*This disclaimer clause was also incorporated into the state constitution (Article 12, Section 12), further strengthening the legal base for aboriginal rights.

Athabascan Indians of Stevens Village, Natives of Tatitlek, the Tlingit-Haida Indians, Gambell and St. Lawrence Island Eskimos, Unalakleet and Unaligmut-Malemut Eskimos, Shungnak and Kowagmuit Eskimos, and the Nisgah Tribe.² These claims were still pending ten years later. In the rest of the state, Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts still occupied or used lands on which their homes were located and over which they hunted and fished.

The processes for the nomination and patenting of state land did not lead to Native participation or even notification in a form most understandable to them, despite the claim of the state that it did not intend to seek title to lands which the "Natives are clearly using or occupying."³ However, in 1961 state nominations of lands did bring protests from the residents of the villages of Minto, Tanacross, Northway, and Dillingham. They filed claims with the federal Bureau of Land Management (BLM) which were dismissed because they were not to lands actually occupied by Natives. In February 1962 the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) joined these villages in objecting to state selection of lands in their areas and in supporting their claims to the BLM. Yet the Alaska director of the BLM dismissed the protests, claiming he lacked authority to determine the "validity of aboriginal title."⁴ This case was appealed to the Interior Secretary, but state land selections continued.

The pace of state land selections reflected some ambivalence in policy. Those lands which were obviously valuable commercially were selected quickly due to the state's need for revenues. But for a series of reasons the state progressed slowly in the nomination of the balance of lands available for selection. First, the amount the state received from the federal aid highway fund was based on the ratio of federal to state land; thus, the more land the state selected, the less money it received from the federal government for highway

construction. Second, federal laws passed in 1964 provided that the federal government should classify public domain lands according to their best use and dispose of these lands in certain designated classes; 90 percent of the proceeds from sales of these lands would be transferred to the state, reducing the need of the state to select lands. Finally, the state was required to pay for management and fire protection of the lands it selected.⁵ Thus, over a period of eight years, the state selected only 17 million acres.

Nonetheless, this pattern of state land selections ignited Native protests. By 1966, 150 million acres were under Native protest in addition to the 122 million acres claimed at the end of 1951. Claims to 4.8 million acres affected state-selected lands (about one-quarter of the lands the state had selected since 1959).⁶

Native claims also affected state oil and gas leasing activity. Four tracts in the Katalla area on the southcentral coast were withdrawn from sale after representatives of Native Alaskans of this area filed a protest.⁷ Another Native protest in 1966 brought on the start of the Alaska land freeze. Natives objected to the plans of the state to sell oil and gas leases on the North Slope, on land already selected by the state and tentatively approved for patent to it. Following this, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall put a moratorium on transfers of all federal lands to state jurisdiction until the Native claims were settled.⁸ Consequently, BLM offices in Anchorage and Fairbanks were instructed to suspend all final actions including granting of tentative approvals on state selections, mineral leases, and issuing of final patents. Federal leasing activity in the Arctic Slope area also was largely curtailed because of this decision.

The state, however, went ahead on lands tentatively approved to it; it leased twenty tracts in the Arctic Slope area which included those tracts in

Prudhoe Bay that later produced the North Slope oil discovery. Governor Hickel, who had ordered the lease sale, remarked: "Alaska is on its way to becoming one of the major oil-producing states of the Union and artificial barriers to development must be broken down for the benefit of all."⁹ The state Division of Lands noted its actions were circumscribed by Native protests, too; it complained that state revenues from oil and gas leases had dropped from \$4 million in 1966 to \$3.5 million in 1967.

The federal policy of declining to take final action on lands under recorded Native land claims brought an end to most state selections by 1967.¹⁰ Not even tentative approval was granted on state selections and, without tentative approval, the state could not assume management of the selected land. In 1968 the U.S. Congress refused to extend beyond 1969 the deadline for state selections of mineral lands provided under the federal mineral leasing act of 1920. (The statehood act gave Alaska the right to select mineral lands for five years; and extension was granted by Congress until January 1969). This action caused an accelerated filing of state applications covering about 7.5 million acres on the North Slope and in the Bristol Bay and Copper River basin areas.¹¹

The state's land selection program came to a complete halt in late 1968 when Secretary Udall expanded the land freeze by withdrawing for two years all unreserved federal lands in the state to protect Native rights.

In short, state efforts to select lands under Native claims initiated farreaching changes in Native and White communities throughout the state. When selections began after statehood, only villages directly affected protested.

By 1969, however, Natives had recorded 42 claims, which, with overlapping, covered 388.8 million acres.* The federal land freeze prevented any transaction—whether state selection or homesteading--on federal lands.

State and Local Government Organization

Another development following statehood, but far less important than state land selections, was the formation of an independent state bureaucracy. Although generationally linked with the bureaus of the territorial administration and filled largely by officials who had served the territory, the state administration found new roles to play and a new identification. Statehood energized individual bureaucrats and generated esprit de corps in departments as institutions. Despite the relative emptiness of state coffers, state agencies now were motivated to spread common state goals and programs throughout the state.

We may interpret state land selections as a case in point, but to do so would be to limit attention to one stage of Native development. Another case makes this clear. After statehood, a new fish and game department became responsible for the enforcement of fishing and hunting regulations affecting the subsistence activities of Alaska Natives. This resulted in greater penetration into rural areas, which was an important factor in provoking political reactions of Native groups there. In this case, what Natives regarded as an intrusion became permanent. The agency filled what was largely a regulatory vacuum, and this has had a long-term effect.

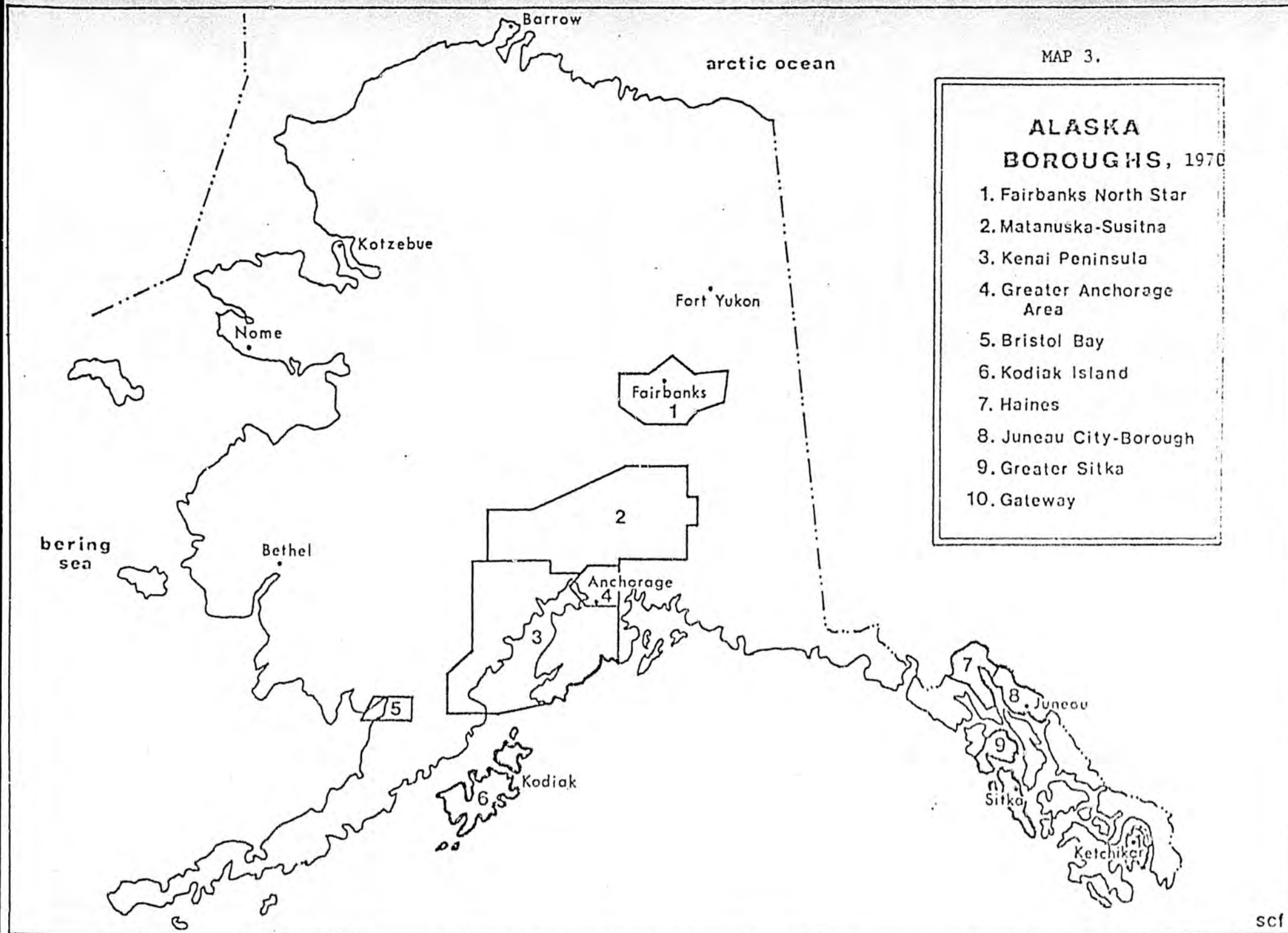
Another organizational factor introduced much greater change in urban than in rural Alaska. This was the organization of borough governments in orie

*There are 375 million acres of land in the State of Alaska.

to provide local government services, taxation, regulation, and representation at a regional level in the new state. The state constitution provided that the state would be divided into organized and unorganized boroughs. Organized boroughs could be formed by residents of areas with sufficient population, economic development and interchange, geographic continuity, and political and cultural development; populous, urbanized areas that did not form boroughs voluntarily were placed in these units mandatorily by action of the state legislature.¹² The areas of the state remaining after urban boroughs were formed were treated as one "unorganized borough" (See Map 3).

While these provisions addressed requirements in urban Alaska, the government requirements of rural Alaskans, particularly Natives, were not addressed. The unorganized borough in Alaska appears to be a political limbo, and, in fact, it has been largely a place of minimal or no government. Leaving most of rural Native Alaska in the unorganized borough suggested that the serious problems of health, livelihood, and community development of Natives would receive less effective attention than would the interests of organized urban areas. This is not to suggest that Natives wanted borough government after statehood, for there is no evidence to support such a proposition. Lacking property tax bases to support significant local or regional government organization, rural area boroughs would have required heavy state financial support.

We have noted that at the local village level, formal government was frequently lacking. At the state level, the legislature was empowered to legislate for the unorganized borough, but it did not do so, indicating a comparative loss in the representation of Native interests. Moreover, through reapportionment of the state senate occasioned by the U.S. Supreme Court



decisions Baker v. Carr and Wesbury v. Sanders,¹³ Native Alaskan communities formerly overrepresented in the upper house of the state legislature were now to be represented on the basis of their population, which resulted in a loss of at least two senate seats.

Socio-Political Diffusion

Next in chronological order, but less important than state land selections in its effect on Native development, was socio-political diffusion. Beginning in the early 1960's, several processes of change, nationwide in scope, began to reach Alaska rural areas. By their nature, these processes were ambiguous, and their effects are difficult to trace. Yet, in many respects, they seem to have prepared the ground for the directed change of the late 1960's.

Religious and Cultural Organizations

Private philanthropic, cultural, and religious organizations became more active among rural Alaska Natives in the 1960s. Among sects of the Protestant church, this represented a resuscitation of activity, for these churches had been a dominant part of the village landscape since the late nineteenth century. The renewed activity represented for the most part a different emphasis in church proselytization, a liberalization in response to a changed sense of mission. Of greatest significance, churches in the lower 48 states were called upon not only to support social services initiated by Native congregations, but also to defend and enhance Native participation in the Alaska economy and society. Churches were one of the funding sources of regional Native associations and the statewide Alaska Federation of Natives in the land claims era.

An organization with a more specialized purpose had a greater influence on Native Alaska. This was the Association of American Indian Affairs (AAIA).

Formed of liberal White professionals who wanted to help Native Americans, it had been engaged only in informational and cultural activities in Alaska. Fortuitously, this group involved itself in Alaska affairs at the time of Project Chariot, an experiment of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) to use an atomic explosive to create a harbor where none had existed before.

Dr. Henry S. Forbes, Chairman of the Alaska Policy Committee of the AAIA, travelled to Alaska in June 1961 on a fact-finding trip (to investigate changes in the polar bear population along the north Arctic coast). Accompanied by LaVerne Madigan, the Executive Director of AAIA, he visited the Eskimo village of Point Hope on the northwest coast, among other communities. The village council of Point Hope called a meeting with these representatives to discuss the impending experimental atomic blast at Cape Thompson (thirty miles southeast of Point Hope). At the urging of Forbes and Madigan, the village council sent a letter of protest against the nuclear blast to Secretary of Interior Udall--objecting to potential damage to sea and land animals and the spread of radiation through the food chain in the event of a blast. Madigan began research on Project Chariot and contacted AEC officials. Subsequently, a heated meeting was held between the people of Point Hope and AEC officials which was one factor leading to the suspension of Project Chariot.¹⁴

While on the Arctic Slope, Forbes and Madigan also discussed the "duck situation" which had erupted at Barrow in early June. The Barrow "duck-in" was organized by Natives who protested the enforcement on the Arctic Slope of the 1916 Migratory Bird Treaty. A game warden of the U.S. Department of the Interior's Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife arrived in Barrow on May 31, intending to enforce the treaty. When he made several arrests (including a member of the State House) and confiscated guns, Natives organized a town

meeting at which 138 hunters held dead ducks and written statements saying they had taken the ducks out of season. Over 300 residents signed a petition to President Kennedy, demanding the right to hunt migratory waterfowl for food at any time of the year. Their protest was supported by statements of U.S. Senators Gruening and Bartlett and a resolution of the state legislature. Afterwards, this treaty was not enforced in Barrow.¹⁵

On the basis of their experience in Point Hope and conversations with those involved in the Barrow duck-in, Forbes and Madigan urged village council members and mayors to hold a conference of village heads of northwest Alaska and the Arctic Slope. The conference, funded by the AAIA and convened by Madigan, met in Barrow in November 1961. Conferees discussed land claims, sanitation, health, and communications; they objected to sitting on a resource they were not allowed to use (natural gas deposits in Naval Petroleum Reserve No. 4). They took two programmatic actions: 1) they formed the Inupiat Paitot (People's Heritage), an association of Natives, which was one precursor of the Alaska Federation of Natives, and 2) they discussed the formation of a Native organ of opinion.

Forbes and Madigan had met and been impressed with Howard Rock, an Eskimo artist who travelled from Seattle to visit his birth place in Point Hope in 1961. Rock had penned letters of protest to the AEC. Forbes as well as villagers encouraged Rock to edit a newspaper for Native peoples--providing financial support to the Eskimo, Indian and Aleut Publishing Company and giving general policy guidance. The first issue of the Tundra Times published by Rock appeared in October 1962. It gave Alaska Natives a common voice for the first time, exercising far-reaching influence over the formation of Native associations and the Native land claims movement.¹⁶

The above examples document the influence of religious and cultural associations in one area of rural Alaska. Forbes continued to support the Tundra Times financially until his death in 1968. LaVerne Madigan played a behind-the-scenes role in the organizational meeting of the Dena Nena Henash (Our Land Speaks), an association formed to deal with land rights and other problems of interior Alaska Indians.¹⁷ But her death in an accident shortly thereafter reduced the influence of the AAIA in Alaska Native affairs.

Public Programs

Other change agents produced somewhat more concrete and much more important impacts: public programs that were extended into rural Alaska around the time of statehood. One of these was exploration activity and construction in the Naval Petroleum Reserve (Pet-4) from 1946 to 1953. Natives were hired by the Arctic Construction Company (ARCON) which was the contractor on this project; about half of the potential work force of Barrow was employed during the peak seasons.¹⁸ Natives were also hired to build DEW-line stations, construction of which began in 1954; and some Natives were hired to man the completed installations, providing a second source of employment and mobility for the skilled. This employment in construction and maintenance activity often had the effect of changing aspiration levels, sometimes leading to the out-migration of the Native employee.

Military organizations influenced Natives in rural Alaska more directly through the Alaska National Guard (ANG). A territorial guard unit formed during World War II had enrolled Native Alaskans in several divisions (among the most illustrious was the Eskimo Scout Division led by "Muktuk" Marston, an Alaska pioneer). There was a slight expansion in the ANG recruitment program in the

early 1960's, by which time over 100 Alaska Natives were enrolled in some phase of the National Guard programs in the state. The Guard associated Natives from different villages and enlarged their capacities for organizational management and leadership. We will comment again on the extent to which this training provided a unifying experience for some Native leaders active in the land claims movement and in the creation of the first organized Native borough government in the state.

Few Alaskans enrolled in the Peace Corps in the early 1960's, but rural Alaska was one of the target areas of Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), a program developed to bring the Peace Corps idea into underdeveloped areas of the U.S. This and related "anti-poverty" programs are discussed in detail below. Native Alaskans also were affected to some extent by other public movements of the late 1950's and early 1960's--in particular, the early civil rights movement.

Civil Rights Movement

The effects of the civil rights movement on rural Alaska Natives were extremely diffuse. We have noted above the limited formal education of adult Natives. Few except young adults were able to understand easily materials published in English, even if these materials were available to them. (News magazines and daily newspapers reached rural Alaska villages infrequently; only radio carried news of civil rights protests regularly.) This communication gap may have been responsible for the lack of an immediate and direct transformation of the protest rhetoric of the early and mid-1960s into demonstrations in Alaska centers, or early mobilization of groups claiming equal rights for Eskimos, Indians and Aleuts.

An alternate interpretation suggests that Native leadership was insufficiently developed to respond to cues and to mobilize followers at this moment. The process of influence, then, was indirect. The civil rights movement is likely to have influenced Whites who taught in Alaska Native villages and at Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools in Sitka and outside the state. The movement also influenced churches and philanthropic organizations which directed more attention to Native churches and associations. And the developing concern for civil rights of all non-White minorities influenced some state agency personnel in their treatment of these minorities.

In the early 1960's, however, the civil rights movement seemed unrelated to developments outside the cities of Anchorage, Fairbanks, and Juneau. Its role lay in sensitizing White Alaskans and motivating Native youth. The impact of this movement and these events awaited the formation of action agencies during the War on Poverty and new programs which redirected attention to the development needs of Native communities in the state.

The Anti-Poverty Campaign in Rural Alaska

During the mid- and late-1960's, there was an explosion of government programs in Alaska which affected all Native communities. The origin of these programs lay outside the state--in President Johnson's War on Poverty legislation, enacted by Congress and signed by the President in 1964. A great number and wide variety of innovations, changes, and improvements took place as a result of the community efforts stimulated by the Economic Opportunity Act. Very probably the most important long-run impact came through the nationwide community action programs. Some of these programs--including Head Start and Neighborhood Legal Services--became so familiar and popular as no longer particularly to be associated with community action.

The checkered history of Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) programs in the State of Alaska has yet to be written, but, parallel to the national scene, their effects were probably most decisive on the development of minority leadership. In the following section, we discuss the nature of these programs, problems that developed in program administration, and the ramifications of national anti-poverty policies upon Alaska Native development.

Nature of Alaska State Programs

Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). At its inception in 1965, the state OEO program was administered from the Governor's office, and program officers served as the administrative staff for the Alaska State Community Action Program (ASCAP). Governor Egan appointed the head of the state OEO program; the head served simultaneously as ASCAP director and he selected five regional coordinators. The ASCAP board (director and coordinators) judged applications for projects, setting policy for the statewide programs.

Community organization work began in earnest in 1966. In May, Charlie Edwardsen, Jr., of Barrow, who later became one of the most influential Native leaders in the land claims movement, was appointed Community Organization Specialist.¹⁹ Edwardsen's role was to develop a grass roots program and to establish working cooperatives in Native areas. The original purpose of the program, called Operation Grassroots, was to show rural people how to use their influence to establish community action programs. Operating under a \$200,000, six-month federal allocation, twenty-three community organizers from villages in western and northern Alaska were trained by December 1966.²⁰

When ASCAP was transformed into a private, non-profit corporation in mid-1966 (to make it conform to poverty-programs administered in several other

states), conflict developed with the Governor who objected to ASCAP's growing independence. In addition to complaints over accounting procedures and budget overruns, the goals of the program and Native involvement in them were at issue. (An aide to the Governor allegedly said Natives were "not capable of making policy decisions" on anti-poverty programs).²¹ In this first phase of development, significantly, ASCAP paid the transportation costs of the board members of the new statewide Native association, meeting for the first time in October 1966.²²

In the second stage, the ASCAP board of directors ousted its executive director in January 1967, replacing him with a moderate, Aleut board member. (Board members charged the first director with maladministration of finances and with building a personal clique in the organization).²³ Thereupon, seven of thirty-two major workers and board members resigned, including Charlie Edwardsen (the Grassroots director), a regional ASCAP coordinator, and three of the four Grassroots team leaders. They objected to the new director's lack of leadership qualifications and his promise to cooperate with the Governor who still signed all project requests. Edwardsen called for a federal investigation of the board's action, claiming state agencies had influenced the election and compromised ASCAP's independence from politics.²⁴

Conflict over program administration and competition for the Native clientele brought national attention. War on Poverty Director Sargent Shriver visited Alaska in July 1967, stating that some reorganization of OEO programs in Alaska might be necessary in order to achieve equal opportunities in justice, health, and education and remarking, "I have never seen any lack of material resources greater than in Alaska."²⁵

In December 1967 ASCAP approved a demonstration grant to start cooperatives for consumer marketing and production in ten villages.²⁶ It moved more aggressively into the establishment of community centers and attempted to spur participation through circulating "action reports" on ASCAP projects, and urging use of Native languages at village council meetings. However, controversy over agency administration continued as state legislators sought to return ASCAP to state control²⁷ and the State Commission on Human Rights investigated alleged discrimination in the firing of two Native OEO employees.

In its first three years, OEO had spent \$20 million in Alaska, mostly on vocational training, education, financial assistance, and community improvements. Senator Gruening remarked that over 20,000 people and 1,000 families had benefited from OEO programs.²⁸ The label of the state program was changed in 1968 to Rural Alaska Community Action Program (RurALCAP) to reflect the focus of projects. Nine community centers in the state now handled the programs--Bristol Bay, Southwest, Inupiak Development Corporation (Nome), Unalakleet, Kikiklugavek (Kotzebue), Koyukon, Upper Yukon, Copper Valley, and Southeastern.²⁹

In 1969, with a cutback in federal OEO funds because of the election of a new president, the state community action program underwent another transformation. Byron Mallot, a young, well-educated Tlingit from the village of Yakutat in the southeast, became RurALCAP director in August 1969.³⁰ Under Mallot's aegis, the board directed greater attention to Alaska Native land claims.

Continuing the decentralization begun the previous year, regional development corporations began contracting with RurALCAP for the

management of programs in their areas.³¹ The central staff of RurALCAP remained responsible only for providing technical assistance such as bookkeeping services.

RurALCAP Director Mallot became the state government's Local Affairs Agency (LAA) Director in 1971, and he proceeded to work closely with his successor at RurALCAP to develop a joint LAA-RurALCAP program providing legislative research for rural legislators.³² They also set up a statewide conference of rural Natives to discuss legislative issues.

By the end of 1971, RurALCAP covered the entire state (except for the Anchorage area which had a separate community action agency) and was one of the largest community action programs in the nation--despite funding cutbacks.³³ Starting as a program which initiated change in rural communities, it had matured into a holding company for specialized services (e.g., parentchild centers) and as auditor of regional development corporations.

Alaska Legal Services Inc. (ALS). The Legal Services program was established in July 1966. Funded by OEO, it was designed to provide attorneys and advice to those who could not afford legal service fees. Initially, Fairbanks and Anchorage ALS attorneys "rode circuit" throughout the bush areas of the state before programs were established there.³⁴

Compared to the six ALS lawyers who had been assigned to rural areas of Alaska before 1968, by 1969 ALS had established thirteen rural offices.³⁵ During this early period, ALS lawyers represented and promoted Native interests in a variety of matters, including voting rights, access to food stamps, and use of Native languages at public meetings.

As the land claims movement developed greater legal awareness, the work of ALS became more specialized. It now devoted more attention to technical land issues--such as determining individual allotments, lands withdrawn from the public domain, and suits against oil pipeline companies--which had not drawn private lawyers into the villages.

Volunteers In Service To America (VISTA). Contrary to the pattern in most other states, in Alaska VISTA was sponsored by the state, for in 1965 the state government was regarded as the only agency capable of administering it. Volunteers worked for village councils, which had authority to direct their activities, although the councils apparently did not realize their powers of control over volunteers until much later.

Twenty-five VISTA volunteers began working in villages in 1965. Their mandate was to develop village leadership, help find local solutions to village problems, and give basic training in administrative procedures. By 1968 almost 100 volunteers were in the field.

Problems developed in VISTA as Natives learned they could control programs and as volunteers established strong local links. In January 1970, the Association of Village Council Presidents (AVCP)--fifty-one villages in the Yukon-Kuskokwim area--charged that VISTA had no stated objectives, no organizational potential, no resources for Native people to utilize, and had at times acted contrary to the wishes and needs of the people served.³⁶ AVCP asked the state Office of Economic Opportunity to terminate existing VISTA funds, saying it wanted no new VISTA volunteers except under conditions of local control. Soon local Native organizations in other parts of the state followed suit.³⁷

Internal criticism reinforced these demands for decentralization. Following a series of encounters in which some locally-oriented VISTA volunteers were fired for attacking the policies of their state director, twenty-four volunteers challenged the VISTA administration to meet the requests of Native villages asking for local control of the program.³⁸ Most VISTA volunteers polled on the matter supported the request; they signed a statement charging that OEO program changes were made secretly without consultation with the village councils, volunteers, or volunteer leaders.

The VISTA program was temporarily suspended in mid-July 1970 when the legislature refused to appropriate money for it for the next fiscal year.³⁹ After administrative changes, funding was resumed; but the program was now brought under greater control of local councils.

Community Action, Legal Services, and VISTA were the greatest outside reform agents influencing Natives in rural Alaska during the late 1960s; they introduced large numbers of idealistic White youth, many of whom were new to Alaska, into relatively isolated villages; these Whites along with a number of young Natives were an extraordinary vanguard that helped effect dramatic changes in Natives' customary attitudes toward government. Other War on Poverty-related programs--Community Enterprise Development Corporation, Operation Mainstream, Head Start, and Alaska Village Electric Cooperative--were less controversial, notwithstanding the substantial changes they introduced into village Alaska.

Program Administration

Several factors about the War on Poverty in rural Alaska make it difficult to evaluate. First, there was no recent parallel for such massive funding or for

such a wide variety of programs. The result was often confusion and inefficiency in program administration, with too much occurring too fast. Secondly, in Alaska, this program focused primarily on Native Alaskans in rural areas. Although the official target population of the program was poor Americans, in Alaska the need criterion meant that Natives would be the principal beneficiaries, a circumstance that tended to confuse cultural with economic change. Some of the problems that developed in the implementation of anti-poverty programs in Alaska may be seen in an analysis of program emphasis, the action agency concept, and jurisdictional conflicts.

In Alaska, as elsewhere, less attention was directed to the alleviation of poverty among Natives than to developing awareness of the conditions of poverty (ending isolation of Native villages) and exposing causes and attempting to rectify them. Thus, less than 40 percent of poverty funds were directed toward improving housing, supplementing incomes (or welfare payments), or job training. Fully 50 to 60 percent of the funds were directed toward "community development" and planning, programs that carried heavy administrative costs.

The most visible parts of the anti-poverty program were community action and VISTA workers. The philosophy behind the program was to create a dynamic agency with action at its center. Not part of the traditional bureaucratic structure, it was to be loosely organized and motivated only by the broad purpose of eradicating poverty. Both the unstable nature of early funding and the rhetoric of the program attracted individuals who were less connected to established statuses or groups in Alaska society. Personally mobile--essential for the community engagement required--they represented a different face of modern western society from that of staid delegates from state or federal agencies.

The anti-poverty programs invited conflicts from their inception. Partly, this was implicit in the design of the program, which eschewed administration through established federal departments (or state counterparts). Partly, these disputes were the settling effects of a new, well-financed program that encouraged government and private actors to scramble for funds. And partly, these conflicts were the result of partisan competition, differences of personal style, age, and the like.

Jurisdictional disputes developed between and within agencies. Interagency conflict typified RurALCAP, as community action directors competed with the Governor's office for establishing priorities, controlling recruitment into the program, and disbursing funds. Intra-agency conflict typified VISTA, as those with village roots questioned the allocation of resources by the director and the sincerity of his commitment to village development. The squabbles, forced resignations or firings, and mutual recriminations could not help but give Native clients of these programs an animus against state officials that continues to this day.

Effects on Native Areas

Three classes of effects resulted from the conduct of the war on poverty in rural Alaska: it enlarged and in some cases transformed federal programs directed toward Alaska Natives, it increased substantially the number of trained Native leaders, and it contributed to the "modernization" of Native communities throughout the state.

The expansion of opportunities for Alaska Natives was in part the result of new federal programs or increased federal funding intended to benefit American Indians through the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the Division of Indian

Health of the Public Health Service. The state government, too, was increasingly able during this period to develop new programs and extend services to remote areas. Special programs were also developed during this period--for example, tuition and subsistence allowances to university students and Native housing programs.

In short, there was a sizeable increase in grants made available to Natives by federal agencies which had customarily served them; this also applied to state agencies that had previously not been able to fund programs in outlying areas. The more significant trend, however, was the increased participation by Natives in the shaping of policy and the administration of programs affecting them. In 1967, the BIA urged local areas to elect village advisory boards or involve village councils in local matters.⁴⁰ The BIA also began making welfare grants to a half-dozen villages, delegating authority for the administration of the program to villagers.⁴¹

The anti-poverty agencies were a new vehicle for the recruitment of Natives into leadership roles in their communities as well as statewide. The simple increase in numbers of Native leaders was great. Two of the early community action directors were Alaska Natives; nearly half of the middlelevel managers and program directors in the anti-poverty programs were Natives. And the creation of a plethora of "boards" to supervise these anti-poverty agencies, especially at the village level, gave opportunities to scores of other Natives.

For the most part, the leadership echelon created as a consequence of anti-poverty programs was male and young (from 20 to 35 years old). Unlike most Natives, the new leaders were essentially acculturated to western society and at least partly assimilated to it--having an ability to speak fluent English and, partly because of education at BIA boarding schools or travel outside the state, an ability to work with and inter-relate effectively with Whites.

What did Natives learn through their experience in these agencies? While training differed--programs such as VISTA and the early Grassroots program involved fairly rigorous exposure to modern organization concepts, whereas membership on a target area advisory board involved no formal training--most Natives in leadership roles developed a more sophisticated understanding of modern organizations, private and public. They became more sensitive to the variety of levels and roles involved and to the patterns of influence which permeated formal structures. Leadership skills were also gained through work in anti-poverty agencies: development of some ability to form people into groups, to schedule meetings, and to develop alliances in support of programs. Leaders also gained experience by presenting Native positions in public.

Perhaps the most important result of this leadership training was the knowledge Natives gained of the statewide problems of Native communities and of the agencies and officials which could induce change. War on Poverty funds in Alaska supported a good deal of travel of Natives across communities and a large number of conferences of Native leaders in regional centers--Anchorage, Fairbanks, and Juneau. Common perspectives developed from these interchanges. Secondly, as leaders with "constituents" in their home areas, Natives developed a special understanding of the feelings of their people on important issues of development and self-determination. Third, Natives who had previously dealt with Whites as inferiors or as paternal wards were now more likely to deal with Whites as equals. This may have contributed to major changes in the attitudes of Native leaders and to the development of far more aggressive styles politically and socially.

Natives also benefitted from the increased "modernization" of their communities. By modernization we mean the approach--but only the beginnings

of an approach--of Native communities to standards of White communities in Alaska. There was some slight improvement in indices of social and economic development. More important, there were great increases in the indices of political modernization in such areas as discussion of public issues, participation in community affairs by community members, and increased concern over the fate of the community and the people. Although the programs were only marginally effective in reducing poverty, they created a climate of rising expectations. Anti-poverty rhetoric, sloganeering, and ideology raised hopes and developed new states of consciousness that further activated Natives.

In summary, the subtle and crude processes of change influencing Alaska Natives during the 1960's explain to some extent the changed political activity of Natives in the 1970's. Yet it would be a serious mistake to assume that Natives were merely containers into which White activists tossed new orientations, identifications, and measures of self-awareness. To correct this view, we turn to an analysis of the land claims movement itself where we can see the full development of interactive processes only hinted at above.

Endnotes

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4. Ibid., p. 63.
5. Alaska, Legislative Affairs Agency, Public Land of Alaska, 1966, pp. 7-8.
6. Alaska, Division of Lands, 1966 Annual Report.
7. Ibid., p. 38.
8. Mary Clay Berry, The Alaska Pipeline: The Politics of Oil and Native Land Claims (Bloomington, Indiana: University of Indiana Press, 1975), p. 49.
9. Ibid.
10. Alaska, Division of Lands, 1967 Annual Report, p. 9.
11. Alaska, Division of Lands, 1968 Annual Report, pp. 17-18.
12. See Thomas A. Morehouse and Victor Fischer, Borough Government in Alaska (Fairbanks: Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research, March 1971).
13. In Baker v. Carr, 369 U.S. 186 (1962), the Supreme Court stated that inequalities in state legislative apportionment laws denied voters "equal protection of the Laws" guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution and that the federal courts should grant relief from these inequalities. In its second major decision on reapportionment, Wesbury v. Sanders, 376 U.S. 1 (1964), the Court declined to decide on a firm mathematical standard of correct apportionment, holding only that "as nearly as practicable, one man's vote should be equal to another's." This became known as the "one man, one vote" decision.
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30. Tundra Times, 15 August 1969.
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38. Tundra Times, 13 February 1970.
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41. Ibid., p. 27.