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GOVERNMENT AND REGIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Introduction

The federal and state governments are founded on the principle that "all government originates with the people (and) is founded upon their will only." Alaska's Constitution provides for "maximum local self-government." So far as the Northwest is concerned, these principles have had little relevance. Aside from election of legislators, neither the will of the people nor their interests appear to influence directly the operation of government or the provision of services in the area. Local government in the Northwest is minimal and primitive.

The President and Congress of the United States, national organizations, both liberal and conservative, political leaders of both major parties and others, all proclaim their support of creative, cooperative and balanced federalism; these and similar concepts point to a stronger role for the states in the federal system. In Alaska's Northwest region, however, the federal government is ubiquitous, while the exercise of state responsibilities is almost non-existent.

The dominant federal agency in the region is the Bureau of Indian Affairs. While commissions and task forces have repeatedly called for changes in its basic philosophy, policies, programs and organization, the Bureau's approach to the region and its people has so far undergone little change. Nonetheless, the preconditions for change in Bureau programs and

approaches, and for progress on a wider front, now exist. Federal and state policy-level officials increasingly show a general commitment to dealing with the current problems and needs of the people. The state government is progressively strengthening its capability to provide services throughout the state. The legal basis exists for evolving regional governmental machinery.

Above all, the natives of Alaska are no longer passive bystanders. A uniting cause has been provided by the regional native land claims movement and the subsequent statewide effort to obtain a satisfactory settlement. Resultant land claims activities, as well as those under ASCAP-sponsored programs and the Governor's task forces, have promoted the emergence of native leadership and establishment of native controlled action-oriented organizations. There is now promise that in Alaska reality may be given to the President's statement that: "The greatest hope for Indian progress lies in the emergence of Indian leadership and initiative in solving Indian problems. Indians must have a voice in making the plans and decisions in programs which are important to their daily life."

This chapter reviews the general governmental situation in the Northwest region; explores ways of structuring federal, state and local administration and coordinative inter-governmental programs to serve a rural region and its people; and suggests an approach and strategy under which the people themselves will participate in the planning and execution of programs that affect them. It is directed toward applying in Northwest

Alaska the President's stated policy of maximum choice, "a policy expressed in programs of self-help, self-development, self-determination."

Federal and State Administration

The federal presence in Northwest Alaska is much greater than that of the state. This is explained largely by the anomaly that while the region is not an Indian reservation, it is generally administered by the federal government as if it were. The result is that the state--which has nominal sovereignty--does not assume or exercise direct responsibility, and that the federal government--which has only partial jurisdiction--likewise is unable to deal effectively with the problems of the region and its people. Meanwhile, the people of the region are increasingly dissatisfied with the non-feasance both of the federal and the state governments.

The extent and character of federal involvement is due also to Alaska's newness as a state. The territorial government had only limited jurisdiction and even less financial capacity. While the ten years since statehood was achieved have seen a progressive strengthening of state capacities, this has affected the Northwest region to only a minor extent: the main focus of state efforts has been on urban areas and resources, and this has had little relevance to the Northwest region. It is only during the last two years that state responsibility with respect to this area and its people has been seriously acknowledged; even so, results to date have been meager.

State programs of direct significance to the Northwest are limited both in number and impact. Airports are administered by the state. While

roads are a state responsibility, mileage and expenditures in this area are limited. Fish and game are under state jurisdiction, as are law enforcement, the courts, recording, and other general services. As discussed in earlier chapters, part of the welfare function and a portion of the educational system are administered directly by the state.

The current relative positions of the federal and state governments are indicated by the fact that there are about _____ state employees and _____ federal employees in the Northwest. The scope of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and U. S. Public Health Service activities has already been described; these activities include _____

There are also major federal operations carried on by the Federal Aviation Agency, the U. S. Weather Bureau, and the Department of Defense; the activities of these agencies, of course, must be conducted by them directly, and on a national basis.

Established federal and state governments, operating through the whole range of agencies, have so far not related their activities to the particular needs and conditions existing in local regions. Administrative jurisdictions vary from agency to agency. Seldom is there significant economic, social, geographic or other relevance to the administrative areas prescribed for federal and state program purposes. Such areas, consequently, do not provide an adequate basis for bringing together programs, resources

and people to deal with the overall problems of a socio-economic region. This characteristic of administrative organization is, of course, consonant with traditional patterns throughout the United States. Just as clearly, however, it is not in line with modern concepts of social and economic development or current trends in regional organization. Future federal and state roles and administrative patterns for this area need to be shaped in accordance with developing trends toward a more balanced federalism.

Trends in Federalism

The federal system has undergone change in response to changing needs and demands for public action ever since the U. S. Constitution was written. At first, the division of powers between the national government and the state was relatively clearcut and simple. Over the decades, the division of responsibility between the levels of government has become much less distinct and the inter-relationships more complex. Particularly during the first half of this century, the balance of power has shifted to the national level as the federal government has acted to meet national emergencies, and as the federal fiscal base has expanded.

Basic to the federal principle, however, is the concept that power should be shared rather than centralized. Further, it is now generally recognized that federalism involves extensive collaborative relationships rather than exclusive functions and authorities, as between the levels of government. And in practice, while the concern for the general national welfare and the development of fiscal power has greatly strengthened the

position of the federal government, there has been a concurrent expansion of state functions. The growth of state government has to a significant extent been a result of federal programs, channelled through the state, and designed to promote particular national objectives. Similarly, local governments have also emerged in more recent years as an increasingly important and integral element of the federal system. These developments have been promoted both in legislation, enacted by the U. S. Congress and in federal program administration. As in the case of federal programs initiated during the 1930's, new programs in education, health, economic development, resources and conservation, and other fields, provide grants from the national government to the states to carry out programs related to national purposes; others, such as urban renewal, community facilities and housing, are managed in most instances at the local level.

Thus a balanced federal system, with emphasis on state participation, has been promoted through the utilization of the state institutional framework for administering programs of common federal-state concern. This, in turn, has helped minimize expansion of federal administrative machinery and personnel where responsibilities can be delegated, promote flexibility and innovation through decentralized program administration, and encourage acceptance of the basic premise that decision making and program implementation should be carried out at the lowest possible level consistent with stated national objectives and program criteria. At its best, balanced federalism results in a system which encourages local initiative and respon-

siveness to local needs.

There is no simple organizational panacea--either at the federal, state or local level--to solve all the problems facing the nation, the states or cities. No single agency at any level can have the scope and authority that presumably would be required for elusive "total" solutions. This holds equally for problems of pollution, education and manpower training, poverty, urban assistance and regional development.

The principles and values of federalism, as applied to the problem of meeting the needs of the Northwest region, point to the following criteria for effective program organization and inter-governmental relations:

1. The federal government should perform directly those functions that are necessary to support a national functional system, e.g., defense, air navigation, weather observation, and interstate commerce, transportation and communications.
2. The federal government should not assume direct responsibility for performing functions that are being, or could be, carried out effectively by the states, by local governments, or by regional organizations, e.g., education, economic development, welfare assistance, health and medical care, and urban and regional development. If adequate performance of such functions is deemed in the national interest, the federal government should support these through financial assistance to non-federal instrumentalities, together with the application of appropriate standards of performance.

3. The state and its jurisdictions should assume responsibility for those programs and functions that are directed primarily toward the social and economic welfare of the state, its regions and its local communities.
4. Mechanisms should exist to assure adequate inter-governmental planning and coordination, particularly in those areas that are of direct concern to more than one level of government and which require inter-governmental cooperation to achieve maximum program impact and effectiveness.

The acceptance of these principles would lead to a significantly greater role for the state in the performance of governmental functions in the Northwest region. This holds both with respect to key functions that are currently being carried out by federal agencies as well as others not being performed at all. More specifically, such an approach dictates the transfer of most if not all direct operating functions currently exercised by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the state. In this way, greater administrative rationality and effectiveness would be gained as duplication of functions by the state and BIA is reduced or eliminated, and closer adaptation to specific local needs is achieved.

The federal government has assumed the major responsibility for the welfare and development of American Indians on a national basis and has included Alaskan natives in this category. Unlike the rest of the nation, however, Indian administration in Alaska is not based upon reservation areas

or treaty obligations. These do not exist in Alaska. Consequently, BIA operations extend throughout the entire state, often overlapping state administrative machinery and program operations. This frequently results in neither party having sufficient jurisdiction and capability to deal effectively with the inter-related social and economic problems of Alaska's native people.

The transfer of BIA functions to the state need not and should not be viewed as a consequence of inadequate performance on the Bureau's part. Most important, such action should not be considered an abandonment of orderly administration under the federal system and a means for providing service at a level and through cooperative arrangements having the greater potential capability of achieving effective performance.

BIA disengagement from direct operational responsibilities in Alaska was initiated in 19____, when BIA schools were transferred to the state (see Chapter ____). The program for transfer of all educational facilities is proceeding, with a 1980 target for assumption of all responsibilities by the state. As discussed earlier, however, education is not the only direct function carried on by BIA, and some of the others lend themselves even better to, and are in greater need of, transfer to the state. These are primarily economic development, manpower training, welfare assistance,

In these cases, manpower limitations, lack of technical support and limited funding frequently make effective operations virtually impossible.

As indicated, transfer of administrative jurisdiction to the state does not mean that the federal government loses complete control and neither does it abandon responsibility. Insofar as continuing activities remain under nationally supported programs, opportunity remains for federal overview to assure that adequate standards and services are being maintained. Concomitantly, transfer of jurisdiction cannot be viewed as divestment of all federal financial responsibilities. Just as continuing support for Indian education is granted to the states, so other functions that are part of an essential nationwide effort can be performed through the state with federal grant support under federal guidelines. (Welfare)

Alaska may well provide a prime proving ground for applying principles and demonstrating practices that result successfully in an orderly transfer of federal program responsibilities to the state, particularly in the field of Indian affairs.

As the state assumes functions from the federal government, it assumes also the obligation for their proper execution. It follows that prior to any transfers, federal determinations should be made that the state has, or will have, the capability of meeting the objectives to be served by the transferred activities. The state should be able to demonstrate its capability in most instances today; in other cases, additional provision for developing administrative and operational adequacy will have to be made.

An important asset of the state is its ability to strengthen and utilize political subdivisions and regional structures to aid in the per-

formance of state functions. For just as decentralization is an important element in federal-state relations, so it needs to be a key principle in allocation of program responsibilities within the state itself. Accordingly, the following discussion examines the possibilities for regionalization of activities related to the social, economic and political advancement of Northwest Alaska through the utilization of local government machinery, decentralized administrative arrangements and participation of the people in policy and decision making.

Local Government

Alaska's constitution is based on the concept of a strong and effective state government providing statewide services and necessary assistance to local areas. Concurrently, the state constitution provides for establishment of units of general government at the local and regional levels. As stated in the preamble to the article on local government: "The purpose of this article is to provide for maximum self-government with a minimum of local government units. . .". The constitutional objective of maximum local self-government has seen little realization in Northwest Alaska. Municipal government is limited and regional governmental units are non-existent.

State law authorizes four classes of cities. The primary differences between them are that the education function is mandatory with respect to the first three classes and that property taxes are not authorized in cities of the fourth class. First class cities may perform all municipal functions, have broad taxing and bonding authority, and are eligible to

adopt home rule charters. Second and third class cities have virtually the same broad powers, with difference from the first being primarily in their criteria for incorporation. Fourth class cities, on the other hand, have more limited substantive authority and are allowed only a very small fiscal base.

Legislation authorizing fourth class cities was enacted in 1957 and was designed specifically to meet the basic governmental needs of villages and other small communities. It is this class of cities that is most prevalent in the Northwest today: There are 11 cities of the fourth class and one first class city (Nome).

Under Alaska law, a city of the fourth class may assume the following responsibilities:

- Water, electricity, sewerage, fire protection.
- Construction, maintenance, operation of community buildings, roads, trails.
- Liquor control, dog control.
- Prohibition of drunkenness, gambling, houses of ill-fame, disorderly conduct.
- Setting of curfew, action necessary to protect and preserve the life, the health, the safety and the well being of the citizens.
- Maintenance of jail and prescription of limited fines and sentences.
- Establishment and regulations of public utility rates, granting of franchises.
- Governance of motor vehicles, fire works.
- Making of and performance of contracts.

- Zoning and control of land use.

These powers are generally sufficient for the smaller communities in the Northwest. Only a few of the authorized responsibilities are actually used by most villages. Functions are generally limited to liquor and dog control and related functions, community buildings and roads, and occasionally maintenance of a jail facility. Some villages have a full time or part time policeman.

A fourth class city may, upon voter approval, levy sales tax not to exceed 3%. Tax collections in most villages do not exceed a few thousand dollars. Only in the case of Barrow, Kotzebue and Unalakleet are more substantial revenues collected. (See Table _____).

(V. F.--table listing fourth class cities, dates of incorporation, population, sales tax level, sales tax revenues.)

While municipal status provides the basis necessary for performing minimal required functions, local government in the Northwest has with but few exceptions played a negligible role in furthering community development. This is due largely to limited local administrative capabilities and lack of outside technical assistance and other support.

The state Local Affairs Agency has the statutory responsibility to advise and assist local governments. Until recently, however, its primary activities have been directed toward helping organize the larger urban areas. Currently, the Local Affairs Agency is beginning to develop a capability to aid the smaller and more remote communities in the state, through

the provision of technical guidance in the areas of finance and organization. In addition, the Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research of the University of Alaska is developing a program to train local government personnel to aid them in providing and promoting better local services. The program will cover the basic needs of rural villages, as well as those of larger urban centers and boroughs; it will entail preparation for employment in the local employ, as well as training for upgrading and continuing education.

Nome, with a population of 2,500, is the only first class city in Northwest Alaska. It is governed under the council-manager form and has the full complement of municipal powers, including taxation and bonding. The city's major problems are fiscal: lacking an adequate economic base since the curtailment of gold production, Nome is faced with providing costly city services in the absence of adequate revenues. The situation is particularly critical with respect to education. The city school system is finding it impossible to maintain an adequate physical plant, pay competitive teachers' salaries and meet the other increasing costs of education. In view of the local inability to provide additional support for education, state action is indispensable. It will be necessary either to obtain increased financial support from the state or to turn the local schools over to the state for operation.

While new and increased state support is necessary for the provision of more adequate municipal services, the basic structure and authorities of city government are generally sufficient to meet community requirements in

the Northwest. Incorporation of villages that have not yet chosen municipal status and upgrading of fourth class cities can be accomplished readily as the need arises.

While municipal government appears structurally adequate, the need for its continuing growth and strengthening should not be underestimated. The community is the primary focus of social activity and the level at which many of the immediate subsistence needs must be met. While an individual municipality can usually do little on its own to bolster its economic welfare, it is the primary vehicle for providing a decent physical environment, raising the standard of living, and providing conditions conducive to further development. Thus, basic facilities such as water, electricity, garbage disposal and others. (Develop)

Village government, furthermore, provides a stepping stone toward the political and governmental scene beyond the community. It can provide, though it does often not do so now, the training for leadership, organized community action, sense of participation and self-determination, and understanding of governmental processes and inter-governmental relations necessary to achieve economic and social benefits for the people. (Develop)

The village has traditionally existed as the basic community. While there has always been informal interaction between the people of different villages, there has been little sustained and organized interaction on an inter-communal level. As a result, government agencies responsible for community and people services have focused their attention on individual villages and their inhabitants. This has been true with respect to educa-

tion, health, welfare, sanitation, law enforcement, housing, and other functions. Only in a case of natural resources has a regional approach been prevalent.

At the village level, local participation in the design of programs and the administration of services has been virtually non-existent. Services have been administered on the basis of policies and procedures developed and promulgated independently in Washington or Juneau. Outsiders determined what was good for the people and administered the programs. This clearly is not a question of the sincerity and dedication of federal and state officials; rather, it is a question of local self-determination, the development of local political and institutional competence, and local participation in the making of decisions and the designing of programs affecting them. More recently, official policies in several areas have called for more involvement of the local people. Since real authority seldom accompanies such involvement, however, effects have been minimal. Thus, while the establishment of school advisory boards by the Bureau of Indian Affairs constitutes a forward step, it has been an extremely limited one since it has had no impact on actual educational policy, school administration, curriculum, or related school and community programs.

Boroughs and Regional Government

Provision for municipal incorporation has existed in Alaska since _____; for example, Nome was incorporated in 1901. However, no form of general area government, such as counties, existed outside city limits.

When Alaska became a state, the basis was created for a regionalized structure of government. The state constitution provides for organized and unorganized boroughs, and these provisions are most relevant to considering the future governmental and administrative structure in Northwest Alaska.

The borough under the constitution is conceived as an intermediate level of government between city and state. In some respects, the concept corresponds to county government in other states. However, the borough system was designed to provide a more flexible and adaptable areawide unit that could appropriately serve the needs of the different parts of Alaska. Thus, the borough, unlike the traditional county, does not have specified functions to perform and is not tied to permanent boundaries. Rather, its functions may vary from none to virtually anything that other municipal corporations can perform and which the legislature itself could authorize; in addition, constitutional provision exists to facilitate revision of borough boundaries to meet changing conditions.

Constitutional provision has been made for establishment of "organized" and "unorganized" boroughs. The former is a municipal corporation of a regional nature, with its powers dependent on class of incorporation; first class boroughs have authority to adopt home rule charters with wide functional jurisdiction. Unorganized boroughs are actually units under direct state jurisdiction, their purpose being primarily to establish greater decentralization and local adaptation of state services and the fostering of a transition to self-government in areas not ready for full

assumption of local responsibilities.

The establishment of organized boroughs was initially authorized and later mandated by the state legislature. Organized boroughs now exist in the more urbanized parts of the state; there are none in the Northwest. Organized boroughs have responsibility for operating their own school systems, the most costly function of government. In view of the sparse development and limited tax base in the Northwest, establishment of organized boroughs as now provided for by law is not conceivable in the near future.

The unorganized borough, on the other hand, could well become the vehicle for regional development and provision of state services; with respect to the latter, this can become particularly important after devolution of federal functions to the state. These purposes will be achieved only if unorganized borough provisions of existing state law are revised to conform more closely to the letter and intent of the constitution. In view of the potential importance of the unorganized borough concept to the Northwest and other regions of the state, the subject requires more thorough analysis here.

The Unorganized Borough

At the present time, one unorganized borough exists in Alaska. It covers all the areas in the state not incorporated within the organized boroughs. In accordance with the constitution, the legislature is authorized to act as the assembly for this unorganized borough. In practice, the unorganized borough unit is not utilized for any purpose whatsoever, and the legislature has never acted as the assembly with respect to its governance.

Accordingly, regional organization for policy making, program administration and citizen participation has not evolved in the various parts of this vast unorganized jurisdiction.

The constitution provides that the entire state be divided into boroughs on the basis of population, geography, economy, transportation and other factors. Each borough is to embrace an area and population with common interests to the maximum degree possible. This requirement applies to unorganized as well as organized boroughs, even though under the Borough Act of 1961 it was made effective only with respect to organized boroughs. It was clearly intended that an unspecified number of unorganized boroughs be created encompassing "natural" regions through the state.

The constitution further provides, "The legislature shall provide for the performance of services it deems necessary or advisable in unorganized boroughs, allowing for maximum local participation and responsibility. It may exercise any power or assumption in an unorganized borough which the assembly may exercise in an unorganized borough." This provision exists in further recognition that an areawide performance or function is required in addition to what is done at the community and statewide levels. It provides for legislative discretion as to what services will be extended. By permitting the legislature to act as the borough assembly, the general prohibition against local legislation is overcome and laws may be passed for differential performance of functions in individual boroughs.

The directive to allow "maximum local participation and responsibility in governance of unorganized boroughs" received much attention at the

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Constitutional Convention. It was recognized that parts of the state would not be ready for incorporation as organized boroughs since they would be in no position to support areawide functions. Therefore, the state would need to act directly. At the same time, it was deemed desirable for the people in unorganized boroughs to assume as much responsibility as they were capable of assuming at any given time. The purpose was to ensure that functions and services were actually geared to the needs and conditions in the unorganized borough, to encourage at least partial self-government and participate in the performance of services, and to encourage continuing evolution toward local self-government. Furthermore, it was held that the principle of democratic participation should apply not only in the broad formulation of state policy for the unorganized borough, but also in the implementation of policies and plans.

The functions and services to be performed in the unorganized borough were not spelled out in the constitution or in state law. Rather, the intent was to permit adaptation of the borough concept to the particular region, and to mold governmental structure, policy making and administrative processes to the special needs, characteristics and desires of that region. As conceived, functions to be performed at the regional or borough level would include health services, law enforcement, education, resources and job development, road construction and maintenance and whatever else might be appropriate to the particular borough.

The role that boroughs in the Northwest may play in the future will depend largely on the extent to which the federal government and the state

government will be willing to transfer or delegate some of their direct program responsibilities, or, at the least, regionalize their administration. It will also depend on their willingness to give the people in the region an opportunity to participate more fully and directly in the management of programs most directly affecting them.

The constitution, as indicated above, provides for the performance of services in an organized borough with "maximum local participation and responsibility." This concept pervades the whole constitution and is, of course, basic to any democratic system. As will be seen, it has particular relevance to Northwestern Alaska and other sparsely developed portions of the state. Thus, before discussing an approach that would utilize the borough as an instrument for the discharge of federal and state responsibilities and for regional development, certain trends in native participation and in the evolution of related regional organizations should be reviewed.

Development of Native Organizations and Leadership

A review of the Alaskan native's political role in the Northwest is necessary to ascertain their future as decision makers and participants in the government and development of the region. It will be found that growth in this area has been significant during recent years, especially during the last two, and largely as a result of the filing of land claims, establishment of regional and statewide organizations, and readiness to resort to political action. These recent activities and their potential

can best be described and assessed in terms of the traditional socio-cultural context and the historical events which give rise to them.

Traditionally, Eskimo culture lacked the inherent structure which would permit an easy adaptation to Western political patterns. Political activity was not undertaken by any specific organization geared to perform the collective functions of representation, decision making, and social control, but was activated by informal leadership supported, at least ideally, by villagewide consensus. Decision making was also primarily concerned with the practical aspects of a subsistence economy and primary or face-to-face community relationships. Providing solutions to problems was primarily a group effort hinging on subtle aspects of social control, which could operate well only among people who were tightly bound together in kinship and tribal units, and who knew each other intimately. It was the most experienced or highly respected men who were given the lead, or the most dominant who took it.

The lengthy post-European contact period did not create an environment or provide the conditions for the maturing of an indigenous leadership. As natives were considered wards of the federal government, decision making and leadership qualities were considered unnecessary for this passive role; native leadership development was not considered an integral aspect of acculturation. The problems resulting from this attitude have recently been compounded by economic problems associated with a combined subsistence and wage economy, including capricious and insecure forms of financial success, and reliance on seasonal migrations. These combined factors resulted in an apolitical environment, continuing passivity and apathy, and

minimal local power and control over one's daily life.

"Modern" native organizations did evolve in the larger communities, however. Their aims were "social," in that they were remodeled after "white man's" women's clubs and other organizations which also existed locally and were wrought with formalities characteristic of short range social activities. An example is the Arctic Native Brotherhood. Although at present the oldest politically-oriented native organization in the Northwest (adopting its constitution and by-laws in Nome in 1946), this organization began primarily as a social group perpetuating itself through fund raising activities such as dances and parties. At the same time, the Brotherhood was not completely lacking in political impact, for it effectively generated votes in the bush, endorsing state programs. The Arctic Native Brotherhood has been previously headed by legislative members who were attuned to sophisticated political maneuvering.

The combination of factors differentially influenced local politics in the Northwest. The overall effects were similar, however, in that they perpetuated an environment where areawide political organizations were generated on paper, but where on-going politically oriented activities were limited to supporting and endorsing decisions and actions of non-natives.

Land Claims Issue

A turning point in leadership and organizational development was reached in 1961. The stimulus and rallying cause for the new native movement was the land claims issue, which formally took shape in that year. An important background factor in the new movement was the growing popula-

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tion of young native adults with high school and sometimes college educations. With a better command of the English language, political sophistication and an understanding of the socio-political framework of the dominant white culture, they were conscious of the economic, social and political disparities between the native and the non-native world and willing to do something about them.

The land claims movement provided a means for bringing together not only those with a more modern perspective, but also individuals and groups committed to the traditional village and bound to a subsistence way of life. The appeal to the latter lay in protecting their community and their hunting and fishing rights against encroachment by outsiders, primarily through the transfer of open federal land to the state government. Others saw the additional economic benefits that would accrue from ownership and control of lands and minerals or from money received in compensation for the native land taken by the federal or state governments.

The native land claims issue is complex and the formula for its resolution is not yet fully delineated. The issue is currently being actively pursued in Alaska and Washington, D. C. Because the subject has been dealt with elsewhere, substantive aspects are not pursued here. (For a background analysis, see Alaska Review of Business and Economic Conditions, University of Alaska, Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research, Volume VI, "Native Land Claims.")

In the Northwest, the idea of claiming land was first seriously considered in 1961. In November of that year, the Association on American

Indian Affairs funded the Point Barrow Conference on Native Rights, which was concerned with political and social action for developing the Eskimo communities of Northwest Alaska. Eskimos planned and conducted the Conference, and through it they endeavored to develop a more definite understanding and relationship between the state and federal governments and the natives regarding native rights. Inupiat Paitot or "The Great Gathering of the Eskimos" consisted of twenty-one delegates from sixteen villages, Assistant Secretary of the Interior John A. Carver and Commissioner of Indian Affairs Philleo Nash. Attendance at the meeting was open to every Eskimo. Subjects discussed included health, sanitation, employment, education, fishing and hunting rights, and other problems specific to Northwest villages and to Alaska in general.

Although the Conference was initially directed toward coordinating federal and state activities affecting native village affairs, it resulted in a proposal by Senator E. L. Bartlett, and subsequently, the passage of federal legislation to have all of Barrow heated with natural gas, a luxury formerly reserved for government offices and buildings.

Local issues, however, were only minimally explored. Land was the major subject and became the catalytic agent for initiating new native organizations and bringing natives into the forefront of political action. It was on the question of whether or not natives could lay claim to federal or state owned land, or receive just compensation for land considered theirs through occupancy and use, that the politically oriented Arctic Slope Native Association and Northwest Native Association were formed, and the

Arctic Native Brotherhood was modified and redirected in keeping with the current political developments. All three voluntary, privately supported political groups have had as a major purpose the forging of the unified effort necessary to obtain an acceptable land settlement; toward this end, they are representing and acting for all of the villages and people within their respective regional jurisdictions.

Steps toward filing of land claims, developing supportive organizations, and establishing links between the various organizations moved slowly throughout the state until 1966. It is during the last two years that the most vigorous actions have been taken. The Arctic Slope Native Association was activated in Barrow in the early months of 1966, when its constitution and by-laws were adopted. Evolving from the earlier Inupiat Paitot, ASNA includes the communities of Barrow, Wainwright, Barter Island, Point Hope, and Anaktuvuk. In behalf of its membership, the Association has laid claim to the entire area of the North Slope of the Brooks Range to the Arctic Ocean.

The Northwest Native Association was formed in the summer of 1966 in Kotzebue as a direct outgrowth of the land claims efforts. It extends its representation over the area encompassed by the Seward Peninsula to Point Hope and east along the river systems of the South Slope of the Brooks Range. It includes only Eskimo communities, the predominant ethnic population of these areas. (Point Hope is included in the jurisdictional area of both associations, though its ties are closest to NNA.)

The native associations are becoming vital political interest groups. Their purpose is not only to push land claims, but also to represent their people in other activities of benefit. They provide a forum for bringing together village representatives and expressing their common interests, particularly with respect to federal and state programs and officials.

To strengthen their individual efforts, the native regional groups throughout the state have combined into the Alaska Federation of Natives, which is now spearheading the land claims drive in Washington and in Juneau. AFN is also participating directly in job training and native education. It is initiating a general program of organizational development, including the strengthening of regional associations throughout the state. While most of the associations still have limited continuity and effectiveness, this situation is expected to change substantially over the next year.

While the legal basis and political implications of land claims are complex, the immediate socio-cultural outcome has been a constructive emotional fervor and a drive for joint action, both among villages within regions and among the different regions of a state. The land claims movement has encouraged the natives to identify positively with their cultural heritage and it has provided a basis for anticipating a better future. Prospective claims settlements would be in both money and property, and both of these commodities are well understood by people in a wage-subsistence economy. Whatever the final settlement may be, therefore, the land claims issue has already had an extremely significant and permanent political and social impact on the natives of Alaska.

Local Efforts Toward Regional Development

The establishment of native associations has been but part of a broader movement toward regional problem solving and native self-help efforts, both on an area and a statewide basis. As a result, progress is being made toward economic development, leadership training and establishment of native-based institutions. Additional impetus has been provided by the Alaska State Community Action Program (ASCAP) supported by the U. S. Office of Economic Opportunity. Further, the state has provided a number of opportunities for native leader participation in policy formulation and program development.

ASCAP's initial contact with the region and villages was through the Grass Roots Programs, which provided the opportunity to establish communications, identify local and area problems, and bring to the fore those at the local level who could become participants in community action programs. The Head Start Program provided the opportunity to show that involvement of villages and local people need not be merely a slogan: rather than operating Head Start through the existing educational establishment, each village selected its own Head Start teachers who were then trained to run the local programs. In addition, local involvement was attained through the requirement for local matching funds. In total, contributions were nominal, but as measured against the limited local economic base, they constituted a significant local effort. At the same time VISTA, Operation Mainstream and other OEO-supported activities strengthened awareness of opportunities for local development and stimulated further individual participation.

Activities of ASCAP have recently been redirected to put primary stress on regional and local developmental organization. Prime among these are area development corporations designed to cover "natural" regions. Two such corporations have been formed in the Northwest: the Kiktugruk Development Corporation, covering the same area as the Northwest Alaska Native Association, and the _____, including the balance of the Seward Peninsula and the Norton Sound area. The regional boards of the corporations are composed of representatives of communities throughout the jurisdiction. Community centers will serve each region, giving intensive service to the entire area. Each center will serve as a nucleus for the provision of services to the villages and people throughout the area. Each corporation and center will have its own staff together with support from ASCAP and other technical personnel. Additionally, volunteer village action workers selected by communities will be trained and assigned the task of serving their village.

The regional development corporations are thus designed to serve the following purposes and objectives:

1. Obtain local participation in determining the needs and making the decisions necessary to the planning effort.
2. Provide supporting facilities and services to community action agencies in programs of social and economic betterment.
3. Strengthen and, as necessary, establish new public and private programs in community services for the people of a region.
4. Provide an effective means of utilizing and coordinating federal,

- state, private and other programs in the accomplishment of local anti-poverty objectives.
5. Furnish accurate, on-the-spot information to community oriented groups and agencies regarding the problems of isolated and disadvantaged residents.
 6. Assess the employment potential and training needs of the residents and help achieve an adequate employment level in the region; job placement and employment.
 7. Perfect a community development process, complete with specialists trained and oriented to Alaskan conditions, and make their services available to all communities.

In summary, the program has resulted in establishing an organization for development that is regional in scope and based on full participation of the people. The development program will be supported through the establishment of cooperatives (e.g., fishing co-ops in Kotzebue Sound and Norton Sound areas), and by village electrification, manpower training and other activities of ASCAP. In addition, the Alaska Federation of Natives and other related organizations will provide continuing support and leadership in the overall effort.

The strong movement toward regional self-help is also evidenced in the Alaska Federation of Natives programs for the establishment of economic planning districts. Under an AFN proposal, economic development planning areas would be established throughout the state to develop long range development programs and help implement the projects. The planning and

development staff of each economic planning district, headed by a representative board of directors, would be provided technical support by professional planning and economic specialists on the central staff of the Alaska Federation of Natives. The proposed program is specifically designed to provide a planning framework and establish professional staffing to "aid local development corporations in Alaska to carry out development and actual programs, to boost jobs and incomes in a regional context."

Regional and AFN planning will be carried out in coordination with related work of the state's Division of Planning and Research and the Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska. Federal support for the planning effort is to be provided by the Economic Development Administration of the U. S. Department of Commerce, with necessary matching by AFN and regional development districts. The Northwest Economic Planning District, one of two initially established, will cover the same area as that studied in this report.

Organizing for Regional Development

The problems of establishing an effective system for regional development are not unique to the Northwest region of Alaska. Evolution of a structure for this area can help provide a prototype for organizing the federal, state, local and private services needed to serve a rural region and its people. Success in developing an appropriate organizational system would, therefore, have statewide application and may provide lessons for attacking rural regional development problems in other states.

The region has become the organizational base for planning and development programs throughout the nation. The problems of rural and underdeveloped areas have been effectively attacked only on a broad regional basis. As in rural regions, it has become clear in urban areas as well that metropolitan needs cannot be met through the efforts of individual communities--an areawide framework for action has been found necessary.

Most states have accepted regionalization as the most effective means for planning and development. Regions for these purposes have now been established in _____ states. The more advanced of these states use the region as a unit for statewide planning and the coordination of state development programming. The regional unit is also used to bring together state and local efforts to deal with problems of the particular region.

In most states, the county provides the basic building block for delineating regions. It is seldom that an individual county covers an area having the necessary combination of economic, transportation, social, geographic and other attributes to provide the resource base for an effective development program. Therefore, state governments have grouped counties and portions of counties into areas within which a logical and unified planning and development program is possible. Increasingly, the states themselves are joining together to establish appropriate regional units crossing state boundaries, thus achieving the development advantages that flow from regional unity.

The federal government has recognized the value of the regional development approach and has provided support and inducements for the

creation of regional organizations and programs. Thus, the Economic Development Administration of the U. S. Department of Commerce, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, and others provide aid for regional planning and development. The Commerce Department's past experience and current position is particularly relevant: experience with single-county economic development programming under the Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 was found to be unsatisfactory; consequently, the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 brought a shift to the concept of multi-county economic development districts, and special financial incentives for their creation.

(President's Executive Order)

The State of Alaska has not been formally regionalized for planning, development or governmental purposes. As discussed above, the state has only in part been divided into boroughs in accordance with constitutional requirements. A major opportunity now exists to establish a regional structure particularly suited to the needs of today and the requirements for future development. The borough--as conceived specifically to meet Alaskan needs and opportunities, rather than as put into effect to date--is ideally suited for this purpose.

The division of a state into boroughs, organized and unorganized, is a function of the state. Primary responsibility is vested in the Local Boundary Commission; technical support can be provided by the Local Affairs Agency and the Division of Planning and Research of the Office of the Governor. The constitution requires that each borough embrace an area and

population with common interests to the maximum degree possible, with standards to be based on population, geography, economy, transportation and other factors specified by law.

It is now clear that borough boundaries should take direct account of the peoples' own perception of the region in which they live, and the area within which they organize themselves for collective action. Thus, the people in the Northwest region have organized native associations that indeed "embrace an area and population with common interests." Whether the association areas per se are an adequate unit for regional administration and performance of required functions yet remains to be determined. In this regard, it may be necessary to combine some of the subregional units into larger boroughs, e.g., the areas covered by the Arctic Slope Native Association and the Northwest Native Association. While this is a matter that will require definition from the state level, the state must work closely with groups in the region, and acknowledge the emerging social, political and economic organizational patterns.

A study of the structure and functions of local government in Alaska is currently underway. Its purpose is to identify current problems and needs and to make recommendations for state action. The formation and organization of boroughs is an important part of this research program.¹ Pending the completion of the study, the discussion here is perforce only

¹The study is being conducted by the Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research of the University of Alaska, with the cooperation of the Local Affairs Agency, under a grant from the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. It is scheduled for completion by the end of 1968.

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preliminary in nature. The following, however, are some of the pertinent concepts and directions that are likely to emerge from the study to provide a basis for further evolution of borough organization in Alaska.

The borough for areas such as the Northwest has initially been classified by the state as "unorganized." In this status, it is intended to serve as the regional unit for purposes of administering state programs affecting the region. At the same time, it should also be considered the initial stage in an evolving process of regional self-government, leading toward eventual organized status. Provisions will thus be required for the performance of legislative and executive functions.

Under the constitution, the legislature acts as the assembly of the unorganized borough, i.e., it is the unit's governing body. To some extent, this responsibility will require the direct exercise of authority by the legislature, but authority can also be delegated to committees composed of the legislative delegations from the particular boroughs, to the executive branch of the state government, and to the local borough council or advisory group. Ultimate authority over unorganized borough taxation, establishment of service areas, and other constitutionally defined assembly functions will remain with the legislature until the borough achieves organized status.

Each borough will constitute a regional unit for performance of state functions and for development planning. A regional state office will have primary administrative and coordinating responsibility for the performance of state services; it will be under the direction of the Office of the

Governor or a state department of community affairs having cabinet status. Services and developmental activities will be carried out on the basis of regional plans, programs and budgets developed as part of overall statewide planning, programming and budgeting.

It should be clear that this course will not result simply in the addition of another layer of state administration. To the contrary, the regional scheme should actually result in significant administrative savings through the elimination of much duplication of personnel and activities, and through reduction in unnecessary overhead services on the part of the individual state agencies. It should also provide a basis for better planning and control of programs affecting each region on the part of the Governor, the legislature and particularly of the people. Above all, it should provide the initial framework for local initiative and self-determination.

As noted, a critical ingredient in the establishment of unorganized boroughs is provision for "maximum local participation and responsibility." This concept is explicit in the state constitution and is a principal need throughout the state. Through local participation, the state can be assured that its programs are administered in accordance with the requirements and desires of the people in the area. Exercise of maximum local responsibility not only makes this possible, but also promotes the development of local and regional institutional competence and establishes the basis for self-help and self-determination. Unorganized borough administration, therefore, needs to be geared to the maximum extent possible to the

principle of home rule.

The format for local participation in governing unorganized boroughs remains to be evolved; varying patterns may be required for different regions of the state. Insofar as possible, however, the pattern in unorganized boroughs should be similar to that of the organized units. Thus, a borough council could be elected from throughout the unorganized borough, with representation apportioned on a population basis. State legislators could be ex-officio members of the council.

The borough council's role would be primarily advisory with respect to state program administration. However, it should have a direct part in planning, policymaking and programming for development and the provision of services within its jurisdictional area. In addition, specific administrative functions could be delegated to the borough and performed under the council's direction.

Regionalization of state functions (including those transferred from the federal government) could cover virtually the full range of state programs: education, health and sanitation, welfare, economic development, roads and public works, public safety and others that directly affect the region and its people. Thus, regionalized administration of all schools operated by the State Department of Education could be guided and assisted by a board of education under the borough council. The boroughs, for example, could provide the framework for the development of regional high schools, vocational training, and extension programs. Law enforcement in the region could likewise benefit from borough guidance and assistance.

The council could coordinate statewide, regional and local police functions, with the assistance of the Department of Public Safety. Borough planning would be a basic function, carried out in the context of statewide development planning and borough and multi-borough regional planning; it would provide a basis for development and for the coordination of state, federal, local and private developmental activities.

To the maximum extent possible, then, responsibility for programs and services within the borough should be shared with or delegated to the people of the borough, acting through the borough council. The underlying policy needs to be not only local participation, but also the gradual development of self-government and maximum assumption of full responsibility.

With the limited economic base, a borough or boroughs in the Northwest region will not be capable of financially supporting the performance of major functions. Since, however, the unorganized borough will operate as a unit of the state, primary responsibility for financing will remain with the state, which, in turn, will require appropriate program support from the federal government. Where functions are transferred to the borough for local operation, state financial support for their performance must be provided. Some local taxation may be possible, but is likely to remain extremely limited. If a program of block grants to local governments is developed, unorganized boroughs would be among the beneficiaries.

Joint state-local exercise of public responsibilities for the planning, development and welfare of the region would run parallel to the non-governmental business, development and political activities of other

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organizations. Under such a scheme, the borough emerges as the administrative and planning unit, the development corporation as a business and economic development unit, and the native association as the political unit for the area. While each has distinct purposes, these will have common aims and many actual inter-relationships. They can be brought together effectively in community action programs, the development planning process and other activities directly related to the region.

The state has a direct role in establishing a regional administrative structure and developing the borough system. Its functions are creative, directly administrative and supervisory, and fiscally supportive in nature. Unless the state acts and continuously provides creative support, the borough system cannot work. The federal role, in accordance with analyses above, should be primarily supportive, generally through grants and subventions to the state.

The opportunity exists to establish a pattern in Northwest Alaska that is responsive to the diversity of needs and circumstances in this and other areas of the state, that reflects the magnitude of problems, and that is based on full utilization of available resources and talents--especially those found in the state and in the areas of program impact themselves. This pattern can be effectively evolved within the lines of federal-state, federal-local and state-local relationships that have been the dominant pattern since the mid-1930's. And out of it can emerge a better system of government service keyed to maximum local participation and self-development.

Government and Regional Administration

Except for several relatively minor points noted in the margins of the draft, three more basic points should be emphasized: First, this chapter, as the others, neglects any description and analysis of the role and capacities of the state government to assume major new responsibilities in the Northwest region. In this chapter, such a discussion would seem most appropriate at the point noted on page 324. Second, the judgements of this chapter should be consistent with those made in earlier chapters. Thus, for example, the statement on page 322 that some BIA functions are in greater need of transfer to the state than education, does not comport with what was argued so strenuously in the chapters on BIA and education; and the statement on page 327 that Nome's "major problems are fiscal" certainly is not in line with the extensive discussion of Nome in the earlier Village section. Third, references to published literature, public documents, and to other chapters in the report itself should be made in the form of footnotes or otherwise at various points, as I have noted in the draft copy.