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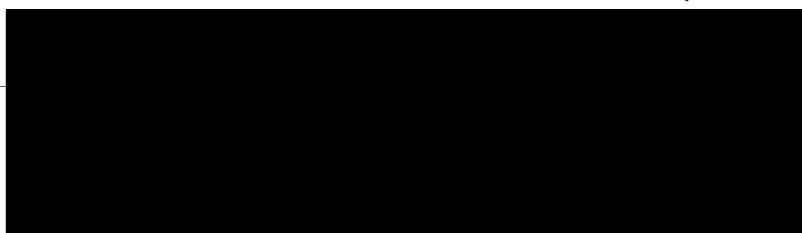
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PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION IN AN
ALASKAN NATIVE COMMUNITY:
A CASE STUDY

by

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
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of

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PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION IN AN ALASKAN NATIVE COMMUNITY.

A CASE STUDY

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine the processes of community participation in educational decision-making in an Alaskan Alutiiq Eskimo village in order to test the generalizability of a set of commonly held assumptions regarding local participation in educational governance. Twelve such assumptions are derived from the pertinent literature on educational participation and the history of Alaskan education. These assumptions, stated in the form of propositions, are then organized around three areas: pattern of community influence in educational governance, socio-cultural factors that influence educational participation, and the costs and benefits of community participation in educational governance.

The case study method was chosen to present an extreme setting in which to examine the derived propositions, because such an approach can most adequately convey the intricacies of personal, cultural and social factors in educational participation as it occurs in a remote Eskimo village. How the village of Nuna participates in educational governance, and whether the village's participation confirms the literature, refutes it, or raises further questions is the focus of the study.

The first five propositions relating to patterns of community participation address the following issues: whether members of a community unintentionally influence the operation of a school; the

differences in participation between traditional native communities and white-middle-class communities; whether informal channels of educational participation take precedence over formal channels in smaller communities more than in larger communities; the general ineffectiveness of advisory school boards; and the extent to which participation in educational governance is influenced by a community's natural setting.

The next set of propositions attend to socio-cultural factors that influence educational participation. These propositions are concerned with the following issues: community involvement in the school as it relates to social congruency between the school and the community; the inadequacy of conventional school participant structures in non-middle-class communities; and the influence of economic changes in the larger society on educational participation at the local level.

The final four propositions attend to the costs and benefits of community participation in educational governance. These propositions are concerned with the following issues: the effect of political decentralization of a school system on local participation in educational decision-making; the effect that the mere presence of a native board has on the power of school authorities; the cost in terms of time and energy to school board members; and how participation in educational governance affects the political system and the democratic process.

The majority of the propositions were confirmed by the experience of this particular community during the period of the study, though for

some propositions the evidence is weak and the need for further research is indicated. The following propositions were refuted within the context of this study: political decentralization of a school system will increase the degree of local participation in educational decision-making, the personal cost in terms of time and energy drain can often outweigh the perceived benefits derived from participation in educational governance; formal community participation in educational governance opens the political system and strengthens the democratic process.

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Appreciation is especially extended to the people of Nuna who welcomed me into their village. Nuna is a pseudonym used to protect the people of this village from unwanted observation.

Finally, I extend my thanks to the many others who have assisted in the course of this study.

S.F.G.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Alaskan native people have long held control over the education of their children. Prior to the introduction of schools, skills, knowledge, and values important for survival and success in a severe environment were transmitted to the children in an informal manner. Parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts, brothers, and sisters were the teachers, and the world in which the children lived was the classroom. There existed a seemingly immutable bond between learner and community, between learning and living.

The encroachment of western society severed the bond between the child and his traditional teachers: the learning environment and the traditional teacher were replaced by formal systems of education and the professional educator. The position of the parents and others in the child's life was subsequently diminished by the imposition of the formal schooling process.

The American public school system's assumption of control over the formal learning experiences of Alaskan native children should have caused little concern, because the public school system of the United States is deeply rooted in the concept of citizen participation. The evolution of public schools in America reflects the

principle of local control to such a degree that it has become a fundamental assumption of American society. Fein contends, however, that "the most serious discrepancy between classical theory and contemporary reality has been with respect to the question of participation in the political process" (Fein, 1971, p. 60). This applies particularly to rural Alaska where, historically, community participation has been severely limited.

Problem

Community participation is a highly visible issue in contemporary rural Alaska. The native peoples of the state, due in part to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) and the decentralization of the State's public school system, are undergoing a period of rapid transition, resulting in major political, economic, and social changes. These changes have called attention to the need for an educational system that reflects the values and needs of the unique world of the Alaskan native. There is dissatisfaction with western education; however, there is also a recognition that the native must adapt to certain elements of the western schooling process. This position is reflected in the words of the people of the Yukon-Kuskokwim region:

Modern education reflects the ways that western civilization appears to have lost its way and no longer makes any sense. But we are tied to this dominant culture. We must know its ways; we must have the necessary tools to cope with its problems and make use of its opportunities. So it is, that

to find ourselves as individuals, and as a people and make our way into the future, we will need the knowledge and ways of western civilization (Davidson, 1974, p. 75).

A unique opportunity for a study of the dynamics involved in local control of education exists in Alaska where the native minority groups are attempting to gain control of the formal education of their children. These conditions afford an opportunity to examine longitudinally the complex events that shape the nature of educational governance in a cross-cultural setting, and thus assess some of the implications of rural native communities' participation in the governance of the formal educational system. A review of the pertinent literature on educational governance and of the history of Alaskan education indicates that a number of tentative propositions can be generated concerning local participation in educational decision-making. These propositions serve as a set of assumptions that derive from our current understanding of the nature of formal and informal interaction between schools and communities.

The question then becomes, do these propositions hold up when examined under all conditions of school and community interaction? The purpose of this study, therefore, is to examine the processes of community participation in educational decision-making in a particular community setting in rural Alaska to test the generalizability of a set of commonly held assumptions regarding local participation in educational governance. More specifically, the

major concern treated here is the reconstruction and analysis of the participation of the Alutiġ Eskimo village of Nuna in the education of its children over a 10 year period, thus providing a means of examining a number of general propositions concerning participation in educational governance in an extreme setting.

Study Design and Format

Numerous conditions complicate the validity of social research, including, as Olsen (1968) points out, the complexities of social life, and the realization that complex multiple causations underlie all social situations. It is a difficult task, therefore, to find a structure of procedures that will comprehensively describe the sequence of events that a group of people have experienced in striving toward their goals. This is especially true when the culture and interactional styles are different from one's own. It was with an awareness of these concerns that this researcher began the search for a methodology that would accurately convey a realistic picture of Nuna's experiences with schools over the past 10 years.

One of the goals of social research is to provide the reader with descriptive knowledge. Polanyi (1958) states that not only is there descriptive or propositional knowledge, but there is tacit knowledge as well. Tacit knowledge is that which is acquired directly by experience; propositional knowledge is what we can communicate to

others? However, as Cauley articulates, "full communication cannot be achieved by presenting propositional knowledge without a tacit base" (1977, p. 5). Tacit knowledge provides a framework of how things really are, and how people feel about them. Such knowledge provides a basis for action; without an awareness of it, there is great difficulty in portraying a truthful picture of selected human activities. For example, attending only to organizational items of traditional western significance, e.g., board minutes, formal debates, etc., may mislead one in assessing how actively native villagers participate in educational governance. The unaware observer who examines the forms of native participation in education only through formal school board records is likely to overlook the many informal processes that come into play and thus reach the conclusion that these boards are rather complacent (Goodwin, 1978).

Given these conditions, what type of research design would provide the necessary descriptive data so that the forms of participation by a native group over a 10 year span became clear? This research is of an exploratory nature for little is known about the phenomena of participation in the school process in Eskimo villages. While the literature does reveal a number of propositions that apply to educational participation in middle class communities, whether or not these propositions are valid in an extreme setting is unknown. Given the open-endedness of the problem, the case study method appears to be

the most appropriate technique for reconstructing and analyzing an Eskimo village's participation in the education of its children, and thus providing a context in which to examine general propositions relating to educational participation.

The case study form of research, which has a lengthy and respected tradition, is most appropriate here for several reasons. One of the major strengths of the case study method, according to Wilson, is that "the format has the ability and willingness to deal with interwoven complexities, with multiplicity, with details of concrete reality, and with developments over time" (Wilson, 1977, p. 11). The setting and longitudinal aspects of the study confirmed the appropriateness of the case format. Additionally, the format can provide propositional knowledge with a tacit base. Material about a complex sequence of events in a different cultural milieu can be presented in a manner that can, in the words of Culbertson, Jacobson, and Reller, become "a springboard for understandings and insights" (1960, p. 75).

The problem becomes intricate when the focus of a study is a 10 year analysis of the factors that bear on the process of an Eskimo village's participation in education. The task in this study is to accurately reconstruct and analyze the participation process of interaction within a culturally different group over a large span of time. The study of the process consequently must contain chronological, historical, environmental, and cultural information

to accurately depict the factors that influence the group's participation and the forms that the participation takes.

Many variables affect the usefulness of case studies; particularly, their usefulness is related to the values and theoretical orientation of the reader. Each reader will have his/her own theoretical framework for assessing and judging the adequacy of the case. Judgements about the usefulness of an approach are consequently colored by the reader's theoretical orientation. Another difficulty with case studies is that "any given reader will want much more detail about perspectives and actions of particular kinds of actors (usually people in their own role) than would make sense in the overall context of the study" (Wilson, 1977, p. 7). Enough context must be provided, however, to give the reader an adequate basis for judging any conclusions that are presented.

When the setting of the study is a remote Alutiiq Eskimo village, the question of generalizability comes to the forefront. Studies that depict events and actions in a cultural milieu different from that with which the reader is familiar must pay particular attention to how the process evolves in a different setting. The lack of familiarity with a setting does not necessarily reduce the value of case studies. Culbertson, Jacobson, and Reller (1960) point out that case studies tend to deal with the unusual more than the usual, and this fact can place constraints on them. Admittedly, an Alutiiq Eskimo village

is a different community for most readers; however, the uniqueness of the setting need not be an impairment to the usefulness of the study. Wilson contends that "given enough detail about how influences are played out in the setting, readers can make the bridge between the setting studied and their own setting" (1977, p. 20). The Nuna case probably attains true comparability only in relation to communities with similar cultural, social and economic contexts within Alaska. This limited generalizability requires that the manner of fact-gathering, observing and reporting be an enterprise which can convey an adequate perspective of the community so that an unfamiliar reader can determine how their own experience relates to that presented in the case study.

The case study format provides a useful vehicle for the conveyance of information about the complex process-oriented manner in which participation occurs in the village setting. The format also allows some commonly held assumptions regarding community participation in educational governance to be examined in an extreme setting. It permits the identification of different components and stages of the involvement of people in educational governance. The format also provides insight into the internal and informal forms of participation that can occur in a different cultural milieu over an extended period of time. The factors that influence participation and how they operate in a particular community setting can be addressed through the case study method. For these reasons, the case study format will be employed in this study.

Field Research Techniques

The participant-observer technique, which is the cornerstone of case study research, was the major data collection device employed, along with survey and interview techniques. The participant-observer approach was used in the same sense that Malinowski (1961) described in his classic work, Argonauts of the Western Pacific, in which he stressed the need for total involvement. This total immersion in the field setting, as Wax (1971) clearly elaborates, is crucial for the development of an understanding of the inner workings of a community. However, anthropologists contend that any observer stepping inside another culture carries with him biases and blind-spots which influence the data gathered and its analysis (Gladwin, Sarason, Seymour, 1953). In an effort to attend to these concerns, the researcher has included, as Appendix A, his personal history and political inclinations.

The researcher first visited Nuna in 1970 to conduct a survey. Nuna had been included as one of the communities in a study that dealt with remote villages' attitudes toward formal education and school personnel. Nuna emerged from the study as a community that had high expectations and understandings of the formal educational system (Grubis, 1971). The researcher visited the community on four separate occasions for the purpose of this case study. The initial visit was in September of 1973 and lasted a month. The

next, a three-week visit, occurred during the latter part of November of the same year. The third visit lasted a little over a month and occurred in January and February of 1974. The final, one-week visit occurred in March of 1980.

Informal social contact with members of the village has been maintained since 1970. Dillingham, where the researcher resides, has the only public health hospital in southwest Alaska, where Nuna is located. Additionally, it is the major communication, transportation, and business center of Bristol Bay. Consequently, Nuna's residents were frequently in Dillingham. This provided an opportunity for extensive formal and informal social contact. These contacts consisted of attendance at regional native corporation meetings and social occasions in Dillingham. Some of the residents of Nuna and the researcher share mutual friends in Anchorage. When in Anchorage the residents of Nuna and the researcher frequented the same hotels and social gathering places. It would be rare not to meet someone from Nuna when in Anchorage and spend an evening or two with them. These extensive informal contacts kept the researcher informed of village events, allowed friendships to be renewed, and kept the researcher abreast of the corporate affairs of the village. These informal social contacts over a decade affected the role of the researcher. Whereas the role of the researcher in the village had been that of an information gatherer, the length of involvement

and the extensive social contact with the villagers increased the trust relationship between the researcher and the community.

The flow of events were recorded in the field setting through note taking and on an occasional audio tape. Interviews with the advisory school board, the bilingual teacher, and the certified teacher were also recorded. However, the presence of a tape recorder appeared to inhibit responses, so tape recording was discontinued after a few sessions. The note taking was handicapped by extensive involvement in the daily events of the village, a scarcity of daylight, and accommodations that lacked adequate light and heat. The researcher would always ask if notes could be taken while an informant was talking. The request was never denied. Throughout the visits the researcher's habit of carrying a notebook was accepted. On some occasions residents would give the researcher paper to write on if he wasn't carrying a notebook. The conditions under which the notes were written made it difficult to adhere to the field note reporting guidelines suggested by Pelto (1970). To avoid the dangers of leaps to quick conclusions, the researcher followed Pelto's rule of taking notes at a low level of abstraction. The researcher generally made rough notes immediately after an observation. However, a daily attempt to complete the rough notes in detail was impinged upon by living conditions. There were also many occasions when note taking immediately after an event was

impossible. Wolcott's (1973) personal rule of completing field notes every day, or as soon as possible, was faithfully followed by this researcher. The researcher took notes in longhand and elaborated upon them after returning to Anchorage.

Much of the collected information was interesting, but, on the researcher's initial appraisal, appeared to be useless for research purposes. For example, village steambath activities were fascinating; however, there were no immediately visible relationships between these and village participation in educational governance. It literally took the researcher years to perceive the importance of these relationships. It also took a lengthy period of time to comprehend the Nuna Eskimo style of transmitting information. Many of the residents, especially the elders, had a manner of responding to queries that tended to skirt around the issue. Their comments were often couched in metaphorical terms related to patterns of local animal behavior. There was a remarkable similarity of detail among the elders in the retelling of the history of the village. In Nuna, the oral tradition apparently is a highly accurate vehicle for passing on historical information. The historical information was not revealed at any one setting, but was narrated at different times over the years, both within the village and at other settings. The Eskimos of Nuna do not view their culture as being inferior to western culture. Generally, western ways and people were the

objects of detached amusement. As a result of the Eskimos' perception of western people, and because the researcher had had earlier experiences in living among a remote hunter-gatherer group, the researcher realized that openness and patience would be essential for the development of trust relationships in Nuna.

The researcher's involvement occurred through participating, observing, and interviewing. There was attendance at church functions, birthday parties, innumerable teas and coffees, movies, cesspool digging, supply unloading, rambling discussions on the beach, hunting activities, and village meetings. The researcher's formal dealings with village organizational structures such as the village council and the advisory school board were minimal. Informally, the researcher's involvement with members of these groups was extensive; however, he did not deal with the advisory school board as a formal structural entity. The researcher had many personal contacts with members of village organizations and tried to take into account the informal networks peculiar to bush communities. A protocol exists within the informal social interaction and communication networks in bush communities for dispensing and receiving information. Entering a home and discussing business immediately is not the way the informal organizational structure operates. Business cannot be rushed. If an occasion does not arise for business discussion on the first visit, there will always

be other visits. A violation of these norms alienates one from the community. Adaptation to and maximizing the use of the informal organizational mechanisms within the community requires patience and familiarity with life styles. For those interested in further details of native and non-native communication, see Vaudrin (1973).

A case researcher needs to know the community that he will work in. This requires that he communicate with the residents. Communication is more than just verbalization; communication is the sharing of experiences. This develops shared frames of reference. As Goodenough (1963) points out, the situation is much more difficult when working with clients whose culture is entirely different from one's own. Language and culture form barriers which the researcher needs to overcome if he is to increase his probability of creating a valid picture. Nuna is a bilingual community, so the researcher used several phrases in the local native dialect during daily interaction. Another factor which assisted the researcher was his use of the village's English dialect. This speech form indicates to villagers that the outsider has certain shared values. This speech form, as Schafer (1975) elaborates upon, is recognizable throughout village Alaska. The dialect does not indicate residence in a particular village, but rather conveys a wide range of shared activities that would be denied to outsiders. As Schafer observed, "the use of village dialect contains overt signals with attributes which allow for interaction in value spheres that would otherwise

have been denied" (Schafer, 1975, p. 11).

During the data collection, the researcher did not rely on any single informant. Although he generally visited every home in the village, there were about half a dozen residences where he tended to spend more time. The chief's house was one of these. When the chief, who was also the village corporate president, was in, the researcher would drop by briefly once a day. Throughout the years the researchers relationship with the chief has grown into a friendship.

The researcher would generally spend an entire day visiting at four or five households. Talking, joking, eating, and drinking vast quantities of tea or coffee, would comprise the visits. These visits might also involve the researcher's lending mechanical assistance on small engines or outboard motors. During the visits it would not be unusual for someone to invite the researcher elsewhere for coffee later on. It was also quite common, as the researcher walked through the village, for various people to shout, "Come, have coffee." These long informal sojourns gave the researcher an opportunity to cross-check informant information.

Becker observed that the way the subjects define the role of the researcher affects the information dispensed to the researcher (Becker, 1958). The accuracy of any data obtained needs to be examined in light of Becker's observation. This researcher took

great care in describing his role and the purpose of the study to the community. The mutual awareness of the researcher's role tends, as Gold suggests, to minimize the threats to objectivity inherent in playing a role (Gold, 1958). However, another problem may arise under such field situations, i.e., the researcher becomes too closely identified with the community, which is another menace to objectivity. It is this researcher's contention, though, that due to the informal information networks of remote native communities, close identification with the target group is a necessary and essential element. Trust relationships with native clientele are not achieved through formal social interaction. A common characteristic observed by those who work in native villages is the importance of the informal "social structure," which is the social relationship beneath the formal interaction. The researcher's submersion in such a personalized social structure creates difficulties in the researcher's interpretation and recording of descriptive data. Despite the delineation of the role to the community, it is quite possible that events and information concerning the community have been withheld. This is only natural given the close-knit social structure of Alaskan native villages and the "outside" origins of the researcher. Even natives who move into neighboring villages and who reside in those villages for many years are never considered members of the village. One cannot realistically expect to be privy to all of a community's information when one is an external person involved in a

different cultural setting.

Format of the Study

The focus of this study is an examination of the generalizability of certain commonly held assumptions regarding the process of community participation in educational governance. The assumptions will be derived from a review of pertinent literature (Chapter II), and an examination of the historical evolution of schooling in rural Alaska (Chapter III). The assumptions will be stated in the form of propositions and will be listed as they emerge from the literature and historical review sections and then summarized at the end of each section. Chapter IV will consist of a case study of educational governance in the Alutiiq Eskimo village of Nuna in rural Alaska, against which the propositions can be examined to determine if they are indeed generalizable to an extreme setting such as that presented. Each proposition will then be reviewed in the final chapter to determine to what extent it is upheld, refuted, or remains questionable following the Nuna experience.

CHAPTER II

Review of The Literature on Community
Participation in Educational Governance

The literature related to community participation in educational governance will be reviewed in this chapter, and when the literature appears to indicate that a propositional statement can be made regarding an issue of significance to this topic, such a statement will be blocked out in the text of this review. These propositions will then be summarized at the end of the chapter. For the purpose of this study, participation will be defined as the formal and informal means by which a community attempts to cause the school system to do what the community wishes.

The literature on Alaskan native participation in education is not extensive, but a search of the more general literature on the topic leads to three broad areas of treatment. The first body of literature relates to the benefits and liabilities of community involvement in educational governance, particularly in the communities of ethnic minorities. Studies show that tremendous demands frequently are placed on minority board members and that these members generally lack formal educational expertise. Despite the personal pressures and a limited background in educational matters, minority board

governance does not, as is often assumed, lead to administrative chaos. The literature suggests that participation opens the political system and strengthens the democratic process, and this tends to relieve the frustrations of minority group members. Whether participation leads to educational innovation and increased academic achievement is unclear. However, it often reduces cultural incongruities between the school and the community and results in a more productive learning environment.

The second body of literature focuses on frameworks for analyzing participation. This literature illustrates that the tension which exists between communities and schools is influenced by the formally structured type of participation between the two entities. A wide range and gradation of forms of participation exist between the school and the community, and each entity has created methods for emphasizing its particular position. School bureaucracies have numerous ways of circumventing the formally defined relationship with the community; but communities have their own resources in overcoming obstacles to participation.

The third literature search involves educational participation, specifically in rural native American and poor urban communities. A review of the literature reveals commonalities between rural, native communities, and ghetto or urban poor communities. This appears to be due to similar cultural and social incongruities

between such communities and formal school systems. In these communities, forms of participation tend to be defined by the community. These forms consequently differ from traditional middle class models: They are less tangible; therefore, a focus on conventional structures for participation is generally not conducive to an accurate analysis of community influence. It is also apparent that informal forms of participation appear to be highly relevant in these communities. These forms consequently differ from traditional middle class models: They are less tangible; therefore, a focus on conventional structures for participation is generally not conducive to an accurate analysis of community influence. It is also apparent that informal forms of participation appear to be highly relevant in these communities.

Benefits and Liabilities of Community Participation

Greater community participation is often posited as one solution to minority problems in education. This is based on an assumption that a relationship exists between local participation and the quality of educational services. Proponents of this position tend to regard the formal institution as the source of difficulties and pose that one solution is the reorganization of the institution itself. The identification of the system as the source of minority difficulties in education does not inevitably

lead to a solution; nor does an increase of local participation and control inevitably lead to a solution. Fein (1970) suggests that it is just as reasonable to focus on strengthening the system and providing it greater independence and higher professional standards. It seems reasonable to assume that if schools are not adequately meeting the needs of minority groups, one could seek to change the internal operations of the organization rather than the structure of the organization itself. In a collection of essays that describe the limitations of local control, Bowers, Housego, and Dyke (1970) suggest that some of the problems revolve around the educator. The authors indicate that educators have not challenged the "conventional wisdom of the public which maintains that education is essentially a matter of public policy and that everybody's opinion is equally valuable" (p. 17). These authors also contend that the professionals have failed in many ways to establish boundaries which the public cannot legitimately cross. It is their contention that professional matters are best resolved by professionals. The corollary to strengthening professional autonomy is weakening local participation. Whatever perspective is used, it is apparent that community participation is only one approach. It is not a remedy for all of the educational problems of the disenfranchised, although it may be one element in an educationally sound approach to reform.

Levin (1970), in Community Control of Schools, reviews the evolution of the movement for community control. He attributes these demands for involvement to the hindrances that minorities have experienced. Minority statistics in the areas of housing, income, life expectancy, and infant mortality, all suggest sources of frustration over lack of control of one's destiny. In addition to the frustrations of minorities, there is a growing segment of the middle class that Levin (1970) and Williams (1975) identify. This middle class group is also dissatisfied by the lack of responsiveness from school bureaucracies. Gittell (1970) views this movement toward community participation as competition for power with the professionals who control educational policy. One of Wax's (1970) observations from the Navajo-controlled Rough Rock School Board was that the establishment of native boards transforms power relationships. This observation supports Gittell's (1970) view that what occurs is a power struggle. Wax (1970) states that the mere presence of a native board has an effect on professionals. It causes educators "to discard their institutional arrogance and to cease working with conceptual schemes in which the children are simply regarded as 'culturally deprived' or otherwise lacking in the competencies and potentials of properly reared children" (p. 68).

THE PRESENCE OF A NATIVE CONTROLLED
SCHOOL BOARD INCREASES PARENTAL
POWER IN RELATIONSHIP TO THE POWER
OF SCHOOL AUTHORITIES

Gittell (1970) identifies the critical factor in this movement towards participation as the "openness" it brings to the political system. This openness allows communities to challenge the policy and structure of education. From Wax's (1970) observations this challenge, in some circumstances, seems to happen inadvertently. The forum for this challenge usually lies in the state legislatures, since the Federal Constitution mandates that education is a state responsibility. Thus we have a broad range of people, from minority groups to segments of the middle class, organizing to obtain representation in order to alter power relationships. This whole process is central to democracy. Davies (1976) comments that a "healthy democratic society is built on both representation (electing officials from the President to the School Board) and participation" (p. 148). Fantini, Gittell, and Magat (1970) also strongly support the democratic process in education. These authors feel that educational improvement without local participation is merely technology. They also attribute the failure and briefness of many educational innovations to the absence of local parental participation. As Davies (1978) makes clear, in "Citizen Participation

in Schools," citizen groups participating in education are more likely to reflect local social, cultural, and political interests.

FORMAL COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN
EDUCATION GOVERNANCE OPENS THE
POLITICAL SYSTEM AND STRENGTHENS
THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

Despite the glowing rhetoric that surrounds the concept of participation, it is not without extensive liabilities in urban settings. In Neighborhood Democracy (1973) Yates discusses some of the costs of participation. An analysis of school board minutes from ten districts in the New York decentralization project revealed that the dominant concerns at meetings were not lofty educational concepts: The concerns revolved around such issues as personnel matters, appointments, retirements, and maintenance problems. This is similar to the findings of Erickson (1969) and; Wax (1970) from their observations of the Navajo School Board in Rough Rock, Arizona. The New York study revealed that the complexity of operating a school system requires extensive financial outlays merely to keep up surveillance of basic operations. In addition there was a continuous mounting pressure on board members to devote more and more time to school matters. Community board members tended to be at the apex of community pressure groups and hence became the targets for grievances. The high activity rate

of the boards in their response to daily concerns left little time for innovation. The time and energy drain on board members caused more than 10% of the elected members to resign during the first year. Yin and Yates (1975) observed that the personal costs to board members far exceed the benefits brought by decentralization. The frequency of meetings also led to four out of ten surveyed board's failures to reach a quorum in half of their meetings over a one-year period. Yates (1973) concludes that these school boards did prove that local control does not necessarily lead to administrative chaos. The boards did produce a greater awareness of community needs. However, it is clear from this example that community school boards do not always master the governing task and do not always produce a tangible impact on education.

THE PERSONAL COST IN TERMS OF TIME AND
ENERGY DRAIN CAN OFTEN OUTWEIGH THE PERCEIVED
BENEFITS DERIVED FROM PARTICIPATION IN
EDUCATIONAL GOVERNANCE

There has been great controversy surrounding school decentralization in New York City. A strong populist movement made it possible for Mayor Lindsay to decentralize the schools. The purpose was to improve educational quality by increasing community participation through a redistribution of power. Elected community boards would have some control over budget, curriculum, and personnel.

The legislature established districts ranging between 20,000 to 30,000 pupils. This contradicted earlier recommendations for much smaller school districts. Gittel (1973) contends that the size of the decentralization districts in New York City had three significant results: It insured the collapse of the smaller and earlier successful demonstration districts; it was impossible for blacks or Puerto Ricans to control boards; and it created an opportunity for the control of local boards by organized groups. The United Federation of Teachers became active in school board elections and typically had a strong impact on policy formulation.

The controversy surrounding the New York City school decentralization is depicted in two conflicting articles. Martin Schiff (1976), in "The Educational Failure of Community Control in Inner-City New York," found that local participation and control of education in District #1 was, in essence, a failure. Schiff (1976) reports that over the five year period of the project there was no evidence of the increased educational achievement expected of the minority students. Schiff also contends that there was not any significant increase in public participation. He describes the situation as one in which control was exercised by lower class, anti-intellectual elements who, at times, were militant and encouraged violence. Fuentes (1976), the removed superintendent of District #1, conveys a different perspective on the participation

issue. Fuentes argues that community control did not fail, but rather was never given an opportunity to exist. He contends that the opponents of local participation reconstructed the old system behind a facade of decentralization, and charges that during the six-year history of the project, a majority of black or Puerto Rican members never existed on any board. The reconstruction of the school system effectively kept control out of local parents' hands. He identifies the union, United Federation of Teachers, as the major culprit in obstructing local control. Fuentes (1976) also disputes Schiff's (1976) contention that academic achievement was unimproved. Fuentes cites increases in students' reading levels from 15.5% to 18.6% from 1972 through 1974.

One justification for participation in education is to increase the quality of education for those in school. Whether participation by minority groups leads to greater academic achievement for students is difficult to determine. It is apparent from middle class examples that children are influenced by parental involvement in and support of the schools (Sewell and Hauser 1976; Luszki and Schmuck 1963; Duncan 1964). However, once one moves to a case where a minority group controls the school the data are less clear. Gittell, Berube, Cottfried, Guttentag, and Spies (1972) contend that "there are no community-controlled school districts in existence long enough to conclude that participation leads to quality education" (p. 31). An attitudinal

study by Marcia Guttentag of one of the three 1968 demonstration school districts in New York does provide some encouragement. Guttentag found that the climate of participation in District I.S. 210 positively changed students' attitudes toward school. There was a higher number of students who felt able to succeed (Gittel et al., 1972). It is also generally accepted that a positive attitude is crucial for academic achievement.

Among natives, the earliest example of a possible correlation between academic achievement and participation appears in the early 19th century Cherokee school system. Kickingbird and Lynn (1976) report that when federal control replaced native control of education, the Cherokee dropout rate increased and the literacy rate decreased from 60% to 40%. A more recent example of retention rate changes appear at two successful native-controlled schools, i.e., Rocky Boy School, Montana, and the Rough Rock School, Arizona. Both schools reported a sharp increase in retention rates once the schools were under local control (Locke, 1979). This is obviously a positive first step, because the Rocky Boy School dropout rates previously had been almost 100%. The question of whether non-middle class groups' participation contributes to academic achievement appears unanswerable at this time. However, minority participation can produce an atmosphere in which academic achievement seems more likely to occur.

Deschler and Erlich (1972) provide a perspective for examining

Fuentes' (1976) claims of teacher hindrance of local participation. The Deschler and Erlich study describes the historical public school cycles of community control vs. domination by professionals. These authors stress that real control occurs when there is collaboration between professionals and the community. Further, these authors cite a successful local control situation in Detroit to support their position. In the Detroit situation a central board delegated functions to a regional board. These functions included personnel selection, curriculum planning, and budget determination. This is a somewhat similar situation to the New York inner-city decentralization project. However, Deschler and Erlich contend that this form of participation was, and can continue to be, successful.

In examining the Detroit and the New York inner-city situations it is important to bear in mind that there is obviously social distance between any community and the school. In subcultures there tend to be greater cultural incongruencies between the two. The professional status of educators and the bureaucracy in which they function also pose barriers to effective school-community relations. A widely held assumption that Deschler and Erlich (1972) and Fuentes (1976) point out as crucial is that an increased collaboration between the school and the community results in a greater probability of increased learning. This belief in increased learning is based on the professionals' increased comprehension of the problems facing subcultures

and of the parents' increased support of the school's role in their culture. According to Deschler and Erlich (1972) the Detroit community control situation was successful due in part to the collaborative effort which is also what Fuentes (1976) points to as the major culprit in the failure of the New York inner-city project. Thus it is reasonable to assume that the willingness of professionals to share their power appears to be an important ingredient in achieving successful participation.

Unquestionably, there will be tension between locally involved groups and professionals in the school structure. The history of education contains many examples of the "playing out" of this tension. The separation of the school from the tension of political process may lead to a less controversial school system. However, the political tension fostered by community involvement tends to make the schools more sensitive to local needs. Fein (1971) comments that when subcultural groups control a learning system the standards of success usually reflect the subgroups' values rather than those of the dominant cultural group. The definition of educational success in terms of the dominant group's criteria may not reflect the standards of success of a subgroup and may, in fact, work at cross-purposes to the interest of that subgroup. This is often mentioned by native Eskimo leaders who see the competitive atmosphere of western public schools as being in conflict with the traditional Eskimo concept of cooperation (Davidson, 1974).

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT WITH THE SCHOOL
INCREASES THE SOCIAL CONGRUENCY BETWEEN
THE SCHOOL AND THE COMMUNITY

We live in a pluralistic society that is governed by the will of the people. The problem, simply stated, is: which people will govern? In our society, there can at times be a tyranny of the majority. This tyranny can limit the recognition of non-middle class members of the society. Dan Dodson, Director of the Center for Human Relations at New York University brings clarity to this issue:

No nation can maintain the distinctions of being democratic if it does not make allowances for cultural diversity. Such differences cannot be "just tolerated." They must be respected and encouraged so long as they have value for any segment of the citizenry. Thus, in a real sense, this opportunity to pursue autonomous goals is a measure of "democratic." No person can make his fullest contribution to the total society with a feeling of compromise about "who he is" because he is a minority group member. (Beatrice and Gross, 1967, p. 131)

Analytical Constructs of Participation

The work of Litwak and Meyer (1966) provides an overall framework for examining participation. An article by Litwak and Meyer (1966), "A Balance Theory of Coordination Between Bureaucratic Organizations and Community Primary Groups," contained a hypothesis that is of some use in clarifying community participation experiences. Litwak and

Meyer's hypothesis is that both bureaucratic organizations and community groups are essential for achieving society's objectives; however, the groups are antithetical to each other. The point is made that the community or the primary group exercises power in most areas of life in the community, whereas the bureaucratic organization exercises power in a concentrated area for which it is optimally organized. The interdependence of the task between the two groups means that for the optimal achievement of their respective goals there needs to be a relationship between the two. The balance theory says that the two entities need to operate at some mid-point distance from each other. If they are too close the structures will conflict, and if they are too far apart they diminish their optimal abilities to achieve their goals. There are linkages between the two groups. These linkages form a two-way flow through which the school molds opinion in the community and the community influences the school.

The relationship between bureaucracies and communities is influenced by the formal structural linkage of participation that exists between the two entities. The extent of influence that a community has in educational governance is determined to some degree by the forms of participation allowed by the institution. What follows is a discussion of how the relationships between communities and schools are defined. These relationships are referred to throughout the later analysis of community participation.

In Neighborhood Democracy (1973) Yates describes three alternative forms of participation that result from decentralization movements. The first is labeled "political decentralization." This entails citizen participation in various forms such as advisory boards and elected neighborhood councils. This type of participation allows those involved to advise but permits them no control over local administrators or employees. The previously cited New York City decentralization example fits this description. The New York City case did permit locally elected boards some narrowly defined powers; however, these powers were minimal. This form of participation is often viewed by school authorities as a diffusing mechanism for community conflict. Robinson (1978) refers to this mechanism as a lightning rod that is intended to dispell tension or conflict from unstable conditions in the community. The effectiveness of this form of participation is highly questionable. It seems that it does little to reduce the frustration of either minority or middle class members who are dissatisfied with the school. In the three cases studied, Robinson found that this diffusing mechanism failed to contain school and community conflicts which tend to spread into a wider public forum. Similar observations are also made by Getches (1977) in his analysis of the advisory school boards of the Alaska state-operated school system. Getches concluded that while this form of political decentralization was a wise change at the time, native

leaders were still disenfranchised from the educational process. However, in the Alaskan context it does appear that political decentralization with all of its blemishes, was a logical first step in moving toward the future evolution of community control.

ADVISORY BOARDS ARE GENERALLY INEFFECTIVE
MECHANISMS FOR INFLUENCING SCHOOL POLICY
AND PRACTICE

The second type described by Yates (1973) is termed "administrative or command decentralization" and usually involves increasing the power and responsibility of employees who deal with citizens. An illustration of this type of participation is the creation of regional superintendents who would be in closer proximity to neighborhoods. Citizens have no actual influence in this form of participation. However, proximity to authority can provide an avenue to effect change. In theory, this structure should result in greater accountability and flexibility for the school system.

The third alternative is called "community control." This consists of community power exercised in policy formulation and control of employees. The intent and structural design of District #1 in New York may have been defined as an expression of Yates' third alternative--"community control." However, as we have noted earlier, Fuentes (1976) documents the fact that the actualization of that

control by minority members of the community was at best illusory.

Yates' (1973) description of three different approaches to decentralization closely parallels Gittell and Hollander's (1968) three forms of participation. Gittell and Hollander (1968) comment that citizen participation in school policy formation can take three forms. They label these as "closed," "limited," and "wide." In the first, participation is only open to professionals, similar to Yates' "political decentralization." The "limited" form allows participation of special interests groups or a board. This type of participation is severely confined and resembles Yates' "political decentralization" in which advisory groups function. The third form of participation, "wide," allows those groups who are not wholly concerned with school matters an opportunity to participate. A community business group may very well influence school policy under this form. As described by Yates, this form also resembles the third alternative, "community control."

Fantini (1972) offers a more elaborate typology of five forms of participation. The first he identifies as "consultative," in which case the school consults with various community organizations and groups before decisions are made. The second form is labeled "advisory." This form allows the operation of community councils; however, the school retains all authority. The third type, "shared," is one in which professionals and board members have equal representation on a

board. This form appears to fit the collaborative atmosphere in Detroit described by Deschler and Erlich (1972). There it appeared that the community and the professionals shared and collaborated in their control of the schools; however, the professionals held no school board seats. The fourth, "community control," refers to authority resting directly with the citizen board. Personnel and policymaking decisions would be the clients' responsibility. Fantini's (1972) final form of participation is "individual or family control." This form allows the individual or family to select the desired type of education. "Individual or family control" is probably the most powerful type of participation and allows the consumer alternatives in choosing different types of schools. This approach could be described as the voucher system.

Arnstein (1971) examines participation through a gradation of citizen involvement that she terms a "ladder of citizen participation." The ladder has eight rungs that range from situations of no participation to complete participation and subsequent control. The top five rungs, "citizen control, delegated power, partnership, and placation," describe degrees of citizen participation. Among the top five rungs, one moves from complete citizen participation with full authority through gradations of sharing authority. These gradations of sharing authority parallel and expand Fantini's (1972) "shared" and Gittell and Hollander's (1968) "limited" forms of participation. Arnstein's (1971)

next three rungs on the ladder "consultation, informing, and therapy" describe gradations of token representation. Activities such as needs assessments, public relations practices, and socialization to school norms would appear on these rungs. It is on these rungs also that Fantini's (1972) "consultative and advisory" forms would be found. The bottom and final rung which Arnstein (1971) identifies as "manipulation" describes a situation in which there is no participation permitted. Token boards dominated by those sympathetic to the structure would function on this rung.

It is apparent from these descriptions that there are a variety of gradations of participation. These range from full participation and subsequent control to no participation. Despite the forms of participation that may exist in a community, there are other factors that can inhibit meaningful participation. According to Litwak et al. (1970), bureaucracies protect themselves from intrusion of "extraneous values or interpersonal likes and dislikes by insisting on a priori delineation of duties and privileges and impersonal relations" (p. 45). In contrast, primary groups deal on a face-to-face basis with an emphasis on interpersonal relationships. Selectively listening and interpreting community messages can also prevent the bureaucracy from being affected by the community. A bureaucracy that is not wholly sympathetic to a community can also greatly confuse the issues by providing the wrong information. It must also be noted here that, as reported in Community

Control and Urban Schools (Fantini and Gittell, 1970), poor parents are generally not prone to challenging the expert status found within the better-educated members of its bureaucracy. It is apparent that bureaucracies have many ways by which they can inhibit the defined formal methods of participation, but communities are not without resources in overcoming bureaucratic obstacles to participation.

Communities can affect and circumvent formal participation structures. Litwak et al. (1970) outline twelve examples of ways by which a community influences bureaucracies. However, there is a much more concise description of these linkages presented in a later book by Litwak and Meyer (1974), School, Family and Neighborhood: The Theory and Practice of School Community Relations. These linking mechanisms are described as non-deliberate attempts by the school to link itself to the community. These mechanisms tend to exist in most situations, although not all of the eight will appear at any one time.

It is necessary to remember that this framework is not a comprehensive approach to the analysis of participation, but it does provide a broader perspective to how communities can influence schools. It is essential that one recognize that these linkages are two-way flows with both groups using the same channels. Following are the eight linking mechanisms:

1. Detached Worker. This is described as the professional employee who leaves the agency and engages in a relationship with the primary

group. A community social worker or a street corner worker whose clients are members of juvenile gangs are examples of this type of linking mechanism. The agent needs to develop positive emotional bonds with the primary group. This position has the potential of harmonizing the norms of the community and the agency. The linkage is achieved primarily through face-to-face interaction. The detached worker has a variety of ways of exerting influence: he can use the community's personal liking for him or his expert status, reward and punishment power, or his power as a spokesman for the group.

2. Opinion Leaders. A mechanism frequently employed for linking school and community together is the professionals' use of indigenous leaders to influence others. These indigenous leaders may occupy formal positions in the community, such as mayor or village chief, or they may hold no formal positions but be influential leaders. The identification of these individuals becomes much more complex when one is operating outside a familiar cultural milieu. The use of this mechanism does not provide the same organizational initiative associated with the detached worker role. However, the opinion leader does not have a much closer bond with the primary group than the detached worker. He has the potential advantage of being able to use the community's own networks to convey institutional information. The opinion leader also provides the community with an avenue to express its desires to the school.

3. Settlement House. This is described as a physical facility

where professional persons are located on the home turf of the clients. A school that is open for community activities after school hours would fulfill this settlement house function. The linking is generally characterized as having an informal atmosphere where programs are flexible and usually without charge. This mechanism provides avenues of participation due to the professional's proximity to the community and the face-to-face encounters that that involves. These intensive contacts ideally allow both groups to exchange information and mutually influence one another.

4. Auxillary Voluntary Association. This form of linking mechanism refers to organizations that bring members of the community together for school-related functions. The most obvious examples of such organizations are parent-teacher associations (P.T.A.) and Homeroom Mothers Clubs. These semi-formal, quasi-legal organizations are sponsored by the school and do provide corridors of participation. The formal agenda, scheduled meetings, and rules of order inhibit primary group exchange and tend to make this a low-intensity linking mechanism.

5. Mass Media. This linking mechanism refers to the school's use of public communication such as newspapers, radio, television, posters, and leaflets to influence the community. This is a low-intensity mechanism since there is little face-to-face contact and no interaction with the primary group. Due to the extensive technical

skill and resources required, communities generally avoid the use of mass media linking mechanisms. Community marches, leaflets, and boycotts are generally assured of media coverage but require a strong community commitment.

6. Common Messengers. This linking mechanism refers to the school organizations' use of community members to link the school and community together. "Common messengers" is an umbrella term which covers many areas. These common messengers have characteristics common to the community such as residence, language, ethnicity, and kinship. Common messengers are those paid and unpaid who work within the school. This includes cooks, janitors, para-professionals, advisory board members, and indigenous workers who live in the community and are involved in the school. Common messengers are not necessarily opinion leaders in the community, but they are conduits of information. This avenue provides both the school and the community with constant contact. Through this contact, general communication in regards to values of both structures can be exchanged. The use of these messengers may be planned, but more than likely it tends to be unorganized. Litwak and Meyer (1974) feel this form of exchange has a very powerful long-term effect.

7. Formal Authority. This mechanism relates to the legal authority of the organization. From the school's perspective, this could mean the principal's authority to suspend a student or his compelling

a parent to meet with school officials. This authority usually rests in law or well-established custom. Litwak and Meyer (1974) note that "the exercise of formal authority should be viewed primarily as a distance creating or maintaining device in relating the school to primary groups in the community" (pp. 275-276).

8. Delegated Function. This function is not a linking mechanism to the same degree as the others. This term, as used by Litwak and Meyer (1974), refers to the delegation of authority to another organization. The other organization is used because it has more expertise than the school has in a particular area. Examples of delegated functions are the school's referral of students or community members to medical or legal agencies, or the school's requests for assistance from a community association. An example of this linking mechanism, from the community members' perspective, is their request for legal assistance.

Litwak and Meyer's (1974) linking mechanisms concept provides a framework for the examination of how schools and communities influence each other. Detection of these nondeliberate linkages in situations where there are cultural incongruencies between the school and the community is difficult. All eight forms do not always appear, and those that do can vary depending upon the particular cultural milieu. However, identification of these mechanisms assists by providing insights into the complexities of educational participation by minority

groups.

MEMBERS OF A COMMUNITY UNINTENTIONALLY
INFLUENCE THE OPERATION OF A SCHOOL THROUGH
VARIOUS INFORMAL ASSOCIATIONS

Educational Participation by Cultural Minority Groups

Poor Urban and Ghetto Communities. The work of Marilyn Gittell, who founded the Queens College Institute for Community Studies, is of special significance to this study. Although her work deals with urban poor and ghetto communities, there appear within these studies a number of situations similar to those existing in native communities. In her work with Hollander, Six Urban School Districts: A Comparative Study of Institutional Response (1968), there is an examination of participation based on the premise that most pressures for change occur outside the school system. A conclusion drawn from this analysis of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Baltimore, and Detroit districts is that school systems are a product of the political culture of the community. Polsby (1963), in his Community Power and Political Theory, examines approaches to studying community power and parallels Gittell and Hollander's later conclusion (Polsby, 1963, p. 113). It appears that communities define their own forms of participation in spite of the formal channels established by school systems. The acceptance of this presupposition characterizes the approach to this

case study of educational participation.

A later study of demonstration school districts in New York City (Gittell et al. 1972), entitled Local Control in Education suggests that in poor communities the concept of participation works in less observable ways than in middle class communities. The point is made that in poor urban communities the lines of communication are determined by boards with their constituents. Gittell et al. (1972) describe differences between demonstration school board members and typical middle class board members. Through interviews and participation-observation techniques, a typical middle class board member was described as

. . . a citizen intent on preserving and maintaining a functioning system. For this member the schools are succeeding in their function, therefore his role is mainly one of preserving and maintaining the school. For the demonstration school board member motivation was drastically different. (Gittell et al., 1972, p. 30)

The demonstration school board member felt that the schools were failing the children and that the schools would function better if there were a different type of control. This last comment echoes a familiar theme heard in native villages.

Gittell et al.'s. (1972) observations of demonstration board members are reflected to a degree in Coverdale's (1971) "The Identification of School Board Training Needs of Eskimo and Indian Lay Advisory School Board Members of Rural Alaska." One of Coverdale's

conclusions was that native board members had "definite and positive ideas as to how they could help improve the schools, which is similar to Gittell and Hollander's observation of demonstration board members. Native board members also felt they really did not have much impact on the instructional program of the school, which parallels Gittell and Hollander's findings that demonstration board members felt frustrated and limited in their ways to effect change in the school.

Gittell and Hollander (1968) emphasized that a "definitive measure of community participation is most difficult to achieve" (p. 96). Gittell et al. (1972) proceed further with their remarks that "middle class criteria, when applied to poor communities, are not especially worthwhile; although in some instances such criteria indicate increased participation" (p. 8). It seems clear that any examination of participation and its forms--in either a poor urban community or a remote Eskimo village--faces the same basic problem; namely, the lack of specific models of participation to speak to these particular groups. The literature search revealed that social scientists are only beginning to address this question of participation of groups outside of the middle class spectrum.

CONVENTIONAL SCHOOL PARTICIPANT STRUCTURES
DO NOT ALWAYS TAKE INTO ACCOUNT PARTICIPANT
STRUCTURES THAT ARE PRESENT IN NON-MIDDLE-CLASS COMMUNITIES

The difficulty of this issue is further emphasized in Rempson's

(1967) "School-Parent Programs in Depressed Urban Neighborhoods," and in Fusco's (1964) "School and Home Partnership in Depressed Urban Areas," and "Indian Participation in Public Schools" (1971). All speak to the difficulty of establishing community input in black ghettos, in depressed urban neighborhoods, and in native communities. Fusco's (1964) study of 20 depressed urban neighborhoods found that parents were alienated and reluctant to visit the school or even become involved in school organizations. Similar findings emerge from "Indian Participation in Public Schools" (1971). The information for this study was gathered from local officials in 60 districts and in eight states, from officials in the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Office of Education, and from 455 native parents. Here it was reported that the manner in which schools operate explains why natives do not participate. Peterson Zah, Deputy Director, Dinebeina Nahiilha Be Ageditale, Inc., elaborates:

The present public school system does not provide for the involvement of and direction by Indian parents to the extent that it does for non-Indian . . . Indian parents . . . have neither the knowledge nor the experience in the democratic process which most Anglos have; and therefore cannot effectively compete for attention with other interest groups in the local school district. (p. 76)

Zah's view is certainly supported by Kickingbird's (1976) description of the Ramah, New Mexico, Wind River, Wyoming, and Rocky Mountain, Montana, native communities' experiences in achieving native participation in educational governance.

"A Study of Formal and Informal Group Participation in a Large Urban Community" (Morris, 1954) examined forms of participation in the Detroit area. Informal group participation was found to be widespread. Contacts with relatives emerged as the most frequent type of informal association after which came friends, and, finally, neighbors. There existed only a slight positive relationship between the extent of formal and informal group association. Morris (1954) concluded that these massive and pervasive networks of informal participation were of great significance in relationship to organizational ties. He suggested that opinion formation and emotional support for basic values were derived from these information networks. Despite the differing cultural milieus, the major conclusions of this study appear to be relevant to village Alaska. Villages are characterized by the existence of a tightly knit social structure and an extended family system. The informal networks of communication in village Alaska are pervasive, and it is within these networks that discussions occur and opinions appear to be formed.

"An Informal Arrangement for Influence Over Basic Policy" (Kimbrough, 1969) studies these informal groups more closely. In this highly theoretical article, Kimbrough suggests that teachers "generally speaking have failed to recognize the tremendous influence exercised by informal groups in basic educational issues. There is a reluctance on the part of some educators to recognize that much goes on in addition

to the activity readily observed in formal meetings of organizations, school boards, and school faculties" (Kimbrough, 1969, pp. 105-106). Kimbrough's statement results from generalizations of power studies such as the classic work of Vidich and Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society (1958). In addition, Kimbrough's remark is also supported by those with extensive experience living in native villages.

The findings from a major comparative survey of the manner in which school boards govern in 82 urban and rural districts, Governing American Schools (Zeigler and Jennings, 1974), indicate that informal networks are significant. The survey reports that smaller, less urban communities make greater use of informal networks to communicate political information. The study also suggests that these networks can dominate the superintendent when necessary. However, the study concludes that school boards do not govern, but merely reflect the will of the superintendent. The researcher cannot speak to this conclusion outside of the Alaskan setting. In the Alaskan context, the researcher is in full agreement with Zeigler and Jennings. The researcher holds this position even in light of the recent creation of regional school boards. If one thing is clear from Alaskan educational history, it is that a legal mandate of structural change does not produce immediate results. Zeigler and Jennings' data, although extremely interesting, are not entirely appropriate for this researcher's study. Proximity and cultural styles tend to make community dominance

of the superintendent a most unlikely event. However, the survey does once again illustrate the significant influence of informal networks on school governance.

INFORMAL CHANNELS OF EDUCATIONAL PARTICIPATION
ARE MORE LIKELY TO TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER FORMAL
CHANNELS IN SMALL COMMUNITIES THAN IN LARGER ONES

Native American Communities. The earliest example of a native-controlled education system occurred in the Cherokee Nation. Although little is known in specific detail, it does appear that this system experienced some success. Foreman (1934), in The Five Civilized Tribes, provides an enlightening discussion of this Cherokee-controlled educational system of the early 19th century. This is perhaps the most dynamic example of the effectiveness of a native-controlled educational system. However, details concerning how educational participation was exercised are not elaborated upon. What is clear is that the system was effective.

The Cherokee Nation (Starkey, 1946) also contains descriptions of this remarkable schooling process of the Cherokee people. Although missionaries began schools among the Cherokees, it was not until Sequoya invented the Cherokee alphabet that learning flourished. Sequoya's contribution resulted in a new kind of school which thrived beyond the confines of the classroom. Starkey describes

this school as one in which

. . . attendance involved no sitting on rows of benches under the sharp eyes of a Yankee schoolma'am. You went to school in odd moments, whenever you found a bit of paper, a smooth bit of bark, or a knife in conjunction with a beech tree, a wayfarer to go over your lessons with you. (p. 86),

This new learning was not confined to the young. Mothers, fathers, old men, and even those contemptuous of white man's education, sought to learn to read and write the Cherokee language. Starkey attributes this dawn of learning to the Cherokees themselves and especially to Sequoya. Even those who did not give credit to the achievements of natives announced that there was no need to send teachers to the Cherokee Nation. "All the Cherokee's needed to become entirely literate was an adequate supply of paper and ink" (Starkey, 1946, p. 87).

At this distance we cannot establish the specific reasons for the apparent greater effectiveness of Cherokee-controlled education. This form of participation appears to be similar to Fantini's (1972) "individual or family control" concept of participation. What in effect occurred was an open individual voucher system. Although there were no formal dimensions to the system, individuals or families selected their own teachers. This is probably the most powerful type of direct control exercised by a group. It is tempting for the advocate of native control to attribute its success to the native form of participation. Some clues to early forms of participation are provided in

Gearing's Priests and Warriors: Social Structures for Cherokee Politics in the 18th Century (1962). This study describes Cherokee chiefs as having exercised no coercive power over their people and portrays their rule as having been established through nondirect, good-natured persuasion. Political decisions had to be unanimous. Whatever the participation mechanism that contributed to its effectiveness, it is safe to say that there was cultural congruence between the Cherokee concept of school and the community. Unfortunately, the achievements of the Cherokee system quickly and significantly plummeted when native control of education was declared illegal and schooling was placed under the jurisdiction of the federal government. Federal policy thus prevented natives from having direct control over the education of their children.

Another early study, The People: A Study of The Navajos (Sanchez, 1948), revealed that the Bureau of Indian Affairs viewed Navajo community structure as a problem in education. The Navajos of this period were a pastoral people whose community organization eluded bureaucratic stereotyping. The Bureau of Indian Affairs' concept of community was that a particular group of people should live in a particular location and become organized in a middle class fashion. Sanchez concluded that the Bureau of Indian Affairs' concept of community was not the Navajo concept of community. Hence, programs requiring community involvement were doomed to failure due to the Navajo community's structural inappropriateness for the types of participation superimposed

by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The forms of participation in operation here are best described by Gittell and Hollander (1968) as closed, and also would appear on the manipulative rung of Arnstein's (1971) ladder of citizen participation. At this time, the Navajos had no formal avenues of participation open to them. The nondeliberate linking mechanisms described by Litwak and Meyer (1974) were functioning at such a low level of activity as to be imperceptible. This was probably due to the vast cultural incongruencies between the Navajos and the Federal agency responsible for their welfare. The bureaucracy responsible for education among the Navajos appears to have been thoroughly insulated from community influence.

The bureaucracies' difficulty in designing structures for native community participation is probably due in part to a lack of sensitivity to non-middle class community structures. This same theme of community structural inappropriateness appears in another more recent study conducted among the Tewa branch of the Pueblo tribe, "Local Control Over Formal Education in Two American Indian Communities: a Preliminary Step Toward Cultural Survival" (Weinman, 1972). Weinman found that there were significant reasons why the Santa Clara tribe was receptive to local control of education and the San Juan tribe was not. These reasons revolved around threats to change the traditional political structure of one community. Weinman concluded that the primary factor accounting for the differences in success between the two

was their tribal organization. The San Juaners have maintained a theocratic form of government. This community structure of Pueblo life curtailed the potential for the development of educational programs. San Juan had "tribal structural characteristics and values which set the native against norms which prevail in the dominant culture" (Weinman, 1972, p. 533). Weinman found San Juan to have

. . . tightly integrated institutions, a pervasive religious order stressing particularism, a deep-rooted belief system emphasizing subjugation to nature, and an extended family structure which directs the individual's orientation to commit him to the fate of his group. (Weinman, 1972, p. 533)

Local control was predicated on the establishment of an elected board. Consequently the establishment of elected political leaders in San Juan would threaten the political stability of the community by opening up new, competitive conduits of participation which may be in conflict with the established hierarchy. The imposition of an alien avenue of participation was viewed by the San Jaun community as destabilizing. Despite the potential benefits from this form of educational control, the danger inherent in upsetting traditional community participation forms was deemed unacceptable. In contrast, the Santa Clarans had developed a separate system of religious and secular roles which would not be destabilized by the people selecting new leaders. The Santa Clara community was more open and in greater harmony with traditional bureaucratic governing structures and less threatened by new avenues of participation.

Philips' (1972) work on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation in Oregon provides insights into Indian communicative and political participation contexts. Philips found that Indian participation in political activities is markedly different from non-Indian political participation. Philips points out that everyone on the Warm Springs Reservation is invited to political and social activities, although only certain Indians would attend more regularly at particular events. She also noticed that no one person verbally directed the activities. In activities in which there were speaking roles, anyone could speak out and/or make a speech. There was no time limit on responses or the number of speakers. At political meetings, questions would not necessarily be answered by panel or council members, but by anyone who felt qualified to respond. This political participative style does not imply that there are no Indian leaders: Indian leaders simply function differently from leaders in other cultural contexts. Political leaders among the Warm Springs tribe may not necessarily hold any political position. Philips found that there tends to be little distinction in various activities between audience and the panel, council, or performers. It appears that each individual chooses his own degree of participation in social and political events. Hence, it is really not necessary for a tribal leader to hold any political office.

Sanchez's, Weinman's, and Philips' studies provide some parallels to field observations in Alaskan villages. These studies recognize the

importance of indigenous community structure and the forms of participation that operate within that structure. It is apparent that these forms differ from traditional middle class models and vary from native community to native community. Sanchez's (1948) study of the Navajo recognized the problem that native community structure posed for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The current case study also confronted a similar problem in analyzing community participation that occurred beyond the spectrum of middle class forms and in a much less tangible way. Sanchez's strong indictment of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, although probably well deserved at the time, detracted from his analysis of Navajo community structure. Weinman's and Philips' observations led to a search for native community situations in which indigenous and less tangible forms of participation are allowed to operate.

PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATIONAL GOVERNANCE OCCURS
IN MARKEDLY DIFFERENT WAYS IN TRADITIONAL NATIVE
COMMUNITIES THAN IN WHITE MIDDLE CLASS COMMUNITIES

The Rough Rock Demonstration School Project on the Navajo Reservation in Arizona, which is acclaimed as a native-run institution, provides an opportunity to examine indigenous forms of participation. The Rough Rock School was preceded by a project at Lukachukai in 1965. The Lukachukai project was not altogether successful. From its problems the

Rough Rock School emerged. According to Boderick, in his Navaho Education at Rough Rock (1968), the Lukachukai project was somewhat unsuccessful because the project's academic and community specialist staff could not be superimposed on the formal school organization. Community-defined avenues of participation did not have an opportunity to develop. The dichotomy between varied ideas and opinions was too great.

What was learned from the Lukachukai project was taken into consideration a few years later at the Rough Rock School. Boderick describes how the Rough Rock Project opened up channels of influence for the community. First, the school board met regularly with the tribe's "chapter," which is the tribe's local governing unit, and within this unit three influential tribal members were sought out for their support. Second, there was a large amount of informal direct contact between the school staff and parents. "As many teachers and parents met in parents' homes as met at the school" (Boderick, 1968, p. 160). Third, of the 82 full-time employees, 62 were Indian, and of those, 60 were Navajos (Boderick, 1968, p. 38). The Rough Rock School had numerous community-defined channels for influence. Neither Boderick (1968) nor Conklin, in his Good Day at Rough Rock (1969), elaborated in detail on the forms of participation that evolved. However, it appears that the forms of participation were at least partially determined by the Navajo community outside of traditional school participation settings through direct parental contacts, indigenous employees and the tribal organizational structure.

NATURAL COMMUNITY SETTINGS PROVIDE MORE
PRODUCTIVE AVENUES FOR LOCAL INPUT INTO
EDUCATIONAL GOVERNANCE THAN FORMAL SCHOOL SETTINGS

An evaluation of the Rough Rock school was sponsored by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity. The resulting study by Erickson and Schwartz (1969) was critical of the school on a number of points. The evaluation reports that there was little Navajo board involvement in educational issues. The report also alludes to the presence of extensive nepotism by the board and to the lack of volunteered community services for the school. The evaluation was largely negative and left the reader with the definite impression that community participation and control was more imagined than real.

Wax (1970) and Muskrat (1970) raised some pertinent arguments in response to Erickson's (1969) evaluation. Wax (1970) contends that while the evaluation is an honest and accurate description and reveals what Wax had anticipated, he feels there are partial errors in interpreting the results in the context of Navajo society. Erickson's (1969) view that the Navajo board's avoidance of academic areas reflected a lack of control by the community is rebutted by Wax (1970). Wax contends that the board's lack of intrusion into the daily academic areas is a demonstration of the board's belief that the school reflected the

values of the community.

Whatever the reasons for the generally negative evaluation, there is an apparent lack of cultural empathy on the part of the evaluators. This flaw distorts the results of the study. Wax argues that the accusation of board nepotism fails to take into consideration the underlying structure of Navajo society, i.e., extended family and kinship. Board attention to dividing the few opportunities for employment among Navajos is to be expected and is an important aspect of the society. Erickson's report also criticizes the community for the lack of volunteered services for the school. Again, Wax argues that this illustrates the evaluation's absence of contextual understanding. Among the Navajos, payment for services performed is a tradition of the culture. Navajo relatives will cooperate and share resources with one another, but those outside of that kinship structure are dealt with in mutual trade exchanges (Muskrat, 1970). Expecting payment for services performed is an important cultural aspect of Navajo society. Erickson's evaluation does illustrate that native forms of participation may differ from traditional middle class forms and are difficult to measure since they tend to be defined by the culture doing the evaluating.

Two monographs edited by Louise and George Spindler were of some help in providing a perspective on native community school relationships. Within these two monographs, school community situations were described that parallel the case study setting. A Kwakiutl Village and School

(Wolcott, 1967) describes a Canadian Indian village in British Columbia and some aspects of school community interaction; namely, that the teacher's expectations were rooted in the "traditions of the dominant society" (Wolcott, 1967, p. 81) and this contrasted with village expectations. These differences in sources of experience were identified by Wolcott as an area of potential conflict between school and community. Wolcott even goes so far as to suggest that one way of diminishing the conflict would be to minimize formal schooling and "avoid linking new opportunities or new programs with the school or teacher."

If cultural congruence between the school and the community is essential for the effective functioning of the school, it does not necessarily follow that the school should be ignored and de-emphasized because it is culturally incongruent. A potentially more productive approach would be to make the school culturally congruent with the community. One way this can be done is by enabling the community to develop its own culturally defined forms of participation in the school. This appears to be what occurred in the Rough Rock situation. As already described by Boderick (1968), the nature of formal schooling was changed so that new programs were intimately linked with the community. The linkage was achieved in a manner that was rooted in the traditional forms of participation of the Navajo community. Whether or not Wolcott's prescription is appropriate, his study is significant because it does underline the importance of cultural congruence between the community

and the school intended to serve it.

The School at Mopass (King, 1967) describes a residential school for natives in the Yukon territory. Although King does not discuss native participation in educational governance, he makes a few observations relevant to that subject. King found there to be "literally no communication" between the school and the community, which is also a phenomenon common to Alaska throughout native educational history. Additionally, King found some evidence that attempts for meaningful communication had been made by school personnel and community members; however, there were no mechanisms to achieve this end. Again, this situation is markedly similar to the early phases of Alaskan native involvement in education. Although there were mechanisms for formal community influence in village Alaska, they generally existed only on paper.

One native community in Alaska that has had local control of education is depicted in a study by Dorothy Jones (1969), "A Study of Social and Economic Problems---an Aleut Village." From Jones' study, Kleinfeld (1972) has constructed a case study of control by a native school board. Local participation in education in this setting occurred through the self-interested efforts of white businessmen and westernized Aleuts. The efforts of this group led the community to incorporate as a first class city, and first class city status, under Alaska State Law, provides for local control of education. The local school board has the

authority to select texts and determine curriculum and staffing patterns subject to state standards. Kleinfeld's (1972) study is basically a description of failure. The native-controlled board did not improve curriculum, establish bicultural instruction, or alter the student norm of defiance and resistance to school efforts. Despite the presence of a native board, teachers still continued practices, such as severe punishment, that offended the community.

Wax (1970) maintains that the mere presence of a native board has the ability to transform power relationships and affect educators. This did not occur in the Kleinfeld study setting. Kleinfeld suggests that the board's failure was probably due in part to its lack of educational expertise and outside assistance. She further suggests that the board's failure may rest on its members' conviction that the board was powerless against the white community's opposition. She concludes that educational decision making cannot be isolated from community structures. The white elite in the community could control the native board through job and credit manipulation. Despite the presence of a defined participation structure, the native board did not in fact control the school system. Kleinfeld concludes that a regional board may have had more success in increasing meaningful native participation in education. However, as the author points out, there are inherent dangers in regional boards in that they remove policy-making from the local setting.

The Kleinfeld case study demonstrates that despite a clearly de-

financed form of participation, a native board could fail to achieve any meaningful impact on the school system. It appears that not only can bureaucracies, as shown by Litwak et al. (1970) inhibit participation, but indigenous community groups can also hinder participation. The functioning of an elite, minority power group in this setting successfully circumvented and controlled local participation.

Don Davies, of the Institute for Responsive Education, edited Schools Where Parents Make a Difference (1976), which pays some attention to the emergence of native-influenced schools after the Rough Rock Demonstration School. It was not until three years after the Rough Rock School of 1969 that other native communities began to move in the direction of local control. Kickingbird and Lynn's (1976) article, "Indian Parents Strive for Community Control: The Story of Three Indian Schools," describes the problems encountered by three native communities as they tried to participate in the education of their children. The authors outline how the native communities of Ramah, New Mexico; Wind River, Wyoming; and in Montana, the Rocky Mountain School, exercised their influence in achieving local control. Kickingbird and Lynn describe these difficulties as being rooted in State and Bureau of Indian Affairs hesitancy and unwillingness to relinquish control of native schools. The Rocky Mountain Boys School was assisted in its efforts by the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Foundation. However, all three communities encountered numerous obstacles and lengthy delays in

overcoming bureaucratic hurdles. This in many ways parallels the Alaskan scene. However, Alaskan villages did not have the resources of any one of the described communities. Alaskan native villages were continuously, however slowly, moving toward greater participation in education. The Alaskan movement, although much larger in scope, did encounter similar obstacles, which are well documented.

The fact that native communities have been systematically excluded from participation in educational governance is illustrated by the following. Only twenty native-controlled schools existed in the "lower 48" states as of 1976. These schools enrolled approximately 1,400 children out of a native school-age population of 300,000 (Kickingbird and Lynn, 1976, p. 94). Statistically, the Alaskan situation differs vastly, having a much larger number of schools under regional native influence. Also, in contrast to other states, the state of Alaska has probably been the greatest lobbyist for native participation in education.

From the pertinent literature on how groups participate in educational governance the following propositions have emerged:

The presence of a native controlled school board increases parental power in relationship to the power of school authorities.

Formal community participation in educational governance opens the political system and strengthens the democratic process.

The personal cost in terms of time and energy drain can often outweigh the perceived benefits derived from participation in educational governance.

community involvement with the school increases the social congruency between the school and the community.

Advisory boards are generally ineffective mechanisms for influencing school policy and practice.

Members of a community unintentionally influence the operation of a school through various informal associations.

Conventional school participant structures do not always take into account participant structures that are present in non-middle-class communities.

Informal channels of educational participation are more likely to take precedence over formal channels in small communities than in larger ones.

Participation in educational governance occurs in markedly different ways in traditional native communities than in white-middle-class communities.

Natural community settings provide more productive avenues for local input into educational governance than formal school settings.

Other propositions concerning participation in educational governance will emerge from Chapter III "The History of Native Participation in Alaska Education." These two sets of propositions will be examined in the Nuna context after the presentation of Chapter IV "The Case."

CHAPTER III

History of Native Participation in Alaskan Education

A broad historical perspective of the village of Nuna is essential in order to portray, in a holistic manner, the significant events of the last decade. Alaskan native participation in the schooling process has been affected not only by federal and state legislation, but also by environmental, cultural, and other historical factors. These interwoven elements lie beneath native attempts to control the education of their children. The Alaskan native is in a position very different from his counterparts elsewhere in North America. This position and the potential it holds are the consequences of a series of unique circumstances. Awareness of these situations and their relationship to native efforts to walk the corridors of power in education are critical for an adequate perspective of the process of participation. The history of Alaskan education indicates a number of propositions concerning native participation in educational governance, and are noted in this chapter. (For those interested in a more extensive history of Alaskan education, see Henderson, L., 1935; Keller, W., 1941; Ray, C., 1959, 1962; Koponen, N., 1964; Darnell, F., 1970; and Jacquot, L., 1974).

The Russian Period. In the late 1700's sea otters became scarce

along the Kamchatka and Kuril islands. The supply had decreased and the price had increased, which led the Russians under Bering and Chirkov to sail further east in search of otter pelts. The Russians followed the otters across the islands and organized under one charter, the Russian American Company (Golder, 1913). Alaskan natives, specifically the Aleuts, had their first contact with a formal educational system in the early 1800s. "In 1825 Father Veniaminoff, a Russian priest, established a school in Unalaska for natives and creoles" (Dall, 1870, p. 352). The Russians established dominance over the Aleuts by using these first schools to actively seek the conversion of the Aleuts to the Russian Orthodox Church and to prepare the natives for employment with the Russian American Company. The Russians were far from benevolent invaders; they soon devastated the Aleut population. The process of subjugating the Aleuts was begun by the early Russian traders and was continued by the Russian-American Company.

The first schools were taught by Russian priests with instruction for arithmetic and religion given in the Russian language (Dall, 1870). In order for a child to attend school for five years, the individual would need to work for the Russian-American Company for fifteen years. The wages ranged from \$20 to \$70 a year, and were paid in Russian goods (Dall, 1870). The only method whereby an Aleut could exempt himself from tribute for a three year period was his professed acceptance of Christianity. These enticements and cultural manipulations greatly

increased the enrollment of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Although the Russian presence in the Aleutians had a severe impact on the Aleuts, the educational system imposed is remembered for its "goodness." This paradox is best explained by the humanitarian presence of Father Veniaminoff and other Russian priests. Other research on the Aleutians also supports this "goodness" attitude toward the Russian school system (Jones, 1969). Despite the fondness with which the Russian schools were remembered, there were no avenues for local control of the formal learning process.

The Flag Change. The flag changed over the territory in 1867 when the United States purchased Alaska. The Russian-American Company had proved itself to be neither a commercial nor political success. It contributed little to Russia and in time of war would be impossible to adequately defend (Mazour, 1941). Although the Russians exited, they continued to operate schools. Six church schools were operated at Kodiak, Amla Island, Nushagak, Kvikhpak, Bering Island, and Unalaska as well as three company schools in Sitka (Dafoe, 1978). Again, this period after the flag change afforded little chance for any impact by natives on the formal school system.

The next seventeen years, when there existed no civil government or laws in the Territory of Alaska, are best described by the late Senator Ernest Gruening as "The Era of Total Neglect" (Gruening, 1954). Ironically, Russian schools provided a lingering order in the territory:

the Russians were still providing funds for the education and christi-
anization of the people in a territory they no longer owned. It was
not until 1916 that the last Russian school closed its doors (March,
1969). In addition to the Russians, Presbyterians, ~~Ev~~avians, Methodists,
Episcopalians, and Catholics provided some educational services in the
territory. However, there is scant evidence of any mechanisms for
securing input from the recipients of the educational services that
these denominations provided.

In 1884 Congress passed the Organic Act which provided a civil
government and an educational system. The Act also laid the found-
ations for a successful land claims settlement, for within the act
Congress recognized the rights of natives and declared that they would
not be disturbed in their use of their land. The act mandated "that
the Secretary of the Interior shall make needful and proper provisions
for the education of children of school age in the Territory of Alaska,
without reference to race" (U.S. Statutes at Large, 1884): The U.S.
Bureau of Education was to administer the schools. Reverend Sheldon
Jackson, Superintendent of Presbyterian missions in Alaska, was ap-
pointed as General Agent of Education in the territory.

The prevailing attitude toward natives as revealed by the U.S.
Office of Education Report of 1886 did not encourage participation by
those the educational system served. The 1886 report includes a vivid
description of the white man's attitude toward the "uncivilized"

Alaskan native.

Among some of these families polygamy prevails, and sometimes, not often, a woman is found with two or more husbands. The children grow up amid filth and uncleanness, accustomed to impure sights and conversation, and systematically taught to lie and steal. To them there is no wrong or disgrace in it. It is only disgraceful in being caught, as that seems to be a reflection of their skills; they should have been smarter. (U.S. Office of Education Report, 1886, p. 9.31)

As is apparent from the 1886 Report, the tone of the times armed the new teachers going to Alaska with a moral as well as an intellectual obligation. Native home life was viewed as a corrupt influence on the child. The new American teacher was not only of a different religion than the native, but also was opposed to the very culture he served. The systematic identification and attempted elimination of the Aleut culture by the new American teacher was a threat to the Aleuts. Despite the severity of the presence of the Russians and their schools, they were not interested in making Aleuts into Russians. Cultural change was not an agenda item of Russian schools (Jones, 1969). The American teacher, armed with the word of God and professional skills, became a more ominous threat to the Aleut than were the Russians. This was obviously not an atmosphere conducive to native participation.

On July 17, 1897, the Steamer Portland arrived in Puget Sound with a ton of northland gold on board. The estimates are that 60,000 people stampeded north (Huber, 1945) thus creating a population explosion which put pressure on Congress. In 1900 Congress passed legislation enabling towns in Alaska to incorporate, and schools to be established and main-

tained through taxation. Local control for independent schools within towns that had incorporated was achieved. However, the legislation applied to the parents of white children only; once more native parents were denied access to the formal school system (Report of Commissioner of Education for the years 1918-1920).

In 1905 Congress passed the Nelson Act which provided for the establishment of schools outside of incorporated towns. These schools were only for "white children and children of mixed blood who lead a civilized life" (U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. XXXIII, p. 619, 1905). These schools were under the control of the Territorial Governor of Alaska and native Alaskan education became the responsibility of the Bureau of Education under the U.S. Secretary of the Interior. Thus the needs for a dual system of education, native and non-native, was established. This further removed natives from the possibility of involvement in their children's schooling.

The U.S. Congress passed the Second Organic Act in 1912 which conferred territorial status on Alaska (Gruening, 1968). This was soon followed by the Uniform School Act of 1917 which established the position of Commissioner of Education and created a Territorial Board of Education. Except for native education, this removed all responsibility for education in Alaska from the U.S. Bureau of Education. The Uniform School Act established the concept of local rural school boards with full authority for citizens to exercise control over schools. However,

this act applied only to non-native children. The act was repealed in 1932 primarily because funds were inadequate for the boards to deal with the unique problems of running rural schools, such as high teacher turnover (State Department of Education Report, 1934).

The concept of local control of schools is firmly established in the United States through the U.S. Constitution, Tenth Amendment, which states "the powers not delegated to the United States are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people." Education is not directly mentioned, so power over it resides with the states. Justice Burger of the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed, in Millikan v. Bradley, that "no single tradition in public education is more deeply rooted than local control. . . essential to the maintenance of community educational process" (Millikan v. Bradley 418 U.S. 717 [1974]). The importance and the establishment of local control has been reinforced through numerous court decisions. The courts have been most reluctant to interfere even with local board decisions unless it can be clearly established that the board abused its discretion. "A presumption exists that the board rule is reasonable. The complaining party must prove unreasonableness. When a board of education acts in an unwise fashion, redress lies at the polls, not in the courtrooms" (Hamilton and Reutter, 1958). It is clear that the principle of local control of education has been acknowledged as a historically important fundamental assumption of United States society. The courts have shown reluctance to become involved in education. When they have, there has been a broad interpretation of the

powers that reside with local school boards. As Supreme Court Justice Stewart articulated, ". . . direct control over decisions affecting the education of one's children is a need that is strongly felt in our society . . ." (Wright v. Council of The City of Emporia, 407 U.S. 451 469 [1973]).

The confusion that revolves around native efforts to participate in the schooling process stems in large part from the position natives hold in relationship to the Federal government. Alaskan natives have been included in legislation that has governed relations between Indians in the lower 48 states and the federal government. Article I, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution defines Congress's power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes" (U.S. Constitution, Article I, Section 8, Clause 3). Indian tribes do not really have any rights of self-government, and in the words of Chief Justice John Marshall, they are "domestic dependent nations" in a form of a "pupilage" relationship similar to that of a "ward to his guardian" (Cherokee Nation v. Georgia, 5 Peters 1, 1831).

In 1924 Congress granted citizenship to American natives through the Citizenship Act (Act of June 2, 1924, ch. 233, 43 stat. 253). This made natives citizens in every sense of the word. Alaskan natives hold political office, vote, pay taxes, serve in the military, and exercise the duties and responsibilities of full citizenship. The Alaska State Constitution mandates that "all persons . . . are equal and entitled to

equal rights, opportunities, and protection under the law; and that all persons have corresponding obligations to the people and to the state" (Article I, Section 1). Further, the State Constitution decrees that the "legislature shall by general law establish and maintain a system of public schools open to all children of the State . . ." (Article VII, Section 1).

Thus, we have a rather complex legal situation in which the role of the Federal government is firmly established in providing educational services. On the other hand, we have the State Constitution of Alaska articulating that the state will maintain public schools open to all children. Historically, a strong theme in the evolution of these two systems was to segregate natives from non-natives. The trend until rather recently was toward western cultural adaptation. All of this occurred without any input from the recipients; and even in the conferring of citizenship, opinions of the conferees were not sought.

The Meriam Report, a survey of Indian economic and social conditions, was initiated in 1928. The implications of this report were "the idea of absorbing Indians into the prevailing 'civilization', and secondly, the idea that the national government pay for services by state and local governments" (Darnell, 1970, p. 169). From this report emerged the Johnson-O'Malley Act (JOM) of 1934 which extended financial assistance to those states that provided public education for natives (Act of June 4, 1936, Ch. 490, 49 stat., 1458). Provisions of this act

also funded the transfer of Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs schools over to territorial control. The Johnson-O'Malley Act also became the federal government's basis of authority for providing services to native residents of the state, and slowly the Territory assumed more responsibility for the education of natives.

Statehood. In 1959, statehood placed Alaskan natives in a more tenable position for arguing for some type of control over the education of their children. The State Constitution is explicit as to who is responsible for education (Alaska Constitution, Art. VII s 1) and also upholds the concept of strong, local self-government (Alaska Constitution, Art. X, s 1). The principle of local governments' (boroughs) rights to exercise board powers for the common interest of their constituents is also found in this document (Alaska Constitution, Art. X, s 3). The state legislature, acting as a borough assembly, performs government functions in those areas of the state that are not organized into boroughs (Alaska Constitution, Art. X, s 6). Education is one of the powers to be exercised by borough assemblies. Most rural schools are in "unorganized" boroughs and hence under control of the state legislature. Getches' analysis of the State Constitution indicates that the intent of the document "leads to the inescapable conclusion that operation of schools directly by the state is to be phased out in favor of municipal school districts" (Getches, 1977, p. 9). This means that the current organizational structure of rural schools will undergo still

further evolution as rural "unorganized" boroughs become boroughs. This further evolution is guided by the State Constitution which, already noted, contains a preference towards strong locally exercisable powers. Statehood brought no immediate changes to rural native education. There were numerous problems for the new state legislature to be concerned with; and the plight of village Alaska is a long way from the urban corridors of power in Juneau. In addition, it would have been financially impossible for the new state to assume immediate control of all of the federally funded schools for natives (Getches, 1977). However, statehood and the Alaska Constitution provided the legal support that made it possible for Alaskan natives to begin to gain control over those forces operating the formal learning process.

The Recent Period. It is a most difficult task to present the events of the past 15 years in Alaska. The full ramifications of such legislative acts as the Land Claims Settlement, which resulted in regional profit and non-profit corporations being established, and the decentralization of the rural school system, which resulted in the creation of 21 new school districts, are not yet known. The playing out of these significant legislative acts will influence the economic, political, social, educational, and cultural endeavors of Alaskan natives for years to come. These organizations and a myriad of others have been created and expanded to assist in meeting the needs of the people of village Alaska. The efforts by these organizations to meet

village needs have resulted in a large increase in the numbers of visitors going into villages. The air taxi figures for Bristol Bay alone record more than a 400% increase in number of passengers transported in the last 5 years (Grubis, 1979). Although these figures are only for travel and agencies within one part of the state, it can be assumed that they reflect, to varying degrees, a statewide phenomenon which is the result of similar situations throughout rural Alaska. The rural areas of Alaska are being awakened by the sounds of intense activity.

The multi-dimensional and fluid nature of recent events in Alaska, as well as the researcher's proximity to them, places severe limitations on descriptions of this period. Also, the researcher's personal involvement in village Alaska for the past twelve years exacerbates the labor of providing an objective account. The task of sketching the period is similar to describing a mountain while standing on it. Only a small section of the landscape is in view at any one time, so that the true dimensions and contours remain hidden. One needs time and distance before he can provide an accurate image of this mountain of legislative implications. What follows is an effort, in recognition of the limitations, to describe the important events affecting Alaskan natives over the past fifteen years. The actualization and implications of some of these events will be elaborated upon in the context of the case itself.

In rural Alaska there are unique problems in establishing local

control in a manner consistent with state and federal precedents. Alaska, one-fifth the size of the continental United States, has a larger coastline and three distinct climatic zones. These factors alone present difficult environmental obstacles. Once one moves beyond the large population centers of Fairbanks, Anchorage, and Juneau, conditions arise which inhibit the establishment of educational systems similar to those on the rest of the continent. The rigorous climate, the different cultures, the absence of any statewide road system, and minimal communication networks create further obstacles in the operation of an educational program.

The recipients of educational services in village Alaska speak over twenty different languages and include Eskimos, Indians (Haidas, Tlingits, Athabascans, and Tsimshians), and Aleuts. Most Alaskan natives live in more than 180 villages. Seventy percent of Alaskan natives live in villages varying in population from 25 to 2,500 people, and these 180+ villages are scattered over 1,295,000 km². Because only a dozen of these villages are accessible by road, the airplane is the major means of transportation. Boats, snowmachines, and dogteams are utilized as well (Harrison, 1971). While many natives are migrating to urban centers in Alaska and other states, villages are not vanishing, as is popularly assumed. There are thirteen fewer native villages today than existed twenty years ago, but over 80% of the remaining villages have populations larger than those that existed seventeen years ago. The

total native population comprises less than one-fifth of the state's population and of this total, Eskimos make up over 50% of the native population, Indians 38%, and Aleuts 12% (Harrison, 1971).

It is extremely difficult to convey to the non-native person or non-rural Alaskan the social norms and frames of reference that exist in village life. The life history of an individual within one of these communities is a sequence of "accommodation to the patterns and standards traditionally handed down in his community" (Benedict, 1934).

This accommodation begins at birth and continues throughout life. The non-native may have more objective information concerning various aspects of rural Alaskan life (housing figures, health statistics, etc.); however, the totality of the village and in particular social norms and shared frames of reference elude him.

Although there are some Alaskan natives whose style of dress, patterns of living, and aspirations resemble those of white Alaskans, their cultural heritage is different. Alaskan natives, whether Eskimos, Indians, or Aleuts, are culturally different from one another and from white Alaskans. Alaskan natives are at various levels of cultural transformation and, consequently, there is varying reliance upon natural resources for their existence (Alaska Natives and the Land, 1968).

Despite many economic and social gains made by Alaskan natives recently, there still exist broad and complex problems. The problems facing urban natives are not as severe as those facing village natives. In the

villages, income levels are low, health facilities inadequate, educational levels lower, and the opportunities for exercising fundamental control over decisions affecting youth limited.

Rural Alaskan native communities are often confused over issues of educational objectives.

Admittedly, educational objectives do change and should change; however, this transformation of objectives must be relevant to the needs of the community or else the risk is incurred that the community and the school will be opposed to one another. (Grubis, 1971, p. 9)

Ray's (1962) classic study entitled Alaska Native School Dropouts leads him to state that in many instances, the school and the community are opposed to each other.

A distinct lack of communication is found between the schools and the community in Alaska which results in rather confused expectations on the part of parents and indeed on the part of teachers. In one village, a parent was irate because his son could not repair the outboard motor. The father wanted to know what his son had been learning in school all winter when he could not even fix the 'kicker.' Great hostility was expressed toward the schools by parents of a lack of understanding of the school's function and educational objectives. (Ray, 1962, p. 300)

The community's educational expectations often differ from the school's educational expectations. Also, these expectations vary depending on any given community. Generally, the community does view education as a process which prepares the youth of the community to take over functions of existing community members. The opposite position is one in which the community perceives the school as an instrument with one function: the preparation of youth for more global and open-ended purposes. The

latter position will hopefully enable the student to employ (or use) his skills in varied social systems. The professional staff and the operational objectives of the school tend toward the global rather than the community's expectations. The failure of the educational system to consider the school as an alien institution in the rural native community often leads professional educators to ask the question, "What's wrong with these people?" and to answer, "They're deprived," rather than to ask "What's wrong with the imposed educational structure?" The system of education that has evolved in Alaskan native communities is often viewed by native people as a threat to traditional life patterns. The teacher expects certain types of behavior from the community and the students; however, these expectations are derived from the dominant society's experiences rather than from the community for the community has minimal input into the formal learning process. The community often has differing expectations from the teacher; hence there arises an area of potential conflict between the teacher and the community and the teacher and his students (Wolcott, 1967). Charles Ray articulates the conflict of differing expectations as follows:

Educational systems in Alaska are not particularly geared to the economy, philosophy, or culture of most of the people to be educated in them. . . . The results of a questionnaire in the study sent to all teachers of natives in Alaska revealed the existence of a wide gap of communication between the community and the schools in most villages. . . . The teachers indicated that the parents' understanding of education their children were receiving was low or moderate at best

The fact that parents do not understand the school programs contributed to the lack of pressure exerted on children to complete a defined number of years in school. Teachers' failure to understand the mores, values, and culture of the villagers results in their establishing unrealistic expectations for students. Until mutual school-community understanding is improved, little hope exists that current problems can be mitigated. (Ray, 1962, pp. 300-302)

The emergence of statehood in 1959 was accompanied by demands for autonomy in Alaska's rural "bush" areas. The consumer's voice was being raised for the first time. Statehood and the selection of 41,612,000 hectares of land by the state, land which surrounded or encompassed some native communities, aroused native leaders. This became a catalyst which brought together native leaders and resulted in the formation of the Alaskan Federation of Natives. In 1966 the Alaskan Federation of Natives decided to focus on social, economic, educational, and political needs of their people (Carter, 1971). Harry Carter, the Executive Director of the Federation, stated these rural rumblings for autonomy most emphatically:

Although the development of our greatest renewable resource, people, is complicated and expensive, it yields the highest returns. We are not merely asking for participation in this resource development; we are demanding it. (Carter, 1971, p. 5)

In 1966 the state legislature did attempt to permit more local control of the newly created Division of State-Operated Schools through the establishment of elected advisory school boards (Ch. 98, 1966, Sess. Laws of Alaska; Alaska Statutes s 14.14.170). These boards were to provide advice and assistance to the members of the Governor's appointed

board of directors. Getches (1977), in his Law And Alaska Native Education, reveals that 50% of these boards were considered nonfunctional and that there were no procedures for these advisory boards to have input into the State Board of Directors. The legislature was attempting to be responsive to demands for participation, but legislative efforts, for a variety of historical, cultural, and environmental reasons, were not felt at the village level.

At this time in Alaska there were three separate, complex school systems. First, there were independent school districts, which contained locally elected policy-making boards. Secondly, there was the Division of State-Operated Schools, which was a highly centralized system with advisory boards that had no actual input. The third system, the federal system, also served rural native communities. The federal system was operated by the U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs. The recipients of the federal service had to look toward Washington, D.C., and the executive and legislative branches of government for access to the schooling system. This was a position which created distinct barriers to the village parent's participation. Historically, it is clear that both the state and federal system performed the function of segregating natives from non-natives: both systems violated the intent of the Alaska State Constitution. These circumstances have been vividly articulated by Gordon Jackson, a respected native leader:

The state educational delivery system was one of the most inefficient, ineffective, and against all principles of democracy this country has stood for, since its creation over 200 years ago. (Tundra Times, 6/23/76)

There were other, more pressing concerns that had to be attended to before native energies could be directed towards control issues in education. After statehood in 1959, and into the 1960s, some native leaders were actively pressuring for resolution of the land issue. Seeking a land settlement was an unpopular cause at first; however, the momentum increased significantly when Alaska's new black gold entered the picture in 1968. The oil discovery on the north slopes of the Brooks Range renewed attention to native land claims. The state had selected only 6,060,000 hectares out of their 41,612,000 hectares given them under the Statehood Act of 1959 (Martin, 1975). The state was anxious to select the rest of its land, and the oil companies wanted to pursue mineral exploration and build a pipeline from Prudhoe Bay to Prince William Sound on the Gulf of Alaska. The federal government, which controlled 96% of the 147,460,000 hectares in the state had previously frozen the land so that it could not be transferred. Thus, the stage was set for an unlikely alliance of the natives, oil companies, and other state citizens who wanted land. The natives, with the support of their allies, reached a settlement with the federal government.

The issues at stake were much more profound than merely trans-

ferring title from one group to another. The very concept of landownership was novel among rural natives. The landownership concept carried within it a microorganism which could lay waste the cultures of these arctic and subarctic peoples. Landownership carried the seeds of destruction of traditional land use, and hence an ominous threat to the very culture of native Alaskans.

Subsistence activities were endangered by landownership concepts. Subsistence, that is, living from the animals and plants of the land and the fish and mammals of the waters, had been an accepted way of life for thousands of years for the natives. From this relationship with the environment native culture emerged. Native arts, crafts, oral literature, and communal living relied upon subsistence activities (Bristol Bay Native Association, 1976). These hunting and gathering activities, which are still practiced to a large degree, were threatened by the concept of landownership. Those who had traditionally used the land would now be subject to laws and regulations governing that use. Traditional subsistence activities comprise not only an important cultural element but are an integral component of the economic structure of village Alaska. The threat of upsetting this component through landownership patterns consequently caused native leadership to focus their energies on this issue (Bristol Bay Native Association, 1976).

The native leaders' emphasis on their peoples' relationship with the land should not be viewed as an obstructionist ploy to preserve

traditional culture at the expense of entering American society. Their position is expressed in the following statement from the Bristol Bay Native Association.

The villagers view their traditional activities of their forefathers as the only fiber they have of identification in this fast and changing world. They know they must enter the mainstream of American life, but they want to do so with their culture, history, language, and beginning way of life. They know they are presently living within a world of bilingual and bicultural existence. Thus, they feel their world should consist of their native traditional way of life as well as the white man's way of life. (Bristol Bay Native Association, 1976, p. 66)

The Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement Act was passed by Congress on December 18, 1971, as a result of the natives', the oil companies', the Nixon administration's, and the State of Alaska's combined efforts. The impact on Alaskan natives was profound. The Settlement Act, which is an extremely complex piece of legislation, resulted in the superimposition of western corporate structure over traditional village organizational patterns and village factionalism. The corporate form of management evolved as a device to carry out the terms of the act. This meant that native villagers were stockholders in at least two corporations and would participate in corporate elections of boards of directors. Twelve major regional profit corporations were created. One of the interior corporations, Doyon, was rated 123 out of the 500 largest corporations in the United States by Fortune Magazine (Alaska Native Corporation, 1977). Two hundred twenty-five village corporations were also created. The problems of staffing and managing these corporations

in a frontier such as Alaska, where there is limited transportation and communication, are enormous. Local village corporations are not only governed by Alaska statutes, but by provisions in the Act as well. Within a village in Alaska one finds not only profit corporations and all the rules and regulations that must be adhered to, but also one finds organizations such as the village council, school community council, Indian education committee, Johnson O'Malley Committee, Indian Reorganization Act Council and Health Committees. Each of these organizations is also bound by rules and regulations. The situation is further complicated because within the small populations, many village residents must serve on more than one committee. These various organizations require travel from villages to regional centers for meetings. Travel conditions often require days of travel just to attend one meeting. Due to the large number of organizations and small populations upon which to draw for committee members, some village residents are seldom in the village.

Under the Land Claims Settlement Act, 16,160,000 hectares of land and \$962.5 million were received by Alaskan natives. Stock for the land was received by those who could prove that they were native, with a stipulation that the stock could not be transferred or sold for twenty years, and such land would not be taxed for twenty years (Conn, 1975). The implementation of the Act has been accompanied by the emergence of an ever-increasing number of complex legal problems. These complexities

and ambiguities of the Act are part of the everyday world of native Alaska. When the twenty-year period lapses in 1991, the stock can be sold and some corporations may not be able to generate enough income to pay their taxes. This means that native corporate land could be on the open market for the public to purchase, hence terminating the native's relationship with the land. Activities of Alaskan natives in our current time span must be seen in proximity to the Land Claims Settlement Act. It is of tremendous social, economic, educational, and political significance. Native participation in education is intimately interwoven with the Act because the Act has transformed village Alaska into the western corporate world. Failure to adapt to the corporate reality will have dire implications for native Alaska.

Other factors were increasing the opportunities for participation in education by natives during the struggle for the Land Claims Settlement Act. In 1970, William Hensley was elected to the Alaska Senate, Frank Ferguson and Charles Degnan were elected to the State House of Representatives; and Eban Hopson was appointed to a position in the governor's office (Bland, 1972). Natives were now beginning to appear in the corridors of power with greater frequency than ever before. The 1969 Hearings on Indian Education also provided an opportunity for Alaskan natives to raise their voices for greater access to the educational process. Issues important to natives were raised in Fairbanks at the Special Indian Subcommittee of the U.S. Senate. From a review of

the remarks of the Hearing, it becomes eminently clear that native parents wanted a greater voice in the education of their children (U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, 1969).

The state's response to these growing demands for access was the recognition that an emergency situation existed in Alaskan education. In response to this emergency, a Governor's Commission on Cross-Cultural Education was created in 1970. The state of emergency and the pending land claims settlement were viewed as an opportunity to coordinate efforts in resolving the problem. This position is clarified by Dr. Joseph Bloom, a respected Alaskan Public Health psychiatrist dealing with Alaska natives.

I believe that through their associations, the native people should have a substantial input in determining the direction of education for their children. Further, I think that their ability to have a weighty voice in these deliberations will depend mainly on the settlement of the native land claims and the amount of resources and power it places in the hands of native leadership. I would see this as the key determinant for the potentially strong participation of the native people in any program, be it education, health, etc. This area cannot be overstated; the lessons of reservations, paternalism, isolation, cultural alienation without access toward reorientation of cultural goals, should be clear by now. The native land claims and potential settlement are without doubt the most important situation current in Alaska. It offers the possibility of coordinated planning for changing institutions, involving the people themselves, a possibility which does not now exist in Alaska currently and indeed exists in few places in this country (Governor's Commission on Cross-Cultural Education, Time for Change in the Education of Alaska Natives, Juneau, 1970, pp. 62-63).

Bloom's remark that the key for the native control of education would be related to the amount of power and resources awarded in the

Settlement Act have inadvertently resurfaced in a recent study. Goodwin (1978) found that native corporations exert a surprising degree of influence in education. The corporations bring to the village level a legal structure and atmosphere for the management of resources. Village Alaska has now become corporate Alaska. The nonprofit corporations are engaged in their own numerous educational activities, in addition to their management of educational programs such as the Johnson O'Malley and Indian Education programs. The many new manpower demands precipitated by the land settlement have caused the corporations to look apprehensively at the educational system's ability to meet corporate manpower needs. This is a situation in which access to the education process becomes all the more critical, due to the implications of the Land Claims Settlement Act and the tremendous need for a uniquely educated native corporate populace.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES IN THE
LARGER SOCIETY WILL INFLUENCE THE DEGREE OF EDUCATIONAL
PARTICIPATION AT THE LOCAL COMMUNITY LEVEL.

The Governor's Commission on Cross-Cultural Education report recognized that a revamping of traditional educational practices would not be a satisfactory solution to the state of emergency that existed. Education in rural Alaska needed to move in a different direction. Commission members were aware of the inherent difficulty that any group

geographically distant from the reality of the village would have in its attempts to establish goals and priorities for the educational system.

The commission therefore felt that representatives of those most effected needed a voice in determining the direction in which the education of native children was to proceed.

This voice of native concern needed to be substantially established at the community level so that the direction of education could be controlled by local community members who would use the expertise of professionals (Governor's Commission, 1970).

The social atmosphere in Alaska during the late 1960s and early 1970s was one in which structural change in institutions was deemed possible and regarded favorably. The efforts at securing a land settlement and the passing of the Act itself placed natives in a position of potential economic power. A new social stage had been set, and on this stage the impracticality of designing and controlling educational programs for natives by non-natives was recognized. The question was not whether villages should control the schooling process, but rather how the conveyance of power to native Alaska could be accomplished. The Bureau of Indian Affairs transferred twenty-eight schools to the state between 1967 and 1970. The 1971 state legislators moved the responsibility for rural education from the Department of Education to the newly created Alaska State-Operated School System (Barnhardt, 1979). The University of Alaska's Center for Northern Educational Research, at the

request of the State Department of Education, began an examination of alternative ways of organizing rural education. These activities were the results of efforts to make room for the emergence of a new figure on the stage, the Alaskan corporate native.

The momentum for access to control in education continued with the state legislature abolishing the State-Operated School System and establishing the Alaska Unorganized Borough School District in 1975. There was a consensus among state legislatures that advisory school boards of the State-Operated System had not been able to influence education in rural areas (All-Alaska Weekly, 2/27/76). The Unorganized Borough was a transitional system which lasted one year until twenty-one new Rural Educational Attendance Areas (REAs) were established in 1976. The twenty-one new REAs would have locally elected regional school board members and would encompass over 150 rural schools.

The transition from an appointed state board to twenty-one elected school boards was the largest decentralization project ever undertaken in North America. Although 100% of the funding for the new districts was to be paid for under the state's foundation program, there were other problems in moving control closer to those most concerned. The logistics of dispensing information and having an election in an environment where travel between villages can literally take days were enormous. Many of these new districts didn't have offices, phones, clerical help, or books. Despite the logistics and dissemination

problems, over 300 persons filed for the 142 seats on these new REAA boards (All-Alaska Weekly, 2/6/76). This was the first time that many regions of the state had an opportunity to venture into any kind of formal participation in the schools. The Lieutenant Governor, Lowell Thomas, Jr., felt that the large turn-out of candidates indicated a strong commitment to the principle of local control (All-Alaska Weekly, 1/30/76).

This venture into participation in the formal learning process was limited in many ways. The delegation of powers that the REAAs received from the state legislature contained many restrictions. First, there existed a tight financial relationship with the Department of Education. Second, the Commissioner of Education still had the authority to approve or disapprove all requests to either establish or close a school (Alaska Statute, s 14.08.101 (6) 1975). Also, construction of new schools was to be controlled by the legislature through the State Department of Public Works. The degree of control that the Commissioner of Education exercises over the REAAs will be determined in the years to come as these boards politically mature and push against the legislative fabric that created them.

In June of 1977 the Center for Northern Educational Research (CNER) did a follow-up study of the effects of the creation of the REAA system (Hecht & Inouye, 1978). The purpose of the study was to provide board members and superintendents with information about the potential prob-

lems and progress of the creation of the new school districts. Hecht (1978) reported that positive responses concerning local control dominated the remarks of board members and superintendents. Board members felt that the new REAAs had given them some degree of participation in the educational system. Superintendents also felt that the REAAs provided an opportunity for participation by locals. Some board members expressed concerns about the following areas in the REAAs: control of land, more control of their own REAAs, improving election procedures, and increasing local control without numerous state and federal requirements (Hecht, 1978). It can be concluded from Hecht's data that board members viewed the REAAs in an optimistic manner. It is also apparent from the study that board members' interest in local government had increased to a greater extent than had the superintendents' (Hecht, 1978).

POLITICAL DECENTRALIZATION OF A SCHOOL SYSTEM WILL
INCREASE THE DEGREE OF LOCAL PARTICIPATION IN
EDUCATIONAL DECISION MAKING

REAAs have previously exercised no real control over secondary education. This was the responsibility of the state and federal authorities. Prior to the 1960s, native Alaskans who sought a secondary education had to leave their villages to attend school or subscribe to correspondence courses. Some children had to travel as far away as

Oklahoma and Oregon. The disruption in family life was traumatic, especially for a people whose culture placed such emphasis on the extended family and village communal living. Some have suggested that the customs, traditions, and environment of natives are so interwoven that they could be conceived as constituting a religious practice (Getches, 1977). In the late 1960s, the state tried to ease this family disruption by building boarding schools with boarding home programs and dormitories. This measure did not resolve the basic problem, that of removing the child from parental guidance. These boarding schools, which were almost exclusively for native children, were found to be psychologically, socially, and educationally disruptive (Kleinfeld, 1973). The social consequences were tragic, especially in the child's readjustment to village life. The documentation of these disruptions and the native parents' escalating vociferousness caused the populace to listen. Native leaders, educators, and politicians were receiving the message: the failure to construct a scheduled dormitory for native students in Fairbanks is sufficient evidence (Anchorage Times, Sunday, September 26, 1976).

In 1972 the Alaska Legal Services filed a suit for Miss Hootch of the village of Emmonak. The suit was filed on behalf of bush high-school-age children and was based upon the right to an education and the right against racial and geographical discrimination. The suit argued that children could not complete their education in their villages--and

that they thusly were discriminated against by the state. This plea by bush parents stated that boarding home programs created educational disadvantages for a racial minority, Alaskan natives (Hootch v. Alaska State-Operated School System, No. 72-2450, 1972, Alaska Superior Court, Third Judicial District, 1972). An out-of-court settlement of the Tobeluk v. Lind case (the name of the case was changed due to a party change) was reached in 1976. The settlement required that every village which presently had an elementary school, but no high school through the 12th grade, have the option of a high school or high school instruction. The suit gave the option to 126 villages which also had the right to refuse a high school. The settlement contains many details and regulations, some of the most important of which require that local communities participate in decisions about teaching and school construction (Tobeluk v. Lind, No. 72-2450, Alaska Superior Court, Third Judicial District, 1976).

The Community School Committees (CSC) that evolved with the formation of the REAA's still have an undetermined role. These committees do not have a role that is defined by legislation, and their role tends to vary from one REAA to another (Horton, 1978). For the purpose of this study the newly created Community School Committees will be referred to by their original title, Advisory School Boards. Phases of systematic transference of power in a culturally diverse group such as Alaska natives cannot be expected to occur with uniformity. In only one area

the role of the CSCs has been defined: In the Tobeluk v. Lind Settlement, the role calls for village participation in the planning and ongoing evaluation of the new high school programs. Recent efforts by Alaska Legal Services have been directed toward strengthening and safeguarding the role of local participation in the settlement (Alaska Legal Services, 1979). Although the CSCs have no legal powers, their composition, which tends to include members of the REAA board, does provide the CSCs with an avenue to participation. Also, given the extended family characteristics of rural, native Alaska, REAA board members have what could almost be termed a natural inclination to be responsive to local needs since these villages are the homes of board members and interpersonal conflict is avoided in villages. In addition to these factors, it seems apparent from the current legal issues that the momentum for reinforcing local participation concepts will continue in the future.

Members of the CSCs tend to be active in village councils and respected figures in their communities. They are members of informal informational networks, which in bush communities are more persuasive than are formal school entities. A characteristic observed by this researcher and by Goodwin (1978) in dealing with different rural native boards is that although there may be differences of opinion expressed at meetings, formal decisions are usually unanimous. The unanimous decisions are probably influenced by such factors as kinship, informational networks, and by the necessity for villages to resolve differences.

Theoretically the governance structure now exists to allow school-community understanding to improve; however, the actualization of local control is hindered by historical, environmental, bureaucratic, and cultural barriers. This study analyzes the factors that bear on Alaskan native participation in education; and, more specifically, reconstructs and analyzes the Alutiiq Eskimo village of Nuna's participation in the education of its children over a ten-year period. The purpose of this analysis is to examine the processes of community participation in educational governance in a particular community setting to test the generalizability of some commonly held assumptions regarding participation in educational governance. The reconstruction of the community's participation in educational governance requires a historical perspective so that the economic, political, and social factors which create the setting can be seen as a continuum in the evolution of native attempts to gain control of the education of their children.

From the history of native participation in Alaskan education the following general propositions have emerged. These propositions and the propositions that emerged from the pertinent literature will be discussed in the Nuna context after the presentation of the case in Chapter IV.

Social and economic changes in the larger society will influence the degree of educational participation at the local community level.

Political decentralization of a school system will increase the degree of local participation in educational decision making.

This study examines educational participation in an Eskimo village over the period of a decade. Through the case study format, formal forms of participation in the village setting are described. The evolving forms of participation, both formal and informal, are identified. In order to attend to the highly relevant internal and informal forms of participation, attention is focused on personal, cultural, and ~~social~~ factors unique to the community. These concerns are described in a manner that reflects the complex process-oriented reality of participation in educational governance in an Eskimo village.

CHAPTER IV

Community Participation in Educational GovernanceIn An Extreme Setting

The history of the Alutiiq Eskimo people of Nuna is found in their oral tradition. The past is revealed through the stories and personal anecdotes of the elders in a manner which is difficult to portray adequately in written form. However, the following is an attempt at that portrayal.

In the spring of 1912, the people of Nuna lived near the land that is now called the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. Each spring a group of Alutiiq people would seine salmon in Kafluk Bay, barrel them, and ship them to Kodiak Island by schooner. The barrels were put on sailing ships in Kodiak and sent to the United States. The elders say that "the pay was good and the life was happy." On June 6, 1912, the people at their Kafluk Bay camp began shouting "pooioolik, pooioolik" (volcano). The men and boys climbed a nearby hill to watch the eruption.

The mountain just come up something to compare to a fountain, it's quite difficult to make a definite description concerning this erupting mountain. She must rose up something like bread dough and flow over all sides with what they might call pumice stone, a white-looking sponge almost weightless.

Thus, in the words of the people of Kafluk Bay, occurred the second largest volcanic eruption in recorded history. Over 40 square miles lay buried in volcanic ash up to 213.5 m deep. More than 7 cubic miles of volcanic debris were hurled into the atmosphere and spread over the

entire Northern Hemisphere (Alaska Volcanoes, 1976). The Alutiiq people said that the sky turned "pitch black," and stones "as big as the biggest potatoes imaginable" fell. For two days and two nights the world of the Alutiiq people was without light, while noises roared so loud that "no creature nor machine could make them." Hot ashes and rocks rained upon the people, and there was fear among the elders. The elders held council and decided to send a couple of "baidarkies" (kayaks) to Kodiak Island 80 km away to request evacuation. A steamer arrived in a few days and rescued the people from the land of "blind birds" and "snowdrifts of grey ashes." After other adventures, the people of Kafluk Bay were relocated further down the coast in what is now called the village of Nuna.

Nuna fronts the Pacific Ocean and is ringed by peaks 1,800 to 2,400 m high. It is a region of rolling tundra, meandering rivers, lakes, glaciers, and bays, all of which form a rugged separation of the North Pacific Ocean from Bristol Bay and the Bering Sea. High winds and overcast skies are common, with clear weather being the exception. The coastal environment creates temperatures that are milder in the winter and cooler in the summer than locations further north (Bristol Bay: An Overall Economic Development Plan, 1976). Summer temperatures in Bristol Bay range between 28 degrees C to 30 degrees C, and winter temperatures range between 5 degrees C and 11 degrees C with occasional lows of -40 degrees C. The area receives up to 2,032 mm of rain and averages 2,540 mm of snow annually (A Regionally Specific Health Plan

for Bristol Bay, 1979). Nuna generally has a much warmer temperature range and much less snow than the rest of Bristol Bay. Gardening is possible as the growing season lasts from 100 to 127 days, and there is no permafrost (Bristol Bay Basin, 1978). The rugged mountains and unpredictable weather isolate Nuna from the "outside" world to a greater degree than is the case for other villages in this region of Alaska.

The geographical area supports abundant wildlife. The largest land carnivore, the Alaskan Brown Bear, inhabits the region as do black bear, moose, wolf, caribou, fox, beaver, muskrat, mink, land otter, lynx, wolverine, weasel, hare, and porcupine. The region is visited by over 100 species of birds that come from as far away as New Zealand, Japan, Mexico, South America, Russia and the South Pacific Islands. There are sandpipers, turnstones, swans, cranes, peregrine falcons, osprey, arctic terns, owls, and numerous varieties of ducks. The hillsides and tundra around Nuna are covered in the summer with clumps of willow, alder, cranberries, bogberries, blueberries, blackberries, crowberries, and countless varieties of flowers among the tundra grasses.

The single most important environmental resource for Nuna is salmon. Since salmon is the primary source of income for the residents, they anxiously await the return of the salmon run each spring. Commercial fishing, supplemented by trapping activities and a job with the school, the post office, or as a health aide, are the only sources of cash available to the population. When the fishing harvest is large,

the community prospers, and when it is lean there is a greater reliance on subsistence activities. The economic endeavors of Nuna are directly related to the salmon harvest and other subsistence activities.

The lack of western time values is in many ways due to traditional village livelihood patterns, which are closely related to the seasons and local climatic conditions. For example, the fish industry, which constitutes virtually the entire economic base of Nuna, has not dramatically altered village life styles. The fishing season is brief and there are limited opportunities for full-time employment in the region. Prior to the emergence of the fishing industry, the residents were intimately involved in subsistence life styles, i.e., life styles which depend upon trapping, fishing, and hunting. Despite the emergence of seasonal employment, subsistence activities continued to play an important part in the economics of the Nuna Eskimo. Subsistence activities, which are seasonally determined and environmentally influenced, require a different time and task orientation than the "outsider" is typically acquainted with. The task of hunting caribou is not bound by a five-day, eight-hour-a-day work schedule. This activity is interrelated with migration patterns, weather conditions, and fish and game regulations. Thus, an "outsider" may incorrectly interpret as indifference a lack of attendance at what he considers to be a meeting important to the village, whereas the underlying reason may be economic: There are caribou in the area.

Social and Demographic Characteristics

VanStone (1967) indicates that there is little documented material available on Southwest Alaska. It is apparent that prior to 1912 the people of what is now called Nuna were located near Mt. Katmai and were composed of small family bands. These bands would come together for seasonal activities such as the salmon run. The nomadic nature of these bands limited the amount of social contact and precluded the need for an elaborate communally oriented social organization. Oswalt (1967) identifies these Katmai people as an enclave of the mainland Koniag people, who were speakers of the Suk dialect and who were culturally separate from the other Eskimos of the region. Russian contact with these bands is not recorded, but there was significant contact in the early 1900's with the Anglo-American salmon fisheries based on Kodiak Island.

The relation of the Alutiiq people to Nuna following the 1912 eruption has led to the establishment of a permanent community with all of the social, political and economic structures that go with such a settlement. There are frequent village council meetings, and these usually deal with the complexities of current concerns of the Bristol Bay Regional Corporation. Village council meetings include the discussion of local problems, the possibility of hydroelectric power, dam difficulties, and maintenance of local roads (trails) to and from the air strip. The major social activities of the community members are "banyas" (steambaths), movies, and the celebration of birthdays, and

church holidays. As in most bush communities, there is frequent visiting. These numerous and continuous visits, during which vast quantities of coffee and tea are consumed, are one of the major settings for informal informational exchanges. There are also information exchanges during hunting trips, in banyas, and throughout the fishing season.

Nuna has more social activity than most of the surrounding communities and a life style based on informal social interaction. The isolation of the community is a factor in the strong group identity of the people: There are only about ten family names in Nuna which provides a solid kinship network for the social interaction and informal organizational networks. The residents are mutually interdependent. Messages are conveyed to friends to pass on to kin in other villages, and there is always a home to visit. A great sense of security is the result of such tight village relationships. Kinship, remoteness, and subsistence living create an atmosphere of sociability and group cooperation in which informal communication networks predetermine the formal actions of village organizations such as the Advisory School Board or the village council.

Visiting in Nuna is an important activity in the winter months. Summer subsistence activities such as fishing and berry picking preclude any extended visiting. Lengthy periods of bad weather of which Nuna has an ample supply, results in the flourishing of winter visits. There is little ritual surrounding the beginning and ending of these visits. A

typical adult male visit begins with a resident walking into a home without knocking and seating himself at the kitchen table. Male members of the household will then generally sit with the visitor. The woman, after offering coffee or tea, will generally sit elsewhere. There are few temporal constraints on visits. A visit may last an hour or comprise an entire day. Different visitors may come and go unannounced throughout the day. The chief's home has the greatest frequency of visits. It is possible depending upon the weather to sit at the chief's kitchen table for a day and speak to a member of almost every household in Nuna. There may be extensive discussions during these visits or there may be little. Sitting quietly drinking coffee or tea without speaking for hours also constitutes a visit. When discussion does occur the topics range from the weather, hunting, regional and village corporations and the local school. There is more discussion of issues during visits than is observed at village council or Advisory School Board meetings. A village focus of consensus on issues tends to emerge from these informal kitchen table dialogues. This is reflected in the fact that school and village council issues when brought up at formal meetings result in minimal discussion and unanimous votes. This indicates the formation of a village consensus prior to Advisory School Board and village council meetings. Lengthy discussions of village concerns are part of the pattern of visiting in Nuna.

When a visitor has a specific purpose in mind such as a request for

help in repairing an outboard motor, the request is seldom made immediately. Nor is the request made directly. When a request is made or a tool is asked for it would be phrased in the following manner:

"Perhaps someday you could help me fix my kicker?"

"Sometime, if you aren't using it, I would like to borrow your wrench."

"The wind is pushing waves on the beach. I need to pull my boat up. Maybe some time when you're not busy you could come down."

The visit may continue for hours before the request is made if it is made at all. Even when there is an urgency associated with the request, i.e., the request for assistance in pulling up a boat, a lengthy period of time may follow before an indirect request is made.

Cooperation is one element which exists to a high degree in Nuna. This cooperation is observable in at least the following: The men and women of Nuna built their own runway to improve their air service; they also manually dug a mile long trench, over 1 m deep, to improve their water supply; and they built and maintained a clinic even before federal or state funding was available. The village council has obtained numerous community improvement and development funds. These funds include \$10,000 for construction of a community hall and a \$10,000 grant for the purchase of equipment for the hall among other funds for other purposes. Nuna is not without problems; however, the residents have shown that they can work together toward jointly recognized goals.

Most of the community's formal social activities center around the

Russian Orthodox Church which has a local resident priest. He also serves some of the surrounding communities; however, his increasing age is decreasing his ability to serve beyond the village. In the 1960s a non-native missionary moved into Nuna and, within a year, caused tremendous disruption and conflict. Families whose existence required cooperation were divided over religious affiliation. The Russian Orthodox Church, which is a great source of pride in the community, was assailed. The missionary was asked to leave Nuna; however, the individual refused. The situation festered until it became intolerable. When the missionary moved out, she took a few families with her and they established a new village.

Religious differences are generally not discussed in Nuna. However, because the people spend vast amounts of time at religious ceremonies, it is obvious that the Russian Orthodox Church plays an important role in that community. The conflict with the "outside" missionary is rarely discussed, but when it is, one can detect the lingering bitterness towards a time that is regarded as the "great sadness."

One of the most frequent and important social activities of the village is the previously mentioned "banya" or steambath. Both sexes engage in these baths separately and almost daily. In Nuna, the banya house, of which there are a half a dozen, is generally quite small. A typical banya is 5 m by 3 m with a 1.5 m ceiling. Part of the area is used for a changing room. The inner chamber where the bath takes place

is separated from the outer room by a small door a little more than 1 m in height. Within the inner chamber there are benches 8 cm and 16 cm in height. Against one wall there is usually a 195.175 l barrel (55 gallon steel drum) stove horizontally sunk partially in the floor and covered with fist-sized rocks. There are two or three 18.925 l buckets (5 gallon) of water near the stove and small washing bowls beneath the benches. There is usually one window, and the chamber is lighted by a lantern or a single bulb.

The baths generally occur in small groups of three to five people and males usually take the first bath. Occasionally a child accompanies the adult males in a bath, but generally the children bathe with the women. Married couples will at times steam together. Visitors to the community are often invited to the banya and there is great fun in the "roasting" of the visitor which consists of driving the visitor out of the inner chamber.

The men's banya typically begins with shouts for more water to be cast on the hot rocks, since this causes the steam to rise. The participants use grass beaters, made of a particular type of tundra grass, to slap their bodies. The beaters are slapped and more water is cast on the rocks until some of the men, seeking cooler air, have to sit or lie on the floor with their heads down. Finally, those unable to withstand the heat retreat to the outer chamber. After a few minutes of cooling off, they are back again to repeat the process. These retreats to the

outer chamber will perhaps occur two or three times over a 2-hour period. Individuals in the village gain great prestige based upon their ability to drive others out of the bath.

Not all of the time spent at the banya is for combatant or bathing purposes. There is ample occasion for discourse. Elders generally have a particular seat within the banya. If the seat is occupied when the elder enters, the seat is immediately vacated without comment. Dialogue flows as freely as does the perspiration. Corporate concerns, village council problems, school matters, and hunting stories fill the thick atmosphere of the banya. When children can be heard playing outside the banya, the dialogue may be shifted. This shift tends to convey information or a moral lesson to those ears outside, without directly recognizing their presence. It appears that the banya functions not only as a bath, but as a teaching and information dissemination device. Banyas permeate the activities of the Nuna residents and are conducive to the exchange of opinions. However, in the past these banyas were much different from those of present time. One villager described the earlier banyas:

They were much larger than today. Used to teach more than today. One half of the village could fit in. There were also no stove pipes. After the fire got hot we run outside and cover up hole with blankets or jackets. It was real sooty, but it worked. Hot coals carried to other room to warm up room. We all sit and men would talk. We listened and learned. It was a greater place for discussion in the past.

The estimated per capita income for this region of Alaska was

\$5,355 for 1974 (Bureau of Census, 1977). This income tends to be spent on mail orders, on grubstakes from Seattle, and on goods purchased from the Nuna Commercial Store, which is owned by a resident. The store is very well stocked for a business within this geographical area. Due to the large inventory, other surrounding villages radio in occasional orders. The 1970 figures for income levels in native households in the Bristol Bay region placed almost 50% of the households below the poverty level income (U.S. Department of the Interior Report, 1974). These figures can be misleading for they are based upon one cultural perspective of what constitutes poverty. This perspective tends to be more quantitative than qualitative and does not accurately portray the reality that the people of Nuna experience. The residents of Nuna do not consider themselves poverty-stricken. They feel fortunate to live on a land which can provide for their needs. Times can occasionally be difficult for the villages because of the necessity of having to buy, at one time only, groceries and fuel for the entire year.

The population of Nuna has remained fairly stable for the past twenty years. The 1960 census revealed a population of 111, the 1970 census 94, and the 1978 census 110. This is a 0.9% decline over 20 years (A Regional Specific Health Plan for Bristol Bay, 1979). There are thirty residences in the community including one "barabara" or sod house, one log cabin house, and twenty-eight frame construction houses. There is also one Russian Orthodox Church, a clinic attached to a home,

a community hall, and a school and teacherage. The homes are generally small; they usually have three rooms, and there are approximately four people per home. These homes are heated with oil due to the scarcity of wood. The wood which is scavenged from the beaches is burned in the banyas. Electricity, provided by privately owned generators, is increasing in cost due to fuel costs and transportation charges. To offset this expense the community has been actively pursuing the development of hydroelectric power. There is a sufficient water drop near the village to warrant development of this resource and this project is one of the highest priorities of the village council. The council feels that the development of their own electrical power would free them from the prohibitive fuel and transportation costs of an "unstable society." It costs over \$2,500 per day to transport oil to Nuna by barge, and the voyage, depending upon weather, can take a number of days.

The average age of the head of a household is forty-five years, and the average education is nine years (Bristol Bay Native Association, 1975). The homes contain such reading material as Time Magazine, Newsweek, The Police Gazette, Alaskan newspapers, a variety of books and countless comic books. Since 1948 the village council has banned liquor consumption; however, individuals will occasionally break the ban. The only non-natives in the community are transient school teachers. These persons normally stay one or two years, although some have left in mid-year due to personal and village adjustment problems. In the last

decade there have been two native teachers in Nuna, one a "stateside" native and the other an Alaskan native.

Air and sea are the two modes by which freight and passengers can reach Nuna. The steamship Western Pioneer out of Seattle, Washington, brings supplies once or twice a year. The village also receives supplies by chartering a barge from Homer, Alaska. There are no dock facilities so supplies must be off-loaded into skiffs and ferried ashore with the tide. Kvichak Airways carries mail, freight, and passengers on single-engine planes twice a week, weather permitting. It is over a 450 km flight from the Airways hanger to the dirt strip at Nuna. The village's isolation and remoteness cause the cost of living to be higher in Nuna than it is in other villages in Bristol Bay (Bristol Bay: The Fishery and the People, 1974).

There are no maintained roads in Nuna despite the presence of many motorized vehicles, but there is a network of intertwined trails and paths throughout the community and beyond. These are often referred to as "roads," although once one leaves the village area it takes a discerning eye to see these "roads." This system of "roads" extends outward toward the various resources the people rely upon. There are a few cabins located in the hunting grounds. These are used by hunting parties on extended excursions. These cabins are basically a shelter with a stove and few other comforts.

The people of Nuna are an example of long-term successful human

adaptation. Severe adversity and disruption are accommodated. The following incident, described by a villager, is an example of this adaptation just as is the very founding of the village.

During the 1950s the entire village would move every summer (to work for a cannery). Everything was moved from dogs to the kitchen sink. All of the household goods placed in the hole of a tender along with empty drums (oil) for the trip to Triggok Bay. The kitchen sink was actually taken. In the fall we'd all come back with the tender and our provisions for the year. Once the boat sank on the way back, so absolutely everything was lost. That was a tough winter.

Early Forms of Participation

The school and the community in Nuna exist in a complex and continually evolving relationship. The introduction of formal western schooling has contributed to many changes in the community over which the community has had little influence. Before the introduction of school, learning was an informal process. However, in 1922 the emphasis shifted from informal experience-oriented learning to formal academic-oriented learning. A credentialed teacher became the origin of learning as opposed to individuals in the community who had achieved experiential status. The school's formal transmission of a different culture contributed to changes in diet, employment, leisure activities, and language and ultimately resulted in miscommunication between the school and the community. Conversely, the manner by which the community has attempted to influence the formal school system has taken years to evolve.

The first formal school in Nuna began in September of 1922. A small, one-teacher school was built and operated by the Bureau of Education, U.S. Department of the Interior (Barnhardt, 1979). The teacher arrived on the last steamer out of Seattle in the fall and left on the first steamer in spring. Instruction was in English, and use of the native language (Alutiiq) was forbidden. The students (who numbered between ten and twenty) were physically punished for using the native dialect. The academic content and style of interaction reflected the western cultural standards of the day. This system did not change until the school was changed from federal jurisdiction to Alaskan territorial control under the Johnson O'Malley Act in 1952 (Barnhardt, 1979).

It was during this transference phase from a federal school to one administered by the Alaska Territorial Department of Education that a new school and a teacherage were constructed. In the spring of 1952 equipment and a crew were shipped from the States for the purpose of clearing the land for construction. There was great concern in the village over the site selection. The construction crew had decided to build the school at the far end of the village on a small rise about 200 m from the beach. The villagers strongly objected to the site selection, as it was the location of an old Russian Orthodox Church. Holy relics were buried at that site, and it was considered a sacrilege to build on this sacred ground. The village voiced its concerns; however, that was to no avail. The memory of this incident still lingers on and

irritates some of the residents. One community member, while reminiscing about the church, pointed to the front of the school and said, "There, that's where their bulldozer suddenly stopped, right over the holy ground and it took them all summer to get it going again." Another resident called this incident the "miracle thing."

The general attitude toward formal education in Nuna has remained fairly consistent over the last decade, although it has not always been perceived as such by those outside the community. The results of a 1970 survey of four villages in the region reveal that Nuna was the only village in which all the respondents felt that education was the top priority item in a list of those items their children should have. The survey also revealed that Nuna had the highest percentage of respondents (88%) who thought that there was a good chance for education in their own village (Grubis, 1971). This view was not shared by the principal-teacher nor the superintendent during this period.

The 1970-71 superintendent viewed Nuna as a "thorn in his side." The superintendent felt the residents had a history of causing trouble. A community interview, which included four villages in the region, indicated that Nuna had the highest percentage of respondents (55%) who were dissatisfied with the current school program (Grubis, 1971). This view of Nuna as being troublesome also was shared by the 1970-71 teacher. The results of a 1970 teacher questionnaire reveal that the teacher was not sure whether the community appreciated good education or whether

there was much interest in education. The teacher felt the school was generally not respected and that cultural differences tended to make the villagers disregard the importance of education. The process of education, in his opinion, would function much more smoothly if there was less interference from the community. The teacher also concurred with the superintendent in that he perceived a great deal of "griping and complaining" in Nuna (Grubis, 1971).

The superintendent and the teacher had minimal contact with the village, a fact which provided little opportunity for linking mechanisms to develop. The teacher's visiting pattern was limited, compared to most other teachers of the last decade. Aside from going to the post office or store, the teacher would normally visit only one home in the community. There the teacher would be a dinner guest two or three nights a week. He was not generally visited by residents and he felt teachers had a difficult time being accepted by Nuna. The superintendent also had minimal contact with the village. When he would visit once or twice a year, he would arrive unannounced and proceed directly to the school. He generally did not visit within the community, nor meet with the advisory school board. Only his assistant met with the advisory school board on federally mandated local participation matters, such as the school lunch program.

Despite the superintendent's and other administrators' efforts to arrive in Nuna unannounced, it was seldom, if ever achieved. Bush pilots,

who provide the only readily available access to Nuna, have a unique relationship with the village. Experienced bush pilots generally have distinct status within villages, and this is the case in Nuna. It is a trust relationship between the community and a highly skilled professional. It has been built over the years through deliveries of mail, passengers, and emergency medical evacuation, often under hazardous conditions. Although pilots seldom spend significant ground time in Nuna, they are generally intimately familiar with social life and community problems. This understanding has probably occurred through conveyance of residents, messages, freight, in-flight dialogue, and ground dialogue over a lengthy period of time. There are three pilots who have such a relationship with the village. Two are white (one is married to a native); the third is native. The content of their dialogue revolves around such topics as weather, health of individuals, game migration patterns and locations, and village problems coupled with good natured banter. Game locations tend to be conveyed only to certain individuals within the community. These pilots are generally aware of most school/community conflicts and where village residents are currently located. When these pilots carry administrators into Nuna, the community is forewarned as soon as the plane is within radio range of the village. This is done in a manner of which the passengers are unaware.

In addition to the pilot warning, the citizen band radio system provides an instantaneous network for announcing the arrival of out-

siders. Citizen Band radios (CBs) are part of most homes, and they are kept "on." This, in essence, amounts to an open party line for the entire village. Who a person is, with whom he speaks, and where he goes is continually monitored; this is particularly true in the case of strangers. The teacher is informed only if a villager relays the information. Thus, it appears that in times of school/community conflict, unannounced administrative visits are a surprise only to the teacher.

One of the major areas of conflict between the community and the school in the 1970-71 term was the superintendent's misconception that the health clinic was using school power. The superintendent, through the principal teacher, informed the chief of the complaint. The chief was outraged that the village was accused of deception and that the superintendent did not bring his complaint to the chief when he was in the village. The chief immediately sent a letter to the State Attorney General and flew in to Anchorage to present the situation to the superintendent's superior, the State Superintendent of Schools. The regional superintendent was made aware of his error in judgment; he apologized to the village and never returned to the village. The community also immediately received some playground equipment that the superintendent had previously said was impossible for them to receive.

Another major source of conflict during this period revolved around the Christmas play. Traditionally in Nuna the American Christmas holidays are of great significance, although they are not as important as

the Russian holidays. It was, however, customary in Nuna for the school to put on a Christmas play. Village teachers are often judged by the amount of effort they put into the annual Christmas program. Previous years' programs were often compared to one another. All the residents would attend and exchange gifts. In December of 1970, rumors began spreading throughout the village that there was not going to be any Christmas play. The advisory school board then called a meeting at which the entire population appeared, excepting the teacher. The meeting was conducted in English, although there were translations made for some of the elders. Advisory school board members sat at the front of the room. Parliamentary procedures were not followed nor were minutes taken. Comments were made at random; there were neither directions from the board nor time restraints. After a few minutes of trying to determine whether there was any substance to the rumors, the teacher was asked to attend. Once there, the teacher explained that there would not be a Christmas play because he was leaving for the holidays. A suggestion was made that he need not be there for the play to occur, but that preparations should begin since the holidays were near. The teacher responded that he could not justify taking class time for play rehearsals nor Christmas activities because the students were too far behind academically. He then commented, "The children are too dumb to take school time for a play." After the teacher's remark there was silence. There was little said after that, and the meeting was quickly

adjourned without any notable adjournment procedure. No decisions or courses of action had been decided upon.

Although there is no direct evidence, it appeared that the teacher's comments were being discussed in banyas and over kitchen tables in the village. A few days later, comments to the effect that people hoped that the teacher would not return for the next school year surfaced. That same day one of the women in the village approached this researcher and asked about obtaining any Christmas plays that could be put on by the community. After deciding on a play, the community proceeded to organize a school holiday program which the children subsequently presented on Christmas Eve.

The teacher had previously angered the village by his repeated use of "swear words" in the classroom. The community had also previously complained to the superintendent and explained that vile language was unacceptable in their village. The Christmas incident was the teacher's culminating error. The Advisory School Board Chairman demanded the removal of the teacher immediately. The chairman told the superintendent that the teacher, nicknamed "codfish" by the village, "had better not return after Christmas." "Codfish" did not return. The decision to demand the removal of the teacher occurred beyond the confines of any Advisory School Board meeting or village council meeting.

Along with school political issues, the social behavior of Nuna's past teachers is occasionally a topic of conversation in the village.

Some of Nuna's past teachers have provided the village with a great source of wonder and amusement. One particular teacher began to build a boat in the classroom. When word spread that the teacher was building a boat many villagers made excuses to visit the school and see this rather different concept in boat construction. The boat was 1-1/2 m by 3 m square stern and bow plywood box. The boat was held together with nails and glue instead of ribbing. Ultimately, the villagers had to rescue the teacher and his wife on the maiden voyage from certain drowning. The boat now serves as a cover for a hole in back of the school and as a monument to one teacher's folly. The boat teacher visited and generally involved himself in the social activities of the village. He was often the source of amusement for other incidents besides his incompetence in ship building, but was generally viewed as an "all right" teacher. He held few advisory school board meetings, but did extensively involve himself in the life of the village.

During 1973-1975, the number of paraprofessionals in the school increased markedly. In addition to the cook and custodian, many volunteers appeared in the classroom. This occurred partially because of federal funding programs and partially as a result of the linking mechanism of delegated functions. The village became interested in the researcher's proposal to assist the community in identifying and implementing curriculum that would reflect their cultural values. The residents then invited this researcher back to the village to assist

them in developing their program.

Nuna's Advisory School Board meetings are generally held in the teacher's home where refreshments are served to the five board members. The advisory board meeting atmosphere has varied according to the individual personalities of Nuna's various teachers. Advisory board meetings are relaxed and informal by western white cultural meeting standards. Parliamentary procedures are generally not followed. Although the atmosphere is not as relaxed as that at native controlled board meetings, i.e., village council. At advisory school board meetings there is a definite entering ritual of knocking and waiting to be admitted and then being directed toward a seat. Nuna's Advisory School Board meetings are generally orchestrated by the teacher, from entering, seating, serving of refreshments, setting of the agenda and adjourning the meeting. This degree of orchestration has varied with the individual teachers. The meetings during the tenure of the 1973-1975 teacher were the most informal, least orchestrated and had the greatest amount of input from board members. These meetings tended to be controlled by board members.

The agenda items at advisory school board meetings are generally such concerns as: setting the school calendar, selecting options within the federal school lunch program, selecting individuals within the village to fill the cook or custodian position. Discussions of the school curriculum are generally rare, with the exception of the 1973-1975 school teacher. However, within the informal forums of the village,

i.e., visiting, banyas there are extensive discussions of what occurs within the schoolhouse. These discussions stand in contrast to the typical 30 to 60 minute school board meeting.

The community, from 1973 to 1975 through the vehicle of the advisory school board and with the support of the village council and others in the village, identified cultural components they wished to see implemented in the curriculum. These components were carpentry, plant identification and preparation, hunting, fishing, survival skills, weather reading, food preparation, sod house building, knot tying, storytelling and native language instruction. The community then determined a list of volunteer teachers for each category. The researcher encouraged the community in their identification process and provided some teacher training for the volunteer aides. The project would not have been possible without a very receptive teacher in the community. This teacher was a native American who was raised in a mid-western, non-native family. She was married to an Athabascan Indian, had lived in "bush" Alaska for fifteen years, and had been a teacher for eight years. This professional's obvious emotional identification with and sympathy for the village greatly facilitated participation by the community. It became difficult to determine when the school day was over, for children often stayed overnight in the school. The community and children came and went freely from the teacher's home. This had not been observed prior to that teacher's presence, nor has it been observed

since her departure. This interactional style and cultural sympathy encouraged numerous teacher-parent contacts.

The teacher once commented that

It's really great to bring people from the community into the classroom. This in a sense puts their own people, their parents, their community leaders, on a par with the teacher. You know lots of times I think children don't see anybody but just a white teacher in a position of authority. And here this program recognizes the skills and knowledge that their own parents and their own community leaders have. I think just the fact that they are accorded this kind of respect itself is doing a great deal.

The teacher also felt that having community volunteers and advisory school board members in the classroom increased communication between herself and the village.

Some of the people who have come for the program have stayed after school and had a cup of tea with me. That's enabled me to maybe meet a few of the people I hadn't otherwise met. People here are very friendly, but this has given us something to talk about. What I am trying to say is that in having something to talk about I try to treat them as I would any other professional teacher in discussing how children learn and how they are responding and I think that this helps to make them feel that what they are doing is important, and I really believe what they are doing is important.

The people of Nuna and the advisory school board members were most enthusiastic about the number of volunteers in the school in 1973-1975 and what these volunteers were teaching, e.g., the use of the native language. The school quickly became covered with signs indicating the native Alutiig word for various objects in the classroom. After years of having the use of the Alutiig language forbidden in the school, this sudden reversal was greeted with many words of praise. People in the

community felt that having the village volunteers teach village-identified needs "draws the village closer together and helps educate while it does." The advisory board, at the urging of the community, formally submitted proposals to outside agencies to fund some of their volunteer aide programs. Eventually, the volunteer native language teacher position was funded.

The Emergence of Corporate Nuna

The political and social upheavals of the 1960s in the United States began to be felt in Nuna in the late 1960s and early 1970s. During this period native efforts to achieve a land claims settlement with the federal government accelerated. The elders had sent the young leaders to attend frequent meetings, which meant these leaders were often out of the village more than they were in it. There were Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN) meetings, where strategies for gaining the social, economic, political, and educational needs of natives were planned. There were U.S. Senate hearings on the plight of native education and the recognition by the Governor that a state of emergency existed in native education. The Governor's Commission on Cross-Cultural Education was created and recommended that native education needed to be effected by native communities themselves. The state legislature created advisory school boards to provide assistance to the Governor's appointed board. The recognition that native education needed to be

controlled by local communities grew in the State Department of Education, the State Legislature, and the Federal government. These meetings and activities greatly taxed the manpower resources of Nuna. The land claims, with its economic and political implications, took precedence over the demands for educational autonomy. Nuna's school board chairman resigned to devote more time to land issues. Nuna's relationship to the land was not only the substance of its cultural identity but also was the fabric of its economic survival.* Its leaders believed the satisfactory resolution of the land issues to be crucial for their future existence as a people.

In December of 1971, representatives of Nuna took part in a great celebration in Anchorage when Congress passed the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. Nuna's leaders now found themselves faced with a tremendous task concerning the village and its region. The implementation of the act required the creation of a western-style corporate structure in the village. Nuna's residents were now shareholders in two corporations and had to manage their own corporation. Complex information had to be dispensed to, and understood by, the village. A corporation needed to be formed and operated in accordance with the terms of the federal settlement itself. Concepts such as stockholder, stock, working capital, revenues, interest, profit, etc., had to be comprehended. Oil that was discovered in the land of the Inupiaq Eskimo, over 2,000 km away, was discussed in Nuna because under ANCSA,

Nuna's regional corporation would be affected by what happened on the north slope. Petroleum companies were anxious to explore and sink wells on Nuna's land. The leaders used analogies found in the environment to explain these concepts to their people. In one explanation a particular amount of dollars was referred to as "as many salmon as go up Kilbuk Creek. The dollars needed to spawn just as the salmon spawn or they will all be harvested. Dollars spawn in banks and investments." Many of Nuna's residents were dissatisfied with the land settlement. They had great difficulty understanding the concept of landownership, which was not part of the people's culture. The land, which had always been used by the residents without deeds or taxes, now would be subject to restrictions and eventual taxation. If the village did not manage the corporation properly, they could lose their land. Many residents felt they had lost much more than they had gained from the Land Claims Settlement Act.

The avenues for Nuna's educational governance began to slowly broaden in the early 1970s as native leaders organized for a land claims settlement with the federal government. As the land issue moved toward resolution, the federal government, the state legislature, and the State Department of Education began making responses to native demands for educational autonomy. It became apparent that a land settlement would precipitate new manpower needs for Alaska natives and the schooling process would become crucial for the implementation of the settlement

act. The emerging political and economic potential of natives made the current structure of educational governance appear socially and politically inappropriate.

A Decade of Change in Nuna (1970-1980)

The people of Nuna are intimately linked to their natural environment, and the order of this relationship is of such a nature that changes introduced into the environment produce changes in the population's behavior. The relationship to the environment is undergoing extensive transformation due to the introduction of western organizational styles and technology. Recent changes in Nuna have affected both formal and informal participation in educational governance. The western cultural contact with Nuna is readily observable on the technological level. For example; the introduction and rapid adoption of the three-wheeled, all-terrain vehicle in Nuna has changed traditional caribou hunting party size and organization. In the past, the hunt was a lengthy group effort; today, a caribou hunting party comprises from one to three individuals riding three-wheeled, all-terrain vehicles. The hunt is also of shorter duration due to the greater mobility of mechanized travel. It is no longer necessary to spend six to eight days' hunting and packing when a day or two is sufficient. Game migrations appear to have been affected by the new western technology of the hunter. One resident explained the relationship between technology and

game migration patterns in the following manner. "Animals far away now. Caribou always close. Right behind village. Now, no more, Hard times. Machine chase away caribou." Another resident expressed the change in saying, "These three-wheeled rigs expand our life style." Formal and informal forms of educational participation have also been affected by the introduction of western technology and organizational patterns. The changes in informal versus formal forms of participation are much more subtle than the changes that accompanied the three-wheeled vehicle.

The physical evidence of change in Nuna over the last decade is slight. There is a new, three-room hotel/bunkhouse for occasional visitors and there are three new homes and a community center. The community also has a half-size gymnasium and a power house. Public Health has installed a new water system and, consequently, flush toilets for the residents. The new water system has also left its mark by the scattering of bright red fire hydrants throughout the community. Although there are now three pick-up trucks in Nuna, there are still no roads. This lack of roads has caused the yearly mileage on one of these trucks to total no more than 50 km. At the far end of the village there is a new fenced dump. Previously, trash was placed on the beach for the tide to remove. Near the new community center is Nuna's technological umbilical cord linking the village to the world. This 5 m, circular satellite signal receiving disk electronically unites Nuna with the "outside" world.

Today, Nuna has a central electrical system which is maintained by

the village and originates from the new power house. This enables the village council to sell electricity to the school and to homes in the village. This central electrical system has replaced the many individual generators that families had previously maintained and has eliminated the constant generator maintenance problem. Also, it has, for the first time, resulted in dependable electrical power. This convenience has brought electrical luxuries and electrical problems to Nuna. The electrical system consumes approximately \$2,500 of fuel oil a month in supplying the 30 homes with power. This places the cost of electricity at a towering 37¢/kw. The high cost is putting a tremendous strain on the meager cash reserves of village households. All of the residents complain about this ever-rising expense.

A reliable source of electricity has greatly increased the presence of western technology in the homes. Guns, traps, and vehicle parts still abound in the homes. Caribou, moose, fish, and rice still comprise a major part of the daily diet. But today some of the women of Nuna do their laundry in modern washers and dryers. The old wringer washer and scrub boards and wash tubs are slowly being replaced. Rug-covered floors, which were few in the past decade, are now common, and there is a greater variety and number of magazines in the homes than existed in the preceding ten years. Many tables and corners abound with copies of Newsweek, Time, Alaska Magazine, National Geographic, travel magazines, and comics. The magazines are passed from one resident to

another and are read beneath new lamps. A new radio station in Bristol Bay now makes it possible to receive radio broadcasts without much difficulty, and modern radios have replaced the expensive long-range radio equipment needed in the past. Television sets are displayed in a prominent location in every home and are found on barrel tops, on tables, against walls, and on top of stereos; almost all the sets have 21" or larger screens. One family even has its own video recorder for playing back programs they enjoy. The white satellite signal receiving disk, angled toward the southern sky, brings the western technological world into the homes of Nuna. In 1977 Nuna entered the electronic world of live television. Nuna receives a single television station every week-day from Anchorage, and from Los Angeles on the weekends. The newness of the media makes it difficult to assess the impact of this electronic connection on the village and its impact on formal and informal educational participation. One resident expressed his view of the new phenomena as follows:

World is changing and the people are changing. TV is quite a change. Good in a way and in a way it's not good. Good for news. Most programs not good for kids. TV hasn't affected hunting. We will always hunt. We need to, can't live off the ground. More cheaper than the store. Used to it generations all the way back. We never waste on hunt. The TV has not changed that.

Other residents also frequently expressed the opinion that television has decreased social visiting. Although the visiting at homes for tea and coffee has been reduced, the community feels it is more in touch

with the outside world. The most frequently watched and mentioned programs are the local state and national news, "60 Minutes," and, especially, "Capital 80," a daily report on the events in the state legislature. This interest in world events is observable in kitchen table dialogue which now covers world affairs and sports events.

One elementary teacher, who has taught in a less remote village than Nuna, was impressed by the students' awareness of world events. However, the teacher said that "students have a difficult time realizing that Alaska is a state. Kids have great difficulty with this. They cannot see any connection with the lower 48 states." The principal feels that television could be a factor in what he observes as a lack of participation in the local advisory school board. The principal could only convene two board meetings during the past year. The principal stated that "board meetings compete with TV. The 'Incredible Hulk' took precedence over one meeting we tried to have. TV could be a possible reason for the apathy." The principal had been told, "It never used to be this way. It has changed. Told younger people to blame."

The young, newly elected advisory school board chairman and the village council president support the principal's observation of village apathy. The advisory school board chairman does not blame television for the growth of indifference among the people of Nuna. He attributes the apathy to a general lack of interest and the size of the village.

His comment is

It's hard to get messages to people in Nuna. Hard to com-

communicate important things to the people. I put up notices, but the village is just too big. The village of Kalakk (a nearby village) is easier--they're smaller. Fewer people to be informed.

The village council president, whom some elders call chief, wants to use the technology of television to overcome the apathy. He has plans and his own equipment to connect a video system to the village television network. This would permit him to broadcast important messages from visitors and to broadcast village council meetings. He feels he can use this technology to overcome the apathy. Currently, the chief is inquiring into the legality of his proposal and seeking technical assistance for the plan. This innovation is not unusual for him. He has introduced a number of innovations into the region and to his village. These include a store, plywood-constructed homes, and mechanized vehicles.

The decrease in community participation is observable in activities outside of formal attendance at an organizational meeting such as the advisory school board. The important Names Day celebrations have been greatly curtailed by the absence of adult participation. Names Day celebrations are held on a person's birthday. The table is typically (or traditionally) filled with freshly baked bread "xlebak," tea "chai-govich," butter "massluck," moose "toontwak," caribou "toondo," pie "pieyuck," and cakes. The entire village is invited to join the family in eating and honoring the Names Day person. Because the homes only have one kitchen table with four or five chairs, villagers are invited

in shifts throughout the day. These affairs usually require two days of preparation for baking and cooking, and then begin near mid-morning on the day of the celebration. Individuals usually are invited according to their social status in the village. The more influential community members are invited earlier with the others coming to the home later on. Children run throughout the village informing the next set of guests when they can come to eat. Today, this tradition is dying. Older people still come, but the middle-aged and young adults are not at the Names Day table as often. One resident, sitting at an overflowing table of Names Day food, lamented that "people just don't seem to come to Names Day. Today just the kids go."

Another important community social activity that is diminishing in its broadness of participation is the evening banya's. Evening television and regular nightly gymnasium activities appear to have affected the size and social class present in the banya. Nightly gymnasium activities are mostly confined to high school students, young adults, and middle-aged adults. The older residents and elders do not actively participate in the evening gymnasium events. Favorite television shows also appear to be keeping the young adults away from regular banyas. The banyas, although they are actually taken just as frequently, appear to be attended by smaller groups and are less socially stratified. Electricity, beyond the presence of an electric light bulb (and much to the consternation of the elders), has invaded the banya. There are now

two electric, jet oil-fired banyas. The elders frown on this electrical and oil innovation and usually refuse to steam in these new electric, oil-fired banyas. They complain that the oil heat is not as hot as the traditional wood banya and that the heat is different and is just "no good."

The school's bilingual program, which was originally taught by a volunteer when it began in 1973, has also collapsed. The volunteer who had originally taught the bilingual program had his position funded and the program was carried on for a number of years. The village expressed great enthusiasm for bilingual education and were most pleased when the volunteer bilingual program became a regularly funded part of the school curriculum. The principal teacher in 1974 felt that the bilingual program made a difference and that the children "are becoming very proud of their heritage and of their identity." The villagers also shared the principal teacher's support and interest in bilingual education as is expressed in the following 1974 village comments:

I am really interested in that. I think it will do the children some good.

Very good and am proud my children will be able to speak their language someday.

I like that. We never had a thing like that. I think it is real good.

Our language shouldn't be forgotten. Children should know. It's something to be proud of.

That's one thing I was so glad to hear. I have been trying hard to tell the children how much fun it is to know several languages.

I think it is something very good. They should learn it, so it won't die away.

This should have been done long ago.

The bilingual, volunteer teacher who later took the funded bilingual position said that "the kids like it. They learn." He also said that he had not heard of anybody in the village who did not like the idea of teaching the language.

Today the program no longer exists. The original bilingual teacher died; and although there are others who are fluent in the language, the bilingual position has not been filled. One resident placed blame for the absence of bilingual education on the advisory school board, saying that "the school board is at fault for the lack of any bilingual program." The principal said the program ceased because they "couldn't find a teacher for it--forgotten." One resident, in reminiscing on the bilingual program, said:

Bilingual education is good. Great shame for our young not to speak our tongue. Young people's tongues are twisted. Young people can't speak our tongue anymore. Their tongues are twisted.

Other villagers, responding to the question of what happened to the bilingual program, said

No interest in it so it's not done.

Don't know what happened. It's important. School board didn't do anything.

Don't know what happened. It was real good before.

In the mid-1970s, there were many volunteer aides teaching in the school. Carpentry, plant identification, hunting, survival, food preparation, and weather reading were some of the many subjects taught by village volunteers. Today there is only one community member working in the school as an aide. She is a paid para-professional who has been working in the school for approximately seven years. She has always been highly regarded by the various teachers throughout the years. Aside from the para-professional, there are a cook and custodian employed by the school. These positions have changed hands among the residents. The principal remarked that "the people talk of the past years when there was a bilingual program and many volunteers in the school . . . fondly remembered by the adults." In reference to when there were many village volunteers in the school, one resident asked, "How come it stop? Villagers live off the ground and boys and girls gotta be taught? Some girls better trappers than husbands." Another villager, commenting on past community volunteer teaching of cooking and survival skills, said "These were good things, but we don't have them now."

The largest new building in Nuna, and one of the most important for the residents, is the gymnasium. The one-half-size gym is proudly referred to in terms often used in the past to allude to the church. Expressions like "have you seen our new gym"? and "come over to the gym" are frequently heard. The gym is in continuous use in the evenings. As one resident describes it, "always in use. We have teams that always

travel. The gym is the best thing that ever happened. Adults go up and use the gym also." Other villagers refer to the gym as "...the most important thing there is. The exercise is good for the young kids." "The gym is real good, always busy." "We have gym, that's really good, gives kids lots to do." The chief's remark that "you have to fight us to take that gym away" summarizes the villagers' attitude toward the facility.

There is some discontentment with the gym. One wife, who complained that her husband spent almost every evening at the gym, had to insist that he not go up on an evening of a minus tide. She wanted her husband to help her harvest low-water delicacies. The gym is also a point of contention with the principal who enjoys the use of the gym and attends regularly in the evenings to engage in basketball and volleyball games. However, he feels that "people avoid responsibility for the gym." He feels that village adults frequently avoid taking part in the monitoring of gym use. The facility is used seven nights a week and the principal feels that having the responsibility on his shoulders every evening is unjust.

A gym exists in Nuna because of the settlement of the Tobeluk v. Lind suit. The construction of secondary education facilities was a way the state could demonstrate compliance, so the settlement resulted in a gym in Nuna--as well as a new social class. There are approximately ten high school-age students in Nuna. In the past the state had removed

these youth for high school education elsewhere. The results of that program, as already cited, were dismal. Nuna has only two high school graduates from all the years of the boarding home program. One of these recent graduates is the current advisory school board chairman. Almost all of Nuna's high school-age students have dropped out of the past boarding school programs, and the village has no planned social activities for these new village high school students. One dance was held during the year and the principal said "no one came." The school board chairman says "dances aren't given." However, the high school-age youth spend extensive time in the gym, in the evenings, engaging in unorganized games. This social class babysits, cooks, hunts, and engages in normal village activities. Since consumption of alcoholic beverages appears to be increasing among the adults as a "normal village activity," I suspect that this phenomenon is also occurring among the high school youth. Although the high school operates in the elementary school in a separate room from the other students, the high school students generally seem pleased with going to high school in their own community. Most of the community's remarks regarding the high school revolve around the gym, athletics, and the potential for students to complete high school. There appears to be little vocalized interest in the academic content of the high school curriculum.

The community's attitude toward a local high school has changed throughout the last decade. In 1970 Nuna's residents were evenly

divided between those desiring a local high school, those who wanted to send their children off to high school, and those who expressed no opinion. In 1974 there was a slight decrease in those desiring to send their children outside of the area to attend high school. There was also a large decrease in those expressing no opinion and a large increase in those who wanted a local high school. In 1974 about two-thirds of the village population favored a local high school. In 1980, with the recent establishment of a local high school, it appears that almost the entire community strongly favors a local high school. The following remarks illustrate the community's position on the high school and the educational aspirations they hold for their children.

The local high school is the greatest thing here--less drop-outs now. They always used to drop out when they went to Kodiak. Too far away, too homesick. Kids are staying in school much longer. Soon everyone will graduate from high school.

With our new high school more kids will finish. It makes sense. This way they don't drop out.

A lot of kids stay now.

Kids will stay in school now, kids are different today. The high school is just what we need.

Our kids don't drop out now. Most of them did before.

Sending kids to city schools is not good. City living is not good. You can't see the stars. If you can't see the stars you don't know where you are or who you are.

High school makes a lot of difference. No more phone or letters every few minutes to come home.

The mallards over here. The seal over there. The caribou

over here. The humpy (salmon) here. The reds (salmon) there. It is just like with people. They go with their own kind. That's why high school is good. People like it, and kids like it. They're (students) going to finish now.

Another new structural addition to Nuna is the community center. The center is located near the beach where the store, hotel, and power house are found. This approximately 10 x 20 m building contains a small post office, the village phone, and the electronic equipment for both the phone and the television. The center is sparsely furnished with a few tables, an unused shuffleboard and a pool table that was damaged beyond repair in off-loading. This is a new center of activity for the village. Many residents amble through here during the day either to mail letters or make a phone call. Occasionally there will be two or three males sitting around talking or playing cards in the community center. The dialogue ranges from hunting and weather to world affairs and sports. There appears to be a considerable exchange of informal information as residents leisurely walk in and out of the building. The phone is manned by an operator who charges residents for their calls. The phone rings frequently on some days. An incoming call every ten to twenty minutes is not unusual. The incoming and outgoing calls deal primarily with village business, spare parts for the power plant, corporation business, and so forth. Residents typically say positive things, such as the following, about the telephone service.

Telephone save us lots of work, easier than radio, really improve the village, talk to representatives and doctors.

Telephone is best thing that has happened. Can call doctors for an emergency. Doesn't make us so isolated--that's important.

Big help for whole village. Make calls to Seattle for business.

The corporation (regional) is here every day by phone.

The church still appears to be a strong community institution. However, the church building itself is in need of roof repairs and painting--a condition never observed in prior years. Services are held twice on Sundays and all religious holidays are observed. Almost all the residents attend church on a somewhat regular basis. When the priest is traveling a lay reader fills in. The priest, who is a highly respected resident of the village and a past village political leader before ordainment, still travels; although to a limited degree, to surrounding villages. Since the priest fishes during the summer, there are no services then, but the community is fairly empty at that time because the men and boys also are busy fishing.

Nuna's advisory-school board was created by the state legislature in 1966. As previously noted, 50% of these rural boards were non-functional. Nuna's board has always been functional and highly active. The board's membership over the last decade has been somewhat stable and composed of respected community leaders. There have been frequent board meetings, and occasional community meetings, with almost 100% attendance. A 1974 teacher's remarks with regard to a village-controlled, volunteer

teaching program reflects this community involvement. "They (the villagers) responded almost 100% to this program in showing up to do their share and their bit." The board had generally been held in high regard by the village throughout most of the decade. There have only been three chairmen in the past ten years. One past chairman from the mid-1970s period, reflecting on the board's role in the community in 1974, said, "I think the school board's been doing a pretty good job-- since I was on it anyway. I am not saying that I did all of the work, I am just saying that the school board even before me did a good job. They did a real good job." The strength and accomplishments of Nuna's advisory school board were recognized by other surrounding villages. This is apparent by the election of Nuna's advisory school board chairman to the newly created regional board in 1976. This would not have been possible without the voting support of surrounding villages.

Today Nuna's advisory school board comprises different individuals. The twenty-three-year-old advisory school board chairman is the youngest member or chairman in Nuna's history. He is also one of the first successful boarding high school graduates. The villagers generally speak very well of the young chairman and appear to have high expectations for his future leadership capabilities. He has been appointed to a number of important village positions which has required that he travel frequently for various meetings. He takes his new and multiple responsibilities very seriously and feels somewhat frustrated in his

advisory school board responsibilities because meetings are usually not attended when he calls them. When one resident was asked why Nuna had such a young advisory school board chairman the response was "the young know so much today; that's why they're on the school board." Another resident felt some concern over the board by saying "that you need an older person on the board to balance it." The past advisory school board chairman, who is in his early thirties, indicated that there was one member on the board who was as old as he was.

Nuna, for the first time, has no representative on the regional school board. The current advisory school board chairman feels that this has an adverse effect on the village's influence in education. The chairman stated that "the regional school board representative isn't listening to us." The past advisory school board chairman said "I don't think not having a representative on the regional board makes any difference. They (regional board) don't have many villages to serve so they can respond pretty quick. They respond very quick. They respond when we (advisory board) send a letter." The following village remarks are illustrative of the village's attitude toward the regional school board concept.

The regional board is better (than the past situation). Most people like it this way.

Much more local control now than before. Look at what we have. Gym, lots of sports; good for kids.

We don't seem to have as many problems with the school as we used to.

The board is fine the way it is. Better now. Couldn't get rid of bad teachers in the past, now it's different. We have a voice. Still lots of room for improvement. Kids are staying in school much longer. Soon everyone will graduate from high school.

Despite the many words of praise directed at the current form of educational governance and technology available in Nuna there are undercurrents of concern expressed over the alterations. A remark by the chief, referring to the period when the Bureau of Indian Affairs operated the Nuna School, is typical:

The old Bureau of Indian Affairs School was much better than what goes on now. Kids took care of the school. Boys went hunting and the girls cooked what we got. The learning was useful. It was much closer to living. I built this house with the skills I learned there.

Another resident expressed similar misgivings about the school:

School doesn't teach what is most useful--how to live. Oh, school is good--real good and important but we need to know more than book learning. Book learning is very important--must have it. These kids can't pack anything. Their machine breaks down and they're finished.

A villager, responding to what he thought of the school and the changes in Nuna in the last ten years, said:

I am a hunter, that's all I know. Hunt many days. Pack meat every day. Enough for all winter. Packing is hard life. Have to walk miles and miles for toondo (caribou). We didn't have back boards or sleeping bags, just little blanket and toondo skin. We can't live off the store--it costs too much. We waste nothing of the toondo. We hardly waste anything. We can't if we want to live. When we catch Itxhat (bear) we don't freeze them. We cure it and salt them. Toontwak (moose), Ezooweexh (seal), Ahngoon (sea lion) put in salt barrels. Toontwak (moose) bones real good. The young don't

know nothing. Some of these boys don't even know how to cut an animal. The most important thing you have to know is how to survive. There are no jobs here. You can't buy off the store. Gun and skiff and good kickers most important. These give us life. Think school takes more than it gives.

Echoing the same concern another villager said "...children aren't learning useful things. They don't know how to survive. If you're going to live in this country you must know that."

Although there is much praise for the new regional board (REAA), there are some criticisms as well. The criticisms revolve around the lack of administrative visits to Nuna. Such remarks as "they (school administration) don't come out here very often," "they spend too much money," "they wouldn't even pick up our mail when they (school plane) came out." The local principal shares some of the villagers concerns over the frequency of administrative visits. During the 1979-80 school year the central office sent representatives to Nuna only a few times. Although they are not certain, the villagers suspect other communities receive more personal contact from the central office. Due to Nuna's remoteness, this may be an accurate perception.

Changes in education are merely one color in the tapestry of events that have been woven in Nuna over the last decade. One village resident reflects on the changes that have affected the very structure of the village as it meets western culture.

The village used to be like a big family. Everyone helped you when you needed help. Today it is different. People don't help each other as much. Too much money now.

A village elder expressed his concern over the dissolution of the traditional village political structure. This was a system in which there were two chiefs and a beach master. "First chief just like president. Second chief walks around. The first chief stay home." The political structure was one in which the second chief carried out the instructions of the first chief. The second chief had direct daily contact with the people. The first chief would only become involved when a serious problem would arise. The beach master was responsible for all activities on the beach. He checked the beach, watched for changes in weather and sea conditions. It was his responsibility to inform others when there were changes that necessitated the pulling up of village boats.

There is no chief today. In the past, chief control and help everyone. People always ask chief before they go. No one ask any more. Do anything. Nobody ask now. In the past all people listen. Just like animals today. No one learns today. Everything upside down today. That not done in the past. Today the people are animals.

The village council president, who is called chief by some of the elders, is greatly concerned by the changes that are occurring. He appears determined to assist his people through these times of change. In reflecting on what is happening he said, "Things are changing rapidly here. Western culture has come in. People have learned about their rights. This is destroying the village. People are losing respect for village life styles."

CHAPTER V

Analysis and Conclusions

This study is intended to examine the generalizability of some commonly held propositions about the processes of community participation in educational governance. The propositions to be examined in this chapter grew out of a review of the literature related to community participation in educational governance in general and Alaskan native participation in particular. These propositions will be analyzed in the context of Nuna, a remote Alutiiq Eskimo village, so that their generalizability to an extreme setting can be ascertained. The propositions have been organized around three general areas which were derived from the literature and this researcher's personal experience. The three general areas of organization are: patterns of community influence in educational governance, socio-cultural factors that influence educational participation, and the costs and benefits of community participation in educational governance.

The first five propositions address patterns of community influence. They are concerned with: (1) how members of a community informally influence the operation of a school, (2) how participation is markedly different in native communities from that in white, middle class communities, (3) how informal channels of educational participation are more likely to take precedence over formal channels in smaller than in

larger communities, (4) the general ineffectiveness of advisory school boards, and (5) the extent to which participation in educational governance is influenced by a natural community setting.

The next three propositions attend to socio-cultural factors that influence educational participation. These propositions concern (1) the effect of community involvement in the school on social congruency between the school and the community, (2) the inadequacy of conventional school-based participant structures in non-middle class communities, and (3) the influence of economic changes in the larger society on educational participation at the local level.

The final four propositions attend to the cost and benefits of community participation in educational governance. They are: (1) the effect of the political decentralization of a school system on local participation in educational decision making, (2) the effect of a native school board on the power of school authorities, (3) the cost in time and energy to board members, and (4) how participation in educational governance affects the political system and the democratic process.

The examination of these propositions in the Eskimo village of Nuna, during a decade of rapid change involving a transitional cultural milieu, is a problem-ridden task. In order to adequately examine these propositions, the case material presented in Chapter IV attempts to describe an intricate reality of personal, cultural and social factors in a manner that reflects the world of a remote Eskimo village. The capabilities of the educational system are inadequately prepared to

include the cultural and environmental variables endemic to this village. The latter present unique problems for the governance of the education system. This study provides an opportunity to test, in an extreme setting, some general principles concerning community participation in education governance. The propositions are examined in relation to the Nuna context described in Chapter IV to determine whether they are confirmed or refuted, or need further research.

1. Members of a community unintentionally influence the operation of a school through various informal associations

The work of Litwak et al. (1970) and Litwak and Meyer (1974) indicates the existence of "non-deliberate linking mechanisms" that form unintentional channels of influence between the school and community. These linkages are described as two-way flows with both the school and the community using the same channels. The literature identifies eight linking forms, all of which may or may not appear in any one situation. The proposition that members of a community unintentionally influence the operation of a school through various informal associations is supported in the Nuna context.

There exist in Nuna four informal identifiable, coalescing associations which do not derive overtly from either community-or school administration-prescribed efforts. These are: community-oriented

teachers, school-community proximity, opinion leader actions, and the presence of indigenous school employees. The identification and examination of these four factors provides a broader perspective as to the means by which the village of Nuna and the school authorities influence each other and confirms the literature concerning community influence.

Community-oriented teachers. Village teachers in Nuna are transitory. They generally teach in the village only one or two school years, although some have left before one school term was complete. The remoteness of Nuna and the unreliability of transportation limits teacher travel during the school year, and they typically leave the village immediately after school has closed for the summer. Teachers are temporary residents in the village and are the only people in the village who have university degrees. They often identify themselves to other educators as being from the village and frequently refer to the village as "my village."

The teacher in the role of temporary village professional tends to develop emotional bonds with the village. This can occur through face-to-face interaction, the status of "expert," and the villagers' personal liking for the teacher. In this role, the teacher has an excellent potential for harmonizing norms of the village and the school. He or she may assist in creating an atmosphere conducive to the development of channels of village participation in education. To assume a contrary role also may stimulate village interest, but of a less productive

nature. The 1970-71 teacher, nicknamed "codfish" by the villagers, exemplifies one extreme of the temporary village professional role in Nuna. The "codfish" teacher had minimum involvement in Nuna's informal participant forums such as banyas, visiting, and traditional celebrations. During this period, the school and the village became increasingly isolated from one another until, inevitably, local formal school-community participation forums virtually ceased.

The 1973-75 Nuna teacher, who demonstrated native-oriented interactional style and cultural empathy, best exemplifies the other extreme of the adaptive village teacher's role in the village's recent history. The numerous teacher-parent contacts, the openness of the teacher's home, and the teacher's own ethnic identity assisted in the growth of local avenues of participation. The school and the community differences were reconciled during this teacher's tenure in the village. This teacher engaged significantly in the informal participant structures in the village such as banyas, visiting, subsistence activities and traditional celebrations. It was during this period that the village became active in culturally oriented curriculum design and implementation.

Village teacher attention to formal participant structures such as the advisory school board does not appear to be as important to success in the village as is teacher involvement in informal participant structures. Teachers who engage in banyas, subsistence activities, visiting and traditional holidays are generally viewed as "good" educators.

These teachers also tend to exhibit more cultural empathy in the classroom and stay in Nuna longer. Those teachers who refrain from involvement in the village's informal participant forums tend to have shorter tenures in the village.

The "codfish" teacher held regular and formal advisory school board meetings; however, he did not generally become involved in informal participant structures. The "boat" teacher, despite what the villagers' view as general ineptitude in most things, was accepted by the village as an "all right teacher." He held few advisory board meetings, although they were irregular and informal. The 1973-75 teacher made the most extensive use of informal participant structures and is remembered as one of the best teachers in Nuna's history.

School-community proximity. Another unintentional influence that is uniting the school and the community is the physical proximity deriving from the presence of a new gymnasium and the physical presence of teachers within the village proper. Because the teachers now live and work in the community, they have greater informal contact with the villagers.

In the past, the structure and location of the school and teacherage in Nuna created unnecessary obstacles that hindered the teacher from becoming part of the community. The site of the school located on sacred ground in violation of the village's religious beliefs created a spiritual barrier to community participation. In Nuna, as in many other

villages, the school and teacherage were built away from the main community. It was, in effect, a self-contained unit with its own separate source of electrical power and water. The furnishing and architectural style were culturally incongruent with most of the village's structures. The educational facilities in Nuna would fit unnoticed into any middle class urban neighborhood: Those facilities physically and symbolically stand on the fringe of the village.

The only trained professionals in Nuna are the teachers. In the past, Nuna's one or two teachers lived in the teacherage. The high school has now brought three new teachers to the village. This has forced teachers to seek housing within the village. It is the first occasion that non-natives have resided for any period of time within the village itself and, as a result, this is the first time in the history of education in Nuna that there has been an opportunity for daily village contact with professionals outside of the school compound.

Indigenous school employees. Residents of the village who are employed by the school are another example of informal influences. The tenure of the 1973-75 teacher was a period of great expansion in this regard. During this period there were numerous community volunteers teaching in the school, and the Alutiiq language was included in a curriculum that reflected Alutiiq cultural values. The teacher, who had frequent informal contacts with all community volunteers, felt that the presence of volunteer aides had significantly increased the communica-

tion between herself and the village. The village residents fondly remember this period as an occasion during which the school and the community were drawn together.

Currently the Nuna school employs a cook, a custodian, and one paraprofessional aide. The cook and custodian positions have changed hands among the residents over the years, and the paraprofessional has been working in the school for approximately seven years. It is difficult to determine what long-term influence these indigenous school employees have had on the school administration. However, their very presence does provide a conduit of information between school and community. The use of these channels to coalesce the school and community has varied according to the political sensitivity of Nuna's school teachers.

Opinion leaders. The actions of opinion leaders in Nuna are another identifiable factor which unintentionally influences the operation of the school. Nuna's village leaders, primarily the chief, have on occasion exerted influence on local school policy. This is best exemplified during the "codfish" teacher incident and when the chief wrote a letter of protest to the State Attorney General and personally complained to the State Superintendent of Schools. The manner by which this opinion leader utilized this form of influence is described in greater detail in the discussion of the next proposition.

Although the size and the culture of the community are different,

the literature's indication that there exist unintentional community influences on the operation of the school through indirect associations is supported in observations in Nuna. The identification of four informal unintentional community influences, community-oriented village teachers, school-community proximity, indigenous school employees, and actions of opinion leaders confirms this general proposition of community participation in remote Eskimo village settings.

2. Participation in educational governance occurs in markedly different ways in traditional native communities than in white-middle-class Communities

Philips' (1972) description of Warm Springs Indian communicative and political participation structures indicates that participation in community affairs may occur in markedly different ways in Indian communities than in non-Indian communities. Sanchez's (1948) work among the Navajos, and Weinman's (1972) among the Pueblo indicate that traditional participant structures of Indian communities differ from middle class models and vary from one native community to another.

The proposition that participation in educational governance occurs in markedly different ways in traditional native communities than in white middle class communities is confirmed in the Nuna context.

In Aristotle's Politics (1962), man is described as a social animal

who, by his very nature, is a participant in the political and public existence of the community. How man manifests these political involvements varies from community to community. In many Eskimo communities it is not uncommon for an influential leader to hold no visible political position with the village; the lack of visibility of some native leaders simply may be a lingering remnant of traditional Eskimo political structures. One such structure, as described by a Nuna elder, entailed a political organization with a first and second chief as well as a beachmaster. Within this traditional Nuna Eskimo organization, the first chief might very well be imperceptible to temporary village residents. Given language, cultural differences and styles, and forums of participation, it is often difficult for the "outsider" to determine who the opinion leaders are and how they participate in educational governance. Within Nuna there tends to be a focus of agreement that certain individuals share; however, the locus can shift for reasons that a non-initiate of the cultural scene has difficulty understanding. It is also perplexing the way village leaders maintain influence and control in regards to formal education. Control tends to be exercised in a very non-directive fashion. For example, a leader, instead of directly asking someone to perform a task, might casually address a group saying "maybe someone should do that." Leadership is also tested by threats to abandon the village. On two occasions over the last ten years, in Nuna and in two other villages in Nuna's region, this has occurred. The village leader

would become disenchanted with some action that took place within the village. Over a few days the extent of the leader's discontent would disseminate throughout the village. This feeling of shame would usually be precipitated by individual acts of violence associated with drunkenness. Given the close-knit structure of most villages, the behavior of individual members of the village is viewed as a reflection on the entire village. Members of the village would informally and indirectly hint about how much the leader has done for the village and how much he is needed by the village. The indirect praise of the leader could be interpreted as the reaffirming of the leader's control by a renewed commitment to the leader.

The chief in Nuna has been a fairly consistent representative of local views and has been much more direct in dealing with school authorities than are surrounding village leaders. The recognition that he represents a consensus view extends beyond the immediate village. This fact is supported by his election to numerous regional corporate responsibilities. Nuna's chief, who is the village corporation president, is a recognized regional spokesman on many issues beyond education. Opinion leaders other than the chief exist in Nuna; however, because they operate on different levels and in less discernible manners, they are rarely obvious to the temporary professional.

It is apparent that observations of community participation in educational governance supports the proposition that educational parti-

cipation is markedly different in native communities. Further details relating to the size of Nuna and its participant structures as compared to white, middle class communities are provided in the discussion of the following propositions:

3. Informal channels of educational participation are more likely to take precedence over formal channels in small communities than in larger ones

Kimbrough (1969) suggests that educators generally fail to recognize the tremendous influence exercised by informal groups in educational issues. He indicates that there is much more additional activity that goes on than that which is readily observable at school board meetings. Goodwin (1978), in the Alaskan native school board context, and Philips (1972), in the Warm Springs Reservation context, both suggest that what is observable at native meetings does not accurately portary the participants' involvement. A major comparative survey of the manner in which school boards govern, by Zeigler and Jennings (1974), also supports the significance of informal channels of community participation over formal channels. Zeigler and Jennings further state that smaller, less urban communities make greater use of informal networks to communicate political information than urban communities.

The proposition that informal channels of educational participation

are more likely to take precedence over formal channels in smaller communities than in larger ones is supported in the Nuna context. Although Nuna was not compared to larger communities it is clear that informal channels of educational participation were significant in the context of this study. It is apparent that Nuna defines its own forms of participation in education despite the formal channels established by school authorities. These forms of participation in Nuna are more subtle than those established through formal processes. Furthermore, it is apparent that Nuna's residents make greater use of informal participation forums.

Nuna's close-knit social structure, extended family relationships, and hunter-gatherer activities facilitates the use of informal, culturally defined participation channels in educational governance. It is difficult for a non-initiate of the cultural scene to identify these informal channels of participation in educational governance. It is apparent that there is little discussion at formal Nuna Advisory School Board Meetings. However, discussion of issues during banyas and visiting appears to be extensive. The advisory school board community meeting during the "codfish" teacher incident provides a clear example of informal channels of educational participation overriding formal channels. At that meeting parliamentary procedures were not followed nor were minutes taken. Comments were made at random without any formal visible directing of the meeting. Individuals participated, but they defined

their own form of participation which was beyond the procedural and time constraints of the formal meeting. A decision was reached, but the decision was not achieved at the meeting. The decision evolved from discussions over kitchen tables and in the banyas. A general consensus on an important community issue emerged from informal channels of educational participation in Nunã.

The observations of educational participation in Nuna confirm the literature which suggests that in small communities informal channels take precedence over formal channels of educational participation. Further research is needed to clarify the similarities and differences between informal channels of educational participation in small middle-class white communities and remote native communities. However, it can be stated that in smaller communities informal channels of educational participation appear highly significant.

4. Advisory boards are generally ineffective mechanisms for influencing school policy and practice

Yates (1973), in describing alternative forms of educational participation, describes advisory boards as groups which are narrowly limited and wield no real power or control. The advisory board form of educational participation is often looked upon by school authorities as a way of diffusing community and parental problems. Robinson (1978) questions the effectiveness of advisory board participation. He feels that this

form of participation fails to diffuse or confine community and school conflicts. Robinson contends that the failure of these advisory board mechanisms leads community and school conflicts to spread to a wider public forum. Getches (1977) makes similar observations of advisory boards in rural Alaska. Getches indicates that the advisory board form does not adequately bring the disenfranchised into the educational participation process.

The proposition that advisory boards are generally ineffective mechanisms for influencing school policy and practice is supported in the Nuna context. The inability of advisory boards to diffuse conflicts is also supported in the Nuna context. It does appear, however, that in times of crisis Nuna's Advisory School Board did achieve a degree of control over school policy and practice.

Until the creation of REAAs in 1976, Nuna's Advisory School Board was without any formal channels for altering school policy and practices. Prior to 1976 there were not even any mechanisms for advisory boards to forward grievances to the state board of education. The role of Nuna's Advisory School Board has generally been confined to such a mundane task as setting the school calendar. However, many of the recent federal programs of the last ten years often have federally mandated local participation components. The federal school lunch program in Nuna is one such program that required local community participation on decisions. However, with few exceptions, Nuna's

Advisory School Board has been an ineffective mechanism for influencing school policy and practice.

Nuna's Advisory School Board's past actions have, on occasion, however, usurped authority not only from the local teacher, but from the superintendent as well. Although Nuna's Advisory Board has no direct legal authority over school personnel and policy, it has taken actions as though it did have that authority. The health clinic power incident and the "codfish" teacher incident are examples of this. Although there were no mechanisms for advisory boards to resolve grievances, Nuna's board created its own channels. The letter to the State Attorney General, the personal visit to the state superintendent of schools in the health clinic incident, and the issuing of an ultimatum for the removal of the "codfish" teacher to the regional superintendent are examples that demonstrate the effectiveness of the board during a crisis. These stressful school-community situations resulted in a broader community involvement, though community leadership remained unchanged.

The functioning of Nuna's Advisory School Board over the past decade supports the proposition that advisory school boards are generally ineffective mechanisms for influencing school policy and practice, except in times of crisis.

5. Natural community settings provide more productive avenues for local input into educational governance than formal school settings

One of the factors that contributed to the early success of the Navajo Rough Rock School was the Navajo community's involvement in the governance of the school. Boderick's (1968) description of the school indicates that many of the forms of community participation were determined by the Navajo participants within the natural setting of the community.

Community participation occurred in settings outside of traditional school participation settings. This provided an opportunity for the tribe's influential members to have input into school governance. There was a large amount of school-parent contact in the parents' homes. The participation of parents on their own turf was facilitated by ethnic identification with the school staff, a majority of whom were Navajos. The use of indigenous employees in direct parental contact in natural community settings beyond traditional participation forums of the formal school setting influenced the degree of local input in governance. The proposition that the setting in which participation in educational governance occurs influences the degree of local input in governance is supported by observations in Nuna.

Goodwin (1978) suggests that in Alaskan native contexts attending only to formal board settings can lead to erroneous perceptions of native participation. Nuna's formal advisory school board meetings generally occur in the principal's home and are characterized as being brief with minimum discussion and input. However, it is apparent that

in other physical settings there is extensive discussion of educational issues. Any examination of Nuna's natural settings for participation in educational governance reveals unique problems. It is clear that Nuna defines its own physical settings in which community participation occurs, despite the formal settings established by the school authorities. Additionally, Nuna is undergoing rapid political and social change. The combination of changes within the cultural scene appear to be altering and diminishing the role of participation forums, such as the "banya" and visiting and hunting parties. The emergence of new, physical settings of public participation in a shifting cultural milieu is difficult to speak to definitively. At best, one can attempt to identify traditional community settings in which educational participation occurs and to speculate about the unfolding of new participation forums.

The "Banya." The banya, or steambath, in Nuna has traditionally played a significant role in the community. The villagers report, however, that until forty years ago the banyas were constructed to contain significantly larger groups of people. There was a greater amount of teaching, learning, and discussion occurring within the banya than there is today. Now, with the advent of smaller banyas, smaller and less socially stratified groups take steam baths together. Western cultural innovations such as gymnasium activities and television viewing have altered and lessened the number of villagers who engage in evening

banyas. Today there are still discussions in the banyas that focus on the village's concerns with formal education. Stories about the teacher who built a "boat" and other less amusing school-related incidents still abound. Current concerns with the village youth and school are frequently discussed. The banya, despite its lessened importance, continues to function as a natural community setting for the emergence of village opinions on educational issues.

Visiting. Other traditional social activities within the village have been altered by the introduction of western culture. Visiting is still one of Nuna's most important informal informational exchange structures. The frequent communal partaking of tea and bread is a major social activity. These visits are a prevalent form of social behavior within the village. When weather conditions or game migration patterns make subsistence activities unproductive, visiting flourishes. These visits are not always occasions for dialogue, but often just opportunities for sitting with friends in silence. At other times, weather, hunting game, or the school and behavior of the new "outside" teacher are discussed. These relaxed, informal visits provided a natural community setting for the exercising of the community's oral tradition and informal participation in the public and political life of the village.

Emerging Physical Settings of Informal Participation. The school's gymnasium and the new community center may be emerging as new community settings of informal participation in the social and public affairs of

the village. The athletic activities and the limited social composition of the gym evenings are not conducive to group dialogue and discussion. A different form of information exchange occurs here. A professional educator is usually present, as are some of the youth and young adults of the village. However, the very nature of gymnasium activities and the architectural design of gyms mitigate against informal public involvement and discussion. Conversely, the new community center is a more conducive physical context for informal participation in educational governance. Although the atmosphere cannot be compared to the lengthy and intimate forum for public participation associated with the traditional banya and visiting, small groups do spontaneously gather and linger over informal discussions in the community center. It is a new hub of activity for the residents and is emerging as a place for the traditional visiting that previously occurred in private homes. It is possible that the chief's proposal to use television to broadcast council meetings and other information will create a new technological context for village participation in public affairs. However, at this time the rapidity of cultural change that Nuna is experiencing makes it difficult to forecast accurately the nature of community settings in which Nuna's residents will participate in educational governance. However, it is clear from Nuna observations that the setting in which participation occurs influences the degree of local input in governance. Further research is needed on the emerging roles of the community center,

the gymnasium and television on the village's input into educational governance.

6. Community involvement with the school increases the social congruency between the school and the community

There is social distance between any community and the school. In subcultures, there are greater incongruencies between the school and the community. The professional status of educators and the bureaucracy in which they function also tends to sustain incongruencies between communities and schools. When definitions of educational success are determined solely through the dominant group's criteria, these may not reflect the standards of those subgroups (Davidson, 1974). Deschler and Erich (1972) and Fuentes (1976) suggest that increased collaboration between the school and the community results in fewer social incongruencies and increases the probability of increased learning. Fein (1971) indicates that when subgroup communities have input into governing an educational system their standards of success tend to reflect the subgroups rather than those of the dominant cultural group. It is apparent from the literature that local participation in educational governance and community involvement with the school can lessen the incongruencies between schools and communities.

In Nuna, the proposition that community participation in education

increases the social congruency between the school and the community is confirmed. The social organization of the school and the community are beginning to fuse. There are other indicators of this merging, aside from legislative events, which provide Nuna with an increasing role in the governance of their local schools. The nightly, informal games held in the gymnasium provide the school's professionals with an opportunity for informal community contact every evening. This form of informal involvement between professional staff and community is a new phenomenon in Nuna and contains within it the potential for decreasing social incongruencies between the residents and the school staff. The presence, of teachers within the village proper is another factor which increases the social congruency between the school and the community, as previously elaborated in proposition one. Community members now have access to school personnel beyond the confines of the school compound. The school facility itself is no longer entirely technologically insulated from the village. The village and the school share the same source of electrical power, and the village is responsible for the school's electricity.

The changes that are occurring in the complex relationship between the school and the village are enabling the school to be recognized as a legitimate institution of the community. The villagers perceive the school, and especially the gymnasium, as an important part of the community. They perceive the school as meeting more of their needs than it has in the past. They state that the village now has more control

over school policy and practices than in earlier times. For the first time the villagers strongly feel that their students will not drop out and that there will be significant numbers of high school graduates.

The institution of education is moving toward legitimacy in the eyes of the village. For the first time in the history of education in Nuna, the school is beginning to be the community's school, and the social incongruencies between Nuna and the school are beginning to diminish.

Despite the increase in social congruency between the school and the community and the general surface satisfaction with the educational system, there is an apparent growing dissatisfaction with the content of the curriculum. This uneasiness is reflected in community reactions to the complex changes that western culture is bringing to Nuna. A frequent criticism directed toward the school is that the institution does not prepare the youth to live in the village. Traditional village subsistence skills such as hunting, fishing, and trapping are found among fewer and fewer youth. It is probable that the successful adaptive nature of this society is being constricted by the decreased emphasis on these survival skills. The school, the major institution that represents western culture in the community, is the most logical focus of frustration for the friction of the societal alterations that are occurring. It is tempting here to predict the future intensification of this underlying dissatisfaction with the school. However, native corporations, television, and radio are continuously dispensing

information that reinforces the necessity for new, adaptive strategies for the native. This, and the presence of native-controlled education, may diffuse some of Nuna's frustration with the school's role in their changing society and add to greater social congruency between the community and the school.

7. Conventional school participant structures do not always take into account participant structures that are present in non-middle class communities

Gittell and Hollander (1968) concluded from an analysis of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Baltimore, and Detroit school districts that school systems are a product of the political culture of the community. Communities define their own forms of educational participation regardless of formal channels established by school systems and regardless of the size of the community. This makes definitive measurement of community participation in educational governance a problem-ridden task. Gittell et al. (1972) observed that in non-middle class communities, specifically urban poor, that community participation works in less observable ways than in middle class communities. This observation is similar to that supported in proposition number two, namely that community participation in educational governance in native communities is markedly different than in white middle class communities. Gittell

and Hollander (1968) further state that conventional criteria used to measure community participation such as meeting attendance or minutes of meetings are of minimum assistance in detecting increased community participation in non-middle class communities. The whole question of educational participation by small, culturally different, non-middle class communities is plagued by the lack of specific models that speak to groups beyond the middle class spectrum. Observations in Nuna confirm the proposition that conventional school participant structures do not always take into account participant structures that are present in non-middle class communities.

Observations in Nuna also illustrate the need for further research attending to participant structures present in small non-middle class communities.

The inaccuracy of western frameworks for analysis of educational participation surfaced in Erickson's (1969) study of the Navajo Rough Rock School. The study concluded that there is limited Navajo community participation and control in education. This was an "outside" perspective of educational participation in that community. When the results of the study are interpreted within the cultural context of Navajo society, it is apparent that the community does actually participate in educational governance (Max, 1970). The inappropriateness of making judgements on Alaska native school boards based on western analytical constructs is also noted by Goodwin (1978). Goodwin notes that native pre-meeting informal discussions result in rapid and unanimous formal

board decisions. According to Goodwin, the outside observer would tend to characterize Alaska native school boards as complacent. This observation is based on sound conventional western cultural judgement just as Erickson's (1969) study of Navajo involvement in education is based on sound western cultural judgement. However, the judgements may be inaccurate because they emanate from culturally defined forms of participation that may or may not reflect the community's forms. The whole question of educational participation by non-middle class communities is plagued by the lack of specific models that speak to groups beyond the middle class spectrum.

The participation typologies of Gittell and Hollander (1968), Yates (1973), Fantini (1972), and Arnstein (1971) would all classify Nuna's Advisory School Board as one which is advisory only because the school administration retains all authority. The typologies do appear to describe the general participant condition of many rural native advisory school boards since their creation in 1965. In fact, 50% of these boards were found to be nonfunctional (Getches, 1977). However, the history of Nuna's Advisory School Board's participation in educational governance defies easy placement within these analytical constructs of participation.

Gittell and Hollander (1968) identify three forms of citizen participation in school policy formulation. These forms also closely parallel Yates' (1973) three typologies of participation. Gittell and

Hollander's forms are labeled "closed," "limited," and "wide." Western analytical constructs would place Nuna's Advisory School Board under the "limited" category of citizen participation. This form defines the severely confined function of an advisory group. However, in Nuna, traditional Eskimo participative structures do not limit participation to the advisory board. The advisory board meeting during the "codfish" teacher incident illustrates the inappropriateness of these analytical constructs. No decisions or courses of action were decided upon at the meeting; parliamentary procedures were not followed at the board meeting; and individuals spoke at random, without time restraints and without any individual playing a directing role. The whole community attended and there was open participation. A community decision was reached, but not within the confines of the formal participant structure of the advisory school board meeting. Although this form of participation somewhat resembles Gittell and Hollander's "wide" form of citizen involvement, this particular incident clearly illustrates the difficulty in applying western analytical constructs to native participation.

Fantini (1972), in an extensive analytical construct of participation, identifies five forms of citizen involvement. Nuna would appear to fit his second form which he labels "advisory." This form permits the functioning of a community council; however, the school administration retains complete authority. In contrast, Nuna's past actions have on crises occasions usurped authority not only from the local teacher,

but from the regional superintendent as well (see proposition number four). The usurpation placed Nuna's Advisory Board within Fantini's fourth category, "community control." This category is identified by a citizen's group having direct authority over school personnel and policy. Nuna's board has acted with that authority in certain instances: The previously cited health clinic power incident and the "codfish" teacher incident are examples.

In those incidents, the village participated in educational governance as though legal authority rested with the advisory school board. The advisory board's subsequent actions place it among the top rungs of Arnstein's (1971) "ladder of citizen participation," even though it would appear on the surface to belong at a lower rung. The rungs are identified by degrees of citizen control of the school. Nuna's Advisory School Board clearly participated in educational governance as though it had full control over personnel and policy, when in fact it did not have legal authority in those areas.

The movement of Nuna's Advisory School Board from the bottom rungs to the top rungs of Arnstein's (1971) "ladder of citizen participation" illustrates an oversight of this conventional school participant structure. The inability to adequately apply any of the conventional models of school participant structures to either the village or Nuna's Advisory School Board highlights the lack of specific models that attend to participation in small, non-middle class communities. It is apparent

that models of school participant structures for non-middle class situations needs further research.

8. Social and economic changes in the larger society will influence the degree of educational participation at the local community level

The political and social upheavals of the 1960's and in particular the Land Claims Settlement Act of 1971 have brought tremendous socio-economic changes to native Alaskan villages. The Act brought the novel concept of landownership to rural Alaskan natives. Traditional land use and subsistence activities from which native culture emerged would now be subject to laws and regulations. Subsistence activities, that is, living from the animals and plants of the land and the fish and mammals of the water, are not only important culturally, but comprise an integral component of the economic structure of village Alaska. The threat to subsistence activities through landownership patterns caused village native leaders to focus their attention on the Land Claims Settlement Act.

The Act resulted in the superimposition of western corporate structure over traditional village organization. Native villagers became stockholders in corporations and found their local village corporations governed not only by Alaska statutes, but by provisions of the federal Act as well. Goodwin (1978) suggests that native corporations exert a

surprising influence in education. This participation in education is assisted by a new legal and management atmosphere at the village level. Nonprofit corporations are engaged in numerous educational activities including the management of Johnson O'Malley and Indian Education Programs. The Act has also focused the attention of natives on many new manpower needs precipitated by the Act. Corporations at the village and regional level are looking apprehensively at educational systems to meet these crucial needs. The very existence of native village culture may depend on the educational systems' responsiveness to the manpower needs precipitated by the Act.

The proposition that social and economic changes in the larger society will influence the degree of educational participation at the local community level is supported in the Nuna context. One of the most prominent socio-economic changes that has impacted Nuna's participation in educational governance is the Land Claims Settlement Act. Prior to the settlement of the land issue the elders of Nuna were frequently sending off their middle-aged males to attend meetings dealing with the land issue. The time and energy demanded by the land issue on Nuna's small population caused changes in the community participation in education. The Advisory School Board Chairman resigned his position for the explicit purpose of devoting more time to the land settlement issue. Village attention in Nuna and other villages was temporarily directed away from educational issues due to the implications of a

native land settlement. The very existence of native culture and relationships to the land and sea were threatened by the pending settlement. After the Act was passed, Nuna's leaders confronted the task of implementing the Act. This required creating a western-style corporate structure in their village. The future of Nuna would be inadvertently linked to the successful creation and operation of a western-style corporation. The complex legalities and the concepts of corporations and landownership needed to be explained to the adults of the village.

The state legislature, the State Department of Education, and the Federal government began making responses to native demands for participation in educational governance as the Act moved toward resolution. Nuna's residents began to look toward the issue of participation in educational governance as the land issue was resolved. Nuna's residents realized that the full implementation of the Act would be carried out by their children. The children of Nuna were the future stockholders and corporate officers of the native corporate world, and the success of native corporations would determine whether native culture would continue to exist. The local school was the first place to begin educating the youth to the corporate complexities of the future native world.

The proposition that social and economic changes in the larger society will influence the degree of educational participation at the local community level is supported in the Nuna context. Social and economic changes are altering the manner by which the people of Nuna participate in social and public affairs. Both the formal and formal

structures of educational participation are undergoing a transformation as political power shifts to the village residents. How this trend and the accompanying impact of western culture will reshape Nuna cannot be clearly predicted. Whether any of the dynamic multi-dimensional forces that the village is experiencing will improve the education of the children is also currently unanswerable.

9. Political decentralization of a school system will increase the degree of local participation in educational decision making

The purpose of political decentralization is to improve educational quality by increasing participation in educational governance through a redistribution of power. Many political decentralization projects are not true political decentralization processes, but merely the transference of power from one organized group to another (Gittel, 1973). New York City's school decentralization is an example of political decentralization which did not result in any measureable increase of control for those minority groups most concerned. However, in Alaska, political decentralization has a different connotation than in New York City. Alaska's school decentralization project was the largest ever undertaken in North America. It resulted in the creation of twenty-one new school districts, Rural Education Attendance Areas (R.E.A.A.s). The creation of the new districts eliminated the centrally controlled state-operated

school system. The governor's appointed nine member state school board was no longer the only representative of rural schools. Each new school district is governed by a regionally elected school board, which has control over most school policy and practices. The creation of regional administrative structures under the control of elected school boards increased regional participation in the school governance process. This represents an actual transference of political power from the state to rural residents, who are primarily native Indian, Eskimos and Aleuts.

The Alaskan decentralization project stands in contrast to New York's where there was little transference of power to those groups most concerned. This was the first time in many areas of Alaska that a village, e.g., Nuna, had an opportunity to venture into any formal participation in the schools. Hecht (1978), in a report on these new school districts after one year, found that regional board members felt they had some degree of meaningful participation in the school system. Superintendents reported that the new districts created an opportunity for participation by local residents.

The proposition that political decentralization of a school system will increase the degree of local participation in educational decision making is not clearly supported in the Nuna context. However, political decentralization did increase regional participation.

The primary formal participation device in Nuna is the advisory school board. Currently Nuna's Advisory School Board is almost non-

functional. This is evidenced by the recent inability of the board to regularly convene. The selection of a relatively young chairman for the first time in Nuna's history may also indicate a lessening of importance in the advisory school board role in the village. Leadership positions have traditionally been filled by older men. The inexperienced leadership coupled with the current inactivity of Nuna's board may imply that the village has little formal control over education. This is a reasonable western cultural assessment. However, within the village context, the prevailing view is that the residents have much more control over the school than before. This apparent contradiction illustrates the limitations inherent to applying middle class analytical constructs to an Eskimo village.

There are two major hypotheses that may explain this phenomenon of advisory board inactivity and the lack of participation at the local level. One is that the disruption caused by western culture and technology has resulted in what the village describes as general apathy. One impact of western culture that the chief identifies is a consciousness of individual rights as opposed to traditional communal responsibility. Nuna is a communal society. Western culture, despite the technological standardization, carries within it the elevation of individual freedom. The village structure, as a cohesive socially and economically interdependent unit, is being transformed by the introduction of technological change, and individuals in Nuna are no longer as dependent upon

others for survival. Furthermore, cooperative hunting ventures and other communal exploitation of resources are undergoing rapid changes.

The political organization of this hunter-gatherer band is adapting to changes in its environment. This adaptation may be having adverse consequences on political structures such as the advisory school board and the village council. Both of these organizations have been experiencing a general atrophy. Traditional village political structures have been undergoing extensive transformation as a result of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. This Act has resulted in an overlay of western corporate structure on traditional tribal organization. The chief and the village in general recognize and are deeply concerned with these accelerating changes in the political structure.

Another hypothesis that may account for the diminished activity of Nuna's Advisory School Board is that in 1976 an elected regional school board (R.E.A.A.) was mandated. The local advisory school board may no longer be viewed as relevant once the regional board began functioning. Whether the decrease in citizen participation in educational governance is the result of cultural changes within Nuna or the creation of an elected regional board is unanswerable. What is clear is that there has been a decrease in local participation at the community level. Regionally, however, the creation of a new school district has increased participation in educational decision making. To judge the proposition therefore, it is necessary to first determine the level at which the

analysis will occur. Based on the Nuna experience the proposition that political decentralization of a school system will increase the degree of local participation in educational decision making is not supported.

10. The presence of a native-controlled school board increases parental power in relationship to the power of school authorities

Gittell (1970) views movements towards community participation in educational governance as competition with school authorities for control over school policies. Gittell feels this is a power struggle between disenfranchised minorities and professionals who control educational policy. Wax's (1970) observation of this power struggle from the Navajo controlled Rough Rock School indicates that the establishment of a native board transforms power relationships. Wax states that the mere presence of a native board has an effect on the power of school authorities. It causes institutions to be more responsive to culturally different children.

The proposition that the mere presence of a native-controlled school board increases parental power in relationship to the power of school authorities is supported in the Nuna context. The creation of a R.E.A.A. regional school board in 1976 created the perception in Nuna that parents had greater control over the local school. This symbolic authority that the regional school board brings to the village has affected the community's view of the local school. Despite the absence

of a representative from Nuna on the regional board, villagers perceive the board as providing them with much more control over the school and fewer problems with the school. The existence of this strong perception of control is evidenced by community members' remarks. The villagers now state that they can remove poor teachers, and feel that the traditional relationship between themselves and educators has changed for the better, and that the regional board is responsive to the villagers' needs. This responsiveness is supported by recent technological innovations such as a radio station and telephone system which greatly facilitate communication between the regional school board and the village. The creation of a village high school and the construction of a gymnasium are also seen by the villagers as significant improvements in their educational system and results of increased parental power. School authorities at the regional and local level now demonstrate a marked increase in concern for local village opinion on educational matters. The Molly Hootch settlement has legally mandated the role of the village as a continuous evaluator of Nuna's high school program. These factors and the general atmosphere of increased native economic and political power through the Land Claims Settlement Act have all assisted in increasing the perceived and real power of native school boards in the eyes of school authorities.

It can be concluded from observations in Nuna that the mere presence of a native-controlled regional school board increased local

parental power in relationship to the power of school authorities. The presence of a native regional school board fulfills the role of a symbolic authority for the residents of Nuna. This observation confirms the findings in the literature that attend to power relationships between native school boards and school authorities.

11. The personal cost in terms of time and energy drain can often outweigh the perceived benefits derived from participation in educational governance

Yates (1973), in his analysis of ten school boards in New York City's decentralization project, revealed the existence of a number of pressures on school board members. Yates indicates that there was continuous mounting pressure on board members to attend to school issues. Board members were often at the apex of community grievances. More than 10% of the board members elected resigned during their first year of duty. Four out of the ten boards surveyed failed to reach a quorum in over half of their board meetings. From the New York decentralization project, Yin and Yates (1975) concluded that the personal costs to board members outweighed the benefits brought by decentralization.

The proposition that the personal cost in terms of time and energy drain to school board members can often outweigh the perceived benefits

derived through participation is not supported in the Nuna context.

Demands on one's personal time and energy are not perceived by Nuna's

Advisory School Board members as outweighing the benefits of participation. Nuna's advisory board has a history of commitment and activity.

Nuna, as compared to three other villages in the region, was the only one in which all the respondents to a 1970 survey felt that education was a top priority for their children. The survey also revealed Nuna as having the highest percentage of respondents who thought there was a

good chance for education in their own village (Grubis, 1971). The

1973-1975 Nuna teacher described the advisory board as enthusiastic and active. The advisory board's membership actively engaged in volunteering their services for implementation of a culturally oriented curriculum.

The advisory board in subsequent years wrote and obtained funding for their own proposals relating to volunteer teaching aides. All of these activities required the energy and personal commitment of advisory board members.

Although Nuna's current advisory school board is inactive, the reasons appear not to be related to personal demands on time and energy.

The board's current inactivity appears to emanate from general village apathy and the creation of a regional school board. One past chairman

of the advisory board did resign due to the time he felt his advisory school board responsibilities required. However, his stated reason for

resigning was to devote more energy to the crucial land claims settle-

ment issue and organizing the village corporate structure. It is clear that the personal cost to Nuna's Advisory School Board members do not outweigh the members' perceived benefits derived through participation. The observations in Nuna clearly do not support the position expressed in the literature pertaining to the personal cost in terms of time and energy to school board members.

12. Formal community participation in educational governance opens the political system and strengthens the democratic process

Gittell (1970) suggests that the critical factor that educational participation brings to the political system is "openness." This openness allows groups to affect the policy and practices of school systems. It permits minority groups to challenge educational systems and alter power relationships. Davies (1976) identifies this process as being central to democracy. Fantini, Gittell and Magat (1970) also support the democratic process that participation in educational governance results in. They feel that any educational improvement that is not founded in local participation is merely technology and will probably be brief and lead to failure.

The proposition that formal community participation in educational governance opens the political system and strengthens the democratic process is refuted in Nuna. The nature of Nuna's participation in

educational governance eludes conventional analysis because community involvement in formal education occurs in a manner highly influenced by traditional Eskimo political participant structures. Nuna defines its own forms of educational participation, and these forms are very significant and informal. Parliamentary procedure and other conventional western democratic processes associated with formal community meetings constrict Nuna's residents' participation in educational governance. Nuna appears to have a form of direct democracy which is weakened when conventional formal western representative democracy is overlaid on the community. Formal western participant forums are not conducive to Nuna's Eskimo participant structures. The subdued, minimal input atmosphere of Nuna's formal Advisory School Board meetings stand in contrast to the forms of direct democracy that occur in native-controlled meetings, banyas and other native gatherings. When Nuna's residents do participate in a formal meeting, their participation violates conventional western democratic structures. 'A "formal" meeting in Nuna in which the entire community participated, i.e., the "codfish" teacher advisory board meeting, was non-directed, ignored parliamentary procedure, was not temporally restrained, and dissolved rather than formally adjourned. Important community educational decisions such as the removal of the "codfish" teacher, a formal complaint to the State Superintendent of Schools, and the development and implementation of a bilingual and culturally relevant curriculum all occurred beyond the confines of

conventional western democratic structure. It can be concluded from observations in Nuna that formal community participation in educational governance does not open the political system and strengthen the democratic process. The inverse appears to be true; namely, that formal western participation forums constrict community participation in educational governance at the local village level.

Summary

In summary, this study of community participation in educational governance within the Alutiiq Eskimo village of Nuna seemed to confirm the following propositions as derived from the review of the literature: members of the village unintentionally do appear to influence the operation of the school through various informal or indirect associations; the form and structure of participation in educational governance in Nuna, a native community, is markedly different from the form and structure of participations in white middle-class communities; informal and traditional channels of participation in Nuna do tend to take precedence over formal channels; Nuna's Advisory School Board is generally ineffective as a formal mechanism for influencing school policy and practice; natural community settings in Nuna provide more productive and conducive avenues for local input into educational governance than do formal school settings; Nuna community members involvement with the school increases opportunities for social congruency between the school and the

village; conventional school participant structures do not tend to accommodate the traditional participant structures that are indigenous to Nuna; social and economic changes in the larger society have influenced the degree of educational participation in Nuna; and the presence of a decentralized native-controlled school board has increased Nuna's parental power in relationship to the power of school district authorities.

The following propositions were not supported by the research: political decentralization of the Alaska State-Operated School system did not increase the already high degree of local participation in educational decision making at the village level, although it was increased at the district level; the personal costs to Nuna's advisory board members, in terms of time and energy, did not outweigh the perceived benefits from participation in educational governance; and the communities formal participation in educational governance did not appear to increase their broader political participation or strengthen the democratic process in Nuna.

The following five propositions, the first four of which appear to be confirmed and the last refuted within the Nuna context, indicate a need for further research. (1) Conventional school participant structures do not always take into account participant structures that are indigenous to non-middle class communities. There is a need for the development of specific models of participation that attend to groups outside of the middle class spectrum. (2) Informal channels of educational

participation are more likely to take precedence over formal channels in smaller communities than in larger ones. Further research is needed to clarify the similarities and differences between informal channels of educational participation in small, middle class, white communities and remote native communities. (3) Natural community settings provide more productive avenues for local input into educational governance than formal school settings, though school settings may take on characteristics similar to community settings. (4) Social and technological changes in the larger society will influence the degree of educational participation at the local community level. The transformation of both the formal and informal structures of educational participation have been affected by the Land Claims Settlement Act and the decentralization of the state school system. The implications of both these legislative acts need further analysis at the level of intended impact. (5) Political decentralization of a school system will increase the degree of local participation in educational decision making. Although the political decentralization of the school system did increase participation at the regional or district level, it decreased participation at the local community level.

The foregoing analysis examined twelve general propositions concerning community participation in educational governance that were derived from pertinent literature and the history of Alaskan education. The majority of these propositions were significantly confirmed in the

extreme setting of a remote Alutiiq Eskimo village. Because native participation in educational governance, is especially crucial in rural Alaska where there is an obvious need for an educational system that reflects the values and unique needs of the Alaskan native, it is hoped that examination of these propositions will serve as a guide for future advancement of native participation in educational governance.

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APPENDIXPersonal History

Gunnar Myrdahl (1970) states that "research is always and by logical necessity based on moral and political valuations, and the researcher should be obliged to account for them explicitly" (p. 74). Use of the participant-observer method of gathering data makes the researcher's knowledge especially crucial. Hortense Powdermaker (1966) comments that in field studies "focused on the participant-observation method a description of the fieldworker is in order since his personality is part of the research being studied" (p. 19). This section, in first person narrative, is such a description and should assist the reader in determining whether this study describes the actual events or is merely a reflection of this researcher's biases.

I am the eldest of two children. My life began in an Irish Catholic neighborhood in South Boston where I was baptized in both a Catholic and a Unitarian Church. My mother, who was well read, encouraged an open attitude toward doctrine and most members of the human community. My father was a machinist and an inventor whose numerous ventures resulted in an economically unstable household, but one that was generally happy.

My family moved to a mixed ethnic urban neighborhood outside of Boston during my intermediate school years. My family stressed the

importance of education; consequently, I did rather well in elementary school, but, conversely, my interest in formal education diminished during my adolescence. My major interests at this time were reading, underwater diving, lobstering, the local gang (Bray-Way Boys), and exploring the mountains and forests of New England. My involvement with the gang became an important part of my life. The members were primarily Irish and Italian from lower social economic backgrounds. By the time I was in my senior year, I was supporting myself through a small underwater salvage company that I founded. At this time also, I recognized the need for continuing my formal education. I subsequently submitted applications to University of Hawaii and U.C.L.A. to study marine biology. However, my poor high school grades prevented these institutions from admitting such an undistinguished candidate.

After working for 6 months I enrolled in prep school. A successful term there led to acceptance at Bridgewater State College. I majored in U.S. history and did well academically. By the time I was in my junior year I had become a campus activist. At first my activities revolved around organizing and providing tutorial services in black ghettos. A fellow student and I founded and edited an off-campus magazine which was anti-Viet Nam and provided draft resistance and civil rights information. The magazine also called into question the role of universities in a changing society. During the mid-1960s I organized and coordinated political activities with the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

and Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNICC). My political activism and the magazine became a constitutional issue with the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Fortunately, the American Civil Liberties Union interviewed and represented my constitutional rights and that of the press. I view my political activism in the issues of the 1960s as a logical extension and actualization of my academic interest in U.S. history. These were turbulent times from which I began to appreciate the principles manifest in the U.S. Constitution.

After graduation I obtained a teaching position on the Turtle Mountain Indian Agency in North Dakota. The reservation was a mixture of Chippewa and Cree Indians, but the teachers lived in a government compound with limited community contact. Relations with those living on the reservation were discouraged and there was open and often violent hostility between the school system and the community. The classroom did not reflect the world the children lived in. The circumstances were very similar to my black ghetto experiences and I submitted my resignation in the spring.

I next received a contract from the Alaska State-Operated School System to teach on Akutan Island in the Aleutians. Akutan was a remote village of 80 Aleuts whose children attended a one-room school house. A seaplane would bring the mail once a month and a freighter would anchor off the village every 3 or 4 months. It was here that I first experienced "culture shock." The people of Akutan were a hunting-gathering

group who were also involved in the growing king crab fishing industry. The climate, topography, and food were different from those I had previously experienced. However, I was able to adapt to these differences. My personal confusion revolved around the underlying assumptions of this society. I did not have any understandings of their shared frames of reference. The patterns of everyday social life were disorienting and confusing for me. Fortunately I had arrived in the village without food or supplies. This placed me in a position of dependence upon the village. A master hunter became my cultural guide. I became his "Aacha" which is an Aleut term referring to a relationship between males similar to that of a blood brother. The relationship provided me with subsistence and access to a highly skilled informant.

My educational preparation was totally inadequate for the realities of the classroom in Akutan. Slowly I developed different teaching strategies and classroom materials. After 2 years in Akutan I decided to further my education to be better able to teach in a cross-cultural setting. I completed an M.A.T. degree program at Alaska Methodist University and then was accepted in an Education Specialist Degree program at the University of Alaska. While on campus I became a resident counselor which provided me an opportunity to deal with native students in a university setting. Meanwhile my field research led into an examination of relationships between rural schools and communities and my first formal contact with Nuna. I graduated in 1971 with an

Education Specialist Degree in administration and a growing curiosity about rural school and community relationships.

In the fall of 1971 I was offered and refused an administrative position with a school district. Instead, I returned to the classroom. I felt a strong need to apply the teaching strategies that my university experiences had provided. I accepted an elementary teaching position in Sand Point in the Shumagin Islands. In addition to my classroom responsibilities I also began a university extension program attending to the role of the school and the community.

In the fall of 1972 I was accepted as a doctoral candidate under special arrangements at Simon Fraser University. My doctoral studies were placed in a lowered priority when I accepted a position as an Assistant Professor of Education in the University of Alaska Cross-Cultural Education Development Program (X-CED) in 1974. My responsibilities included the development and instruction of cross-cultural courses through a state-wide delivery system. The position entailed extensive travel throughout rural Alaska, which helped maintain and increase my relationships with village residents in Southwest Alaska. In addition, I worked closely with native corporations, regional school districts, local principals, teachers, and native university students, and was required to participate in the day-to-day life of rural communities. Currently I am employed as an Assistant Professor of Education and Cross-Cultural Inservice Coordinator at the Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska.

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It is precisely because of these life experiences that I believe I have described the events in Nuna as they happened.