

**GOVERNING SCHOOLS IN CULTURALLY
DIFFERENT COMMUNITIES: EFFECTS OF
DECENTRALIZATION IN RURAL ALASKA**

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Education of Harvard University
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Education

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	v
ABSTRACT	viii
I. INTRODUCTION	1
The Organization of Public Schooling in Rural Alaska	6
School Finance in Alaska	13
Organization of this Paper	14
II. BACKGROUND.	15
Before Statehood	15
World War II and the Defense Buildup	24
Statehood and the 1960s	25
Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act	27
Boarding Schools and the Boarding Home Program	31
Transition from ASOSS to REAAs	34
III. LITERATURE REVIEW.	41
Decentralization and Lay Participation	41
Professionals and Laymen: Relations of Power in Decision Making	44
IV. METHODOLOGY	52
Data Collection	52
Field Research	54
Sampling Methodology	57
Evolution of the Research Question	59
Limitations	62

TABLE OF CONTENTS, continued

V.	FINDINGS	64
	Part I: Participation and Influence in School Governance	64
	Part II: Governance Issues: Internal and External	85
	Part III: Community Characteristics and Lay Participation and Influence	149
	Ethnic Homogeneity and Lay Participation and Influence	151
	Community Size and Lay Participation and Influence	181
	Community Educational Level and Lay Participation and Influence	183
VI.	SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION	201
	Summary of Findings	201
	Conclusion	219
	APPENDIX: INSTRUMENTS	229
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	275
	VITA	281

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Statewide Surveys: Teachers' and Principals' Perceptions. Participation in School Governance: Actors Ranked by Frequency of Mention as Participants in Eleven Areas of School Governance (showing differences in frequency of mention).	65
Table 2	Statewide Surveys: Teachers' and Principals' Perceptions. Participation in School Governance: Actors Ranked by Frequency of Mention as Participants in Eleven Areas of School Governance (showing differences in rank order).	68
Table 3	Field Site Interviews: Board Members' and Educational Professionals' Perceptions. Participation in Decision-Making: Actors Ranked According to Frequency of Mention as Participants in Six Areas of School Governance.	69
Table 4	Statewide Surveys of Teachers and Principals. Influence on School Governance: Actors Ranked According to Frequency That Each Was Perceived as Most Influential in Eight Areas of School Governance.	71
Table 5	Statewide Surveys of Teachers and Principals. Most Influential in Overall School Governance.	76
Table 6	Field Site Interviews: Board Members' and Educational Professionals' Perceptions. Influence on Decision-Making: Actors Ranked According to Frequency Each Was Perceived as Most Influential in Four Areas of School Governance.	78
Table 7	Field Site Interviews: REAA Board Members' and Educational Professionals' Perceptions. Influence on Decision-Making: Actors Ranked According to Frequency Each Was Perceived as Most Influential in Four Areas of Decision-Making.	80
Table 8	Statewide Survey: Educational Professionals' Perceptions. Participation in and Influence on School Governance as Perceived by All Educational Professionals.	87

Table 9	Survey Results: Principals' Perceptions. Superintendent Participation in and Influence on Governing Processes by Ethnic Homogeneity of Community.	155
Table 10	Statewide Survey: Principals' Perceptions. Superintendent Influence on Selected Governing Processes by Ethnic Homogeneity of Community — Controlling for Type of School Authority (showing significant differences only).	157
Table 11	Survey Results: Principals' Perceptions. District Board Participation in and Influence on Governing Processes by Ethnic Homogeneity of Community.	159
Table 12	Survey Results: Principals' Perceptions. Principal Participation in and Influence on Governing Processes by Ethnic Homogeneity of Community.	161
Table 13	Survey Results: Principals' Perceptions. Teacher Participation in and Influence on Governing Processes by Ethnic Homogeneity of Community.	163
Table 14	Survey Results: Principals' Perceptions. Local Board Participation in and Influence on Governing Processes by Ethnic Homogeneity of Community.	165
Table 15	Statewide Survey: Principals' Perceptions. ASB Influence on Selected Governance Areas by Ethnic Homogeneity — Controlling for Existence of Advisory School Board.	166
Table 16	Survey Results: Principals' Perceptions. Parent Participation in and Influence on Governing Processes by Ethnic Homogeneity of Community.	168
Table 17	Survey Results: Principals' Perceptions. Student Participation in and Influence on Governing Processes by Ethnic Homogeneity of Community.	169
Table 18	Survey Results: Principals' Perceptions. Most Important in School Governance by Ethnic Homogeneity of Community.	170
Table 19	Statewide Survey: Principals' Perceptions. Comparison Among Communities of Different Ethnic Composition: Actors Perceived as Most Influential in Overall Governance of REAA Schools.	172

Table 20	Survey Results: Principals' Perceptions. Comparison Among Communities of Different Ethnic Composition: Actors Perceived as Most Influential in Selected School Governance Areas.	173
Table 21	Statewide Survey: Principals' Perceptions. Differences Among Communities with Varying Educational Levels: Who is Perceived as Most Influential in Selected Governance Areas Controlling for Ethnicity of Community.	186
Table 22	Statewide Survey: Principals' Perceptions. Comparison Between Remote Native Villages and All Other Rural Communities: Actors Perceived as Most Influential in Selected School Governance Areas.	192
Table 23	Statewide Survey: Principals' Perceptions. Comparison of Remote Native Villages and All Other Rural Schools: Primary Actors Regarded as Most Influential in Overall School Governance.	194

ABSTRACT

Decentralized in 1976, rural Alaska's schools today experience varying levels of lay control. What factors condition lay participation in and influence on school governance? This study examines two factors: the type of governance issue; and the type of community. The hypotheses tested are: professional dominance is greatest on issues considered to be internal to the expertise of professionals; and lay influence will be greatest in small, remote and ethnically homogenous communities.

Data used to test these hypotheses are taken from a 1981 survey of rural principals (N = 304) and a 1982 survey of rural teachers (N = 304). Informants provided perceptual data on who participates in and has predominant influence on eleven school governance processes. Interviews conducted with local and district school board members, and both local and central office educational professionals (N = 300) provided qualitative data on the dynamics of school governance processes. Chi-square analysis was used to identify significant differences in levels of participation and influence. The perceptual nature of the data limits the generalizability of the findings.

The author found that educational professionals in rural Alaska, like those in the rest of the country, tend to dominate all areas of school governance. Substantial qualitative evidence shows, however, that professionals frame their recommendations to conform to community values and expectations. Other findings were: professionals appear to dominate all issues — both those considered to be internal to the expertise of professionals and those considered external, although lay influence was greater on the latter; neither community size nor mean educational level appears to exert an independent effect on lay influence while a high degree of ethnic

homogeneity seems to be related to higher levels of lay influence on some school governance processes; and local influence, both lay and professional, appears to be greatest in small, remote, predominantly Native villages.

A major implication of these findings is that rural Alaska Natives should beware of efforts to consolidate village schools. Merely having the professionals who teach their children in the community increases the likelihood that local values, needs, and expectations will influence the governance of their children's school.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

In 1975, the Alaska Legislature passed a bill that created 21 Rural Education Attendance Areas (REAAs). These regional school districts replaced the highly centralized State-Operated School System. In 1978, the U.S. Congress passed and President Carter signed into law P.L. 95-561 which transformed the punchless advisory school boards at BIA schools into boards with broad authority over school governance. The intent of both these measures was to increase the control of rural residents -- primarily Eskimos and Indians -- over the schools their children attend.

While the administrative organization of rural schools and, particularly, the mechanism for policy making were restructured to permit greater lay participation and influence, the educational professionals continue to be primarily Caucasians from outside of Alaska. Alaska Natives, who constitute 62 percent of the rural population, make up only about 3 percent of the roughly 2,630 professionals working in rural schools (ISER, 1984; McBeath et al. 1983a; Alaska Department of Education, 1983).

The question for many Alaskans -- Native leaders and community members, policy makers, and taxpayers -- is: Who now runs the schools in rural Alaska? If a primary objective of the decentralization of rural education was to increase lay participation in and influence over school governance, to what extent has that happened?

The ultimate goal of lay participation is to make schooling in rural Alaska more effective. The logic supporting decentralization is that those most affected by schooling -- that is, rural residents -- should play a major role in shaping

policy and in making governance decisions. Such lay involvement should greatly increase the likelihood that policies and decisions will conform to the needs, values, and expectations of those directly affected. Determining the actual role lay boards play, the extent of their participation and influence in school governance, is, thus, critical before any discussion of effects can proceed. That is the purpose of this paper.

This is not an evaluation of the performance of rural schools. REAAs had existed for a mere six academic years when most of the data for this study was collected. Most new districts have been preoccupied, by necessity, with building and maintaining schools in an arctic environment notoriously unforgiving of even minor construction errors. A proper concern with raising academic standards is only now becoming possible, according to professionals and lay board members alike.

Instead, our purpose is to present both quantitative and qualitative data on the extent of lay participation and influence in school governance. As one might expect, we found that participation and influence varies from one community to the next. Consequently, we examined these differences and community characteristics -- size, ethnic homogeneity, and educational level -- that we hypothesized might affect the level of lay participation and influence. We also anticipated that lay participation and influence might vary according to the governance issue involved so we tested this idea against our data.

During the 1960s, liberal academics, community organizers, and minority neighborhood leaders promoted increased lay participation in school decision and policy making in urban areas. Minority leaders saw decentralization as a means to achieve control over key community institutions. Federal administrators, on

the other hand, viewed decentralization as a way to gain local acceptance for their programs and to circumvent potential state centralized control or interference. Whatever the motivation, a formidable coalition of bureaucrats, academics, and activists gathered the notions of "community control," "decentralization," and "local participation" unto themselves in the belief that locally controlled institutions are more responsive, more effective institutions.

Disillusionment with the results of decentralization and community control, opposition from organized educational professionals, the receding tide of federal programs that required "community input," and the national reaction to the liberal social policy and the spendthrift days of the Great Society have combined to dissipate the early enthusiasm for decentralization. Although the participation movement waned nationally in the early 1970s, Alaska Natives had by this time achieved the unity necessary to press for greater self-determination.

To protect their aboriginal territorial rights and their traditional lifestyle and to regain control over their own affairs, Alaska Natives in the late 1960s organized statewide. Fortuitously, their efforts to protect their lands proved an impediment to the construction of the Trans-Alaska Pipeline -- a project urged by the oil companies in a hurry to get their Prudhoe Bay product onto the market. To remove the obstacle presented by Native land claims, the oil companies added their formidable resources and power to those of Alaska Natives to pressure Congress for an expeditious settlement of the land issue. The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) signed into law by President Nixon in 1971 stands as the culminating achievement of this effort.

In education, Alaska Natives, like urban minority groups, felt that the centralized board of education reflected neither their needs, their values, nor

their interests in the development of educational policy. Native leaders and their liberal supporters in academia and government who advocated Native self-determination succeeded in dismantling the highly centralized state-operated system. In 1975, legislation transformed the centralized system with a single governor-appointed central board into 21 districts -- REAAs -- with regional school boards and community school committees elected locally.

Lending this transformation even greater significance, the state and the Native plaintiffs reached, in 1976, an agreement in the case of Tobeluk v. Lind. Under this agreement the State Board of Education adopted new regulations guaranteeing virtually every school age child the right to attend twelve years of school in his local community (Getches, 1977:23). Influencing the terms of this agreement was the dramatic increase in state revenues as a result of North Slope oil development. Over the next five years, the state established high school programs in most of the 108 communities that previously lacked such programs.

Nor did the Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs lag far behind the state in responding to various pressures for increased community participation in the governance of BIA schools. In the wake of the 1975 Indian Self-Determination Act and P.L. 95-561 passed in 1978, the BIA turned over significant decision-making authority to local school boards in those communities in which the Bureau operated schools.*

In a matter of a mere three years, public education in rural Alaska had undergone a dramatic transformation. Even the most remote villages boasted

* In the Fall of 1979, the BIA operated 43 schools in Alaska.

their own high schools whereas a few years earlier most rural Natives could obtain a secondary education only at boarding schools far from their communities. The creation of regional boards for each REAA, community school committees for most rural schools, and the empowerment of local boards for BIA schools presented Alaska Natives with unprecedented opportunities to participate in school governance both at the regional and the local levels. The participation movement, originally an urban phenomenon, has apparently achieved considerable success in rural Alaska.

Today the issue of self-determination is still very much alive. Native leaders, concerned with the possible alienation of stock in Native corporations and the consequent loss of control over resources to non-Natives, have been exploring the idea of dissolving their local government organizations recognized by the state and reorganizing as IRA (Indian Reorganization Act) villages. Such a change in status, they feel, would strengthen their legal claims to sovereignty. In 1983, the village of Akiachak followed this course of action and the status of the village in the eyes of both state and federal officials remained unresolved as of this writing. In 1980, several Native groups, with the support of Alaska Legal Services, filed suit against the state, claiming that the spirit of the consent decree in the Tobeluk case was being violated by educational professionals who excluded local input into the school program. The state adopted new regulations, requiring that village residents be asked to evaluate the school curriculum and recommend changes annually.

The issue will certainly be left exposed by the receding tide of oil wealth. As state revenues decline, the huge outlays for social service programs which have characterized the last eight years will come under increasing attack. Small rural high schools will certainly become a political bone of contention

between rural and urban legislators. The schools are controversial for two reasons: the high per capita cost of rural secondary education -- which was over \$9,261 per student in 1981; and the quality of rural education. Achievement test scores for rural children in Alaska, as for rural school children elsewhere in the U.S., are below those of their urban counterparts and national norms.

Research conducted nationally on the balance of power between professionals and laymen in school governance and on the effects of decentralization would lead one to hypothesize that in Alaska, as elsewhere, professionals would hold sway over the schools, notwithstanding the creation of village high schools and decentralization. If this is indeed the case, then retaining the present system of decentralization and the small village high school might be difficult to justify on political terms. How, in fact, are schools in rural communities governed? Has the establishment of secondary school programs in virtually every village and the creation of regional and local advisory school boards failed to empower lay people?

The Organization of Public Schooling in Rural Alaska

During 1981 and 1982 when the data for this study was collected, the Alaska education system consisted of six subsystems:

1. Rural Educational Attendance Areas (REAs): This system was created in 1975 and began operating in 1976. There are 21 REAs, each with its own regional school board and central administration. The boundaries of the districts were intended to be contiguous with the boundaries of the Native regional corporations. Adjustments were required to accommodate natural and ethnic

divisions. The enrollment of the REAAs ranges from a high of about 2,500 to a low of 138. In 1981, there were 11,713 students attending REAA schools taught by 1,391 educational professionals (Alaska Department of Education, 1983).

Unlike most city and borough district boards, the REAA boards do not actually own the school facilities within their district. Rather, the state has granted the REAA board "use permits" for its school facilities. The power of the REAA boards is also limited by their lack of taxing authority. REAA schools are funded entirely from state revenues.

There is no local contribution as with city and borough schools. As REAA schools are located in the "unorganized borough" -- that is, in places that do not tax residents to finance services which are, consequently, absent or provided by the state or the federal government -- the state legislature serves as the assembly. Changes in funding amounts must come directly from the legislature. Thus, when appropriation bills for education come before the legislature, REAA schools are particularly vulnerable to the vicissitudes of the legislative process.

Regional school boards range in size from five to eleven members. To ensure representation for smaller villages, REAAs are sectioned and board members are elected at-large to represent a given section. In some of the larger districts, this method of representation is viewed as unfair because a board member may represent three or four villages that are great distances apart. To travel to the villages that he represents may be prohibitively expensive. Local residents in these communities sometimes feel their interests are unrepresented.

Most of the approximately 250 REAA board members are male (61 percent), Native, and have less than a high school education (McBeath et al. 1983b:46).

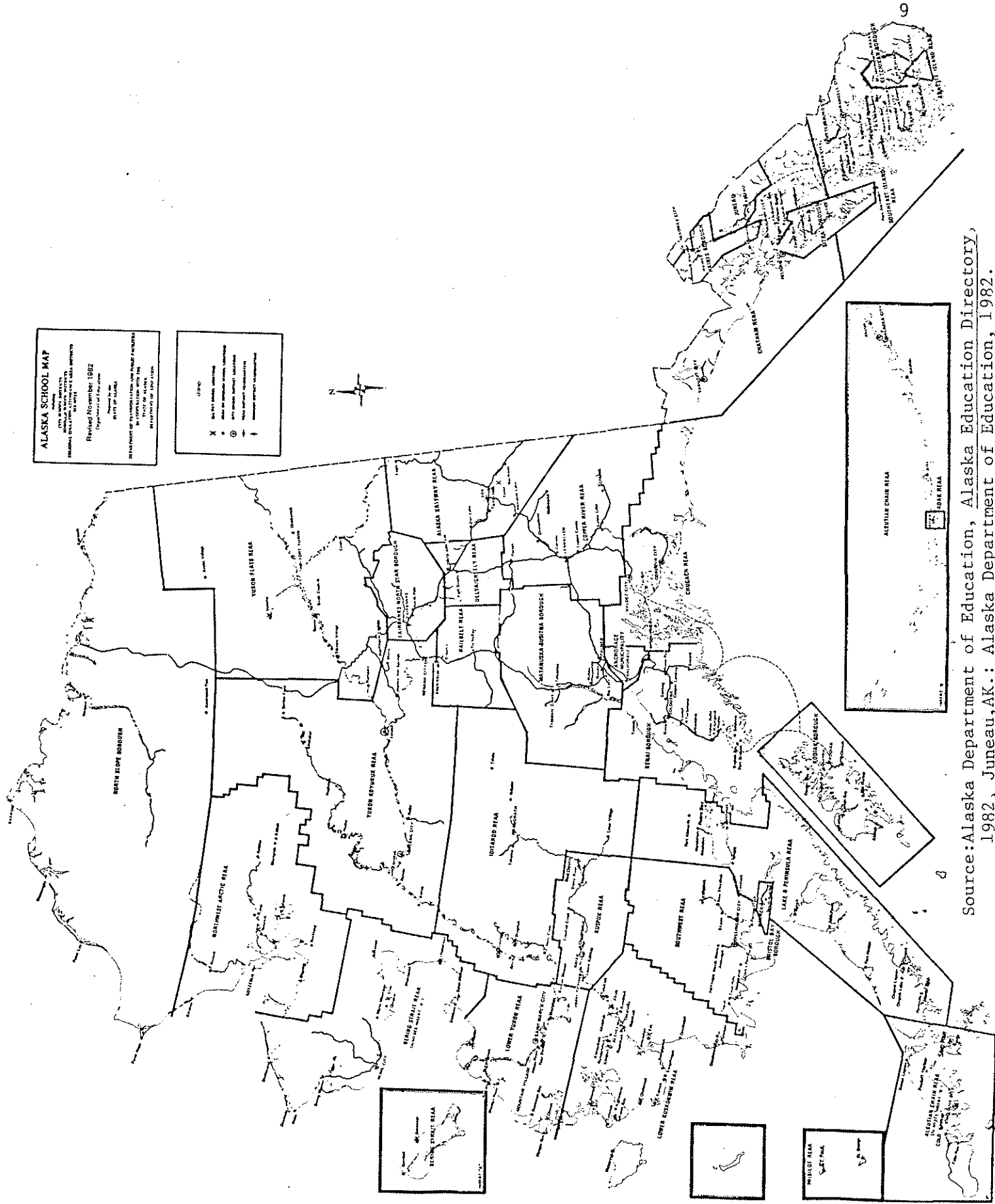
The regional board may choose to establish local advisory school boards (ASBs) in each village. More than 86 percent of the REAA schools have such local boards. These advisory boards go by various names -- community school committees (CSC), parents advisory committees (PAC) and local school advisory councils (LSAC). All have the same responsibility: to advise the regional school board on matters pertaining to the local school. McBeath and his associates found that ASB board members were slightly more likely to be female than male and were representative of the ethnic composition of their communities (Ibid:48).

The role of the local board is not, however, the same from community to community or from district to district. In some districts, the regional boards appear to rely on input from the local boards in developing policy or making decisions. In these districts, local board members from all or most of the schools will be present at the regional board meetings and will be invited to participate. These differences in the use of the local boards seem less likely to appear in policy than in practice.

REAA districts vary in ethnic composition and in remoteness from urban centers. The four REAA districts located along the road system and the four in the southeastern "Panhandle" of the state have a higher concentration of non-Natives, higher per family income, and, generally, more employment opportunities than do thirteen of the fourteen districts in the North and West (ISER, 1983). Communities in these districts along the road system and in the Southeast commonly enjoy certain urban amenities -- water, sewage, and telephone services; fresh fruits, vegetables, and dairy products; and road transportation -- not available to the more remote districts in the North and West.

ALASKA SCHOOL MAP
1982
Revised November, 1982
Department of Education
1400 W. BRIDGE STREET
ANCHORAGE, ALASKA 99501
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING
1400 W. BRIDGE STREET
ANCHORAGE, ALASKA 99501
REVISIONS OF 1982

- LEGEND
- X School building, unattended
 - School building, unattended
 - School building, unattended
 - School building, unattended
 - ▭ School building, unattended



Source: Alaska Department of Education, Alaska Education Directory, 1982, Juneau, AK.: Alaska Department of Education, 1982.

2. City School Districts: Of the 22 city districts in the state, all but one is rural. The enrollment in rural city districts ranges between a high of 880 and a low of 52. Total enrollment is 5,757 with a school mean of 274. The remaining city school district -- Anchorage -- enrolled 37,360 students in 1981-82, a figure which represents 42 percent of all public school students in the state.

City districts resemble school districts in other states. There is a fully empowered school board that must submit its budget to the city assembly for approval. In rural Alaska, city districts are typically small with perhaps one or two schools although some in the southeastern part of the state have as many as five.

These communities with their typically small district staffs, fully empowered boards, and small schools are better structured to realize the ideal of lay control than any other type of district (McBeath et al. 1983b). Two rural towns dissatisfied with their treatment in larger REAA districts have withdrawn from their respective REAAs and created city districts to gain greater control over their local schools.

3. Borough School Districts: The apparent intent of the framers of the Alaska Constitution was that the vast rural areas of the state would eventually be organized into boroughs -- a hybrid local government organization that looks, on a map, like a county but behaves, administratively, like a unified municipality (Morehouse and Fisher, 1971).

Boroughs can and do encompass cities, in which case educational services are the responsibility not of the latter but the former. There are ten borough school districts in Alaska which enrolled some 34,106 students in 1981-82. Of these ten, six were in rural areas and enrolled 4,895 students.

Borough districts have an elected school board and may choose to have local advisory boards as well. Like the city board, the borough school board has full responsibility for the schools. The school budget must, however, be submitted to the borough assembly for final approval. As with REAA districts, borough districts in the southeastern part of the state differ from those in the West and North. The latter are predominantly Native and have lower average educational levels (ISER, 1983). Interestingly, because of the natural resources in these boroughs in the West and North -- fish and oil -- per family income is actually higher than in the more "urban" Southcentral and Southeast.

4. Bureau of Indian Affairs Schools: In 1981-82, the BIA still operated 39 day schools -- and one secondary boarding school in Alaska. By 1983, the number of schools still not transferred to state operation was 18. As recently as the 1960s, the BIA was the primary provider of elementary education services to the indigenous people in the remote areas of Alaska.

Ironically, the BIA local school boards today have been given authority comparable to city and borough district boards. As a consequence of P.L. 95-561, which became law in 1978, control over virtually every aspect of the school program has been vested in these boards -- including the power of hiring professionals, budgeting, and dictating the curriculum. The irony lies in the reputation the BIA has in some quarters in Alaska as an agency of paternalism and a tool of assimilation.

5. Contract Schools: Village councils with BIA schools had the option under P.L. 95-561 to contract with the BIA to operate the local school. The BIA retains title to school property and maintains buildings and equipment; the local council

is responsible for personnel, educational policy, and administration. Between 1980 and 1983, four rural communities voted to contract the operation of their schools.

Under this arrangement, a village council has the same authority over its school as does a city school board. The traditional council serves as the school board and has full authority over hiring, budgeting, and curriculum.

An attractive alternative to some villages in theory, in practice, contracting has occurred in the context of the BIA's untidy retreat from Alaska. The future of the contract school is currently unclear. The BIA is planning to withdraw all educational services from Alaska by 1985 -- including, apparently, funding for the contract schools. Native groups have indicated they may fight this unilateral decision in court.

6. Private and Denominational Schools: While most of the 52 private schools in Alaska are located in urban areas, a few play important roles in the rural areas. A Catholic boarding school, St. Mary's, located on a tributary of the Yukon River, enrolled over 100 students in grades 9-12 in 1981-82. Under the auspices of the Fairbanks Diocese, St. Mary's has a reputation for graduating students who are unusually successful at universities and as village leaders (Kleinfeld, 1979). Covenant High School in Unalakleet is also a boarding school that draws students from western Alaska. Run by the Covenant Church, it enrolled some 73 Native students in grades 9-12 in 1981-82.

In the period 1981 to 1983, we collected data on all these school types with the exception of the private schools. Our primary interest in this paper will be, however, in communities with REAA and BIA schools. Concern for local input

into the governance of these schools originally motivated decentralization in rural Alaska. At the same time, for comparative purposes we will also examine school governance in rural, city, and borough districts.

School Finance in Alaska

Before examining the background of decentralization, another element vital to understanding the governance of Alaska schools is financing. Alaska ranks second nationally in the percentage of total funds it contributes to schools (Getches, 1977). The national average for state contributions is 49 percent. The state of Alaska contributed, in 1981-82, 77 percent. In per pupil expenditures, Alaska ranks first: \$5,606 per pupil in 1981-82 compared to the national average of \$2,498 (Alaska Department of Education, 1982).

The current Alaska Public School Foundation Program was enacted in 1970 and, although significant changes have been made, the original intent has been maintained. This intent is to determine the "basic need" for each district — and to provide state funding for 100 percent of this need (Ibid). In determining basic need, a number of variables are involved: size and isolation of schools, extra costs involved in providing bilingual education, special education, vocational education, and regional variations in the cost of operating schools.

For REAA schools, after the district's basic need is determined, an amount that is equal to the average per pupil tax contributions of city and borough districts is added (Getches, 1977).

To date, this method of equalizing funding between urban areas and the rural unorganized borough has not generated much controversy. State revenues from North Slope oil have been sufficient to meet the needs of all. In 1981, expenditures for REAA schools were \$103.5 million -- \$9,261 per pupil. With oil

revenues declining, and competition for state funds increasing, urban public support for rural schools, where the cost of delivering educational services is high compared to urban cost, may be expected to erode.

Organization of This Paper

Having briefly sketched an outline of the Alaska school system, we turn next to a more detailed account of the evolution of educational policy. We then review the research on decentralization and local lay control of schools as it bears on our own questions. Out of this literature review, we generate hypotheses about the characteristics of communities that may affect the participation and influence of lay boards in school governance. In our findings section, we examine each of these community characteristics to see if they do, indeed, affect lay participation and influence. Finally, in the conclusion, we review our findings and explore their policy implications.

CHAPTER II
BACKGROUND

BACKGROUND

The history of formal schooling in Alaska is really two stories. One covers the origins and development of schools for those -- mostly Euro-Americans -- who have immigrated into the country during the last 250 years. The other story is about the imposition of alien educative and institutional forms on the indigenous population of Alaska. Although these stories intertwine -- both historically and institutionally -- we need to follow them separately. Our focus will be on the latter of the two. Decentralized education in rural Alaska has affected most rural residents; yet, numerically and politically, the effect on indigenous peoples -- whether Tlingit, Haida, Aleut, Athabaskan, Yupik or Inupiat -- has been arguably more dramatic than on non-Natives.*

Before Statehood

In the mid-nineteenth century, Russian hunters and traders extended the Czar's domain eastward in search of sea otter pelts to supply the lucrative fur trade with China. They found among the people of western and southeastern Alaska with whom they first came into contact no evidence of formal schooling. The skills and knowledge necessary to the survival of the people were

* This section on the historical background of the present school situation breaks no new ground. We have relied on already published accounts, notably Naske and Slotnik (1979), Marsh (1967), Dafoe (1978), Koponen (1964), Szaz (1974) and Arnold et al. (1976). In addition, we have used the annual reports of the Commissioner of Education and, for recent years, the annual report of the Alaska Department of Education. Most of the statistics used in this section came from these two sources.

transmitted within the two most vital institutions in their society -- the family and the community.

During the Russian period (1741 to 1867) that followed, the Orthodox Church made sporadic efforts to establish schools at various trading posts in southeastern Alaska. According to Marsh (1967), the church schools operated primarily for the benefit of the children of the clergy and for creoles who wished to enter the priesthood or become lay readers. Russian commitment to Alaska was confined largely to the minimal administrative and military structure necessary to ensure the unencumbered operation of traders, particularly fur traders. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Russian-American Company had gained a monopoly over such trade. In the 1821 charter renewing the Company's exclusive trading rights, the Imperial Government charged the Directors with the responsibility of operating schools (Dafoe, 1978). Eventually, the Company operated three schools in Sitka, its Alaskan headquarters.

The nineteenth century saw the arrival on the Alaska Peninsula of Father Ivan Veniaminoff who was to exercise the single greatest Russian influence on formal schooling in Alaska. His determination to establish schools and to pressure the Imperial Government for funds produced, by 1868, 17 schools and a \$20,000 annual appropriation from the Czar's coffers. Indeed, so successful was Father -- later, Metropolitan -- Veniaminoff that the Russians continued to spend more on schools in Alaska than did the U.S. government until 1905 (Koponen, 1964).

Father Veniaminoff's passion for education was equalled only by his secular countrymen's passion for furs. The fur companies and individual

entrepreneurs alike often treated the indigenous populations as mere tools to use in the extraction of wealth. Aleuts on the Alaskan Peninsula were "impressed" into the service of fur traders who forced the Native men to hunt sea otter. This practice led to the virtual extinction of the sea otter and the decimation of the Native population. Unable to hunt and gather as the seasons dictated because of their servitude to Russian traders, Native men could not provide either the quantity or the balance of food their families needed. Such relationships of exploitation -- of both human and natural resources -- were to characterize interactions between people of European origins and the indigenous people of Alaska down to recent times. The nature of these relationships and the effects they have had on the indigenous people have shaped the context of policy making down to the present.

After the Russians sold Alaska to the United States in 1867, little changed for the indigenous people. At no time during the Russian period did the number of non-Natives exceed 700 (Naske and Slotnick, 1979:55). After the transaction, the number of non-Natives probably decreased slightly. Indeed, outside of a few Tlingit and Haida people in southeastern Alaska, the indigenous residents were unaware of this change in ownership.

Official U.S. government attitudes and policy -- such as they were -- were dominated by the vague goal of exploiting the as yet uninventoried natural resources of the "Great Land." American military commanders took charge of the new acquisition by the simple expedient of stationing soldiers in Sitka and Wrangell. The Russian Church continued to operate a few schools for its communicants and the American Commercial Company -- which had inherited the role and many of the assets of the old Russian-American Company -- operated two schools in the Aleutians. Governmental organizations were, for the first

seventeen years of U.S. rule, conspicuous by their absence. Even an attempt by residents to organize a town government in Sitka met with the disapproval of the military.

Just as the Orthodox Church had appeared to fill the void of schooling during the Russian period, the Presbyterian Church emerged to perform the same function early in the American period. In 1877 and 1878, the Presbyterian Board of Missions planted schools in Sitka and Wrangell respectively. The energetic Father Veniaminoff also had a counterpart in the person of Sheldon Jackson. Jackson's relationship with Benjamin Harrison, chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories and, subsequently, President, considerably enhanced the churchman's effectiveness in his efforts to establish schools in Alaska.

Harrison guided a bill through Congress in 1884 -- known as the First Organic Act -- which, seventeen years after the U.S. first raised their flag in Sitka, provided for some semblance of local government. In addition to defining Alaska as a "district" rather than a territory, the legislation created administrative and judicial posts -- governor, district judge, district attorney, marshal, and lesser judges known as "commissioners" -- to be filled by executive appointment. The bill also called upon the Secretary of the Interior to provide education for the children in the district. The Secretary, in turn, charged the U.S. Commissioner of Education with the "needful and proper provision for the education of the children of school age in the Territory of Alaska, without reference to race." (Commissioner's Report, 1920). This latter phase is of particular importance because it is so strikingly at odds with later legal provisions for a "dual system."

The Commissioner of Education appointed Sheldon Jackson as the bureau of Education's general agent for Alaska. Congress provided Jackson with \$40,000

to carry out his charge. To conserve these resources, he melded his activities with those of existing religious missions, using the missions' facilities where possible and contracting with the missionaries to teach in the government-funded schools (Marsh, 1967). Jackson also negotiated an agreement among the various denominations that divided the territory into religious "spheres of influence." The opportunity to get a contract from Jackson to provide educational services proved an attractive inducement for various churches to enter the field and agree to forego unseemly "flock-robbing."

By 1888, 13 government schools were in operation -- in addition to the 17 Russian Orthodox schools, the 11 schools operated by various American churches, and the two operated by the Alaska Commercial Company (Commissioner's Report, 1920). Schools had been established on the Kuskokwim, Nushagak, and Yukon Rivers through contracts with Catholic, Moravian, Episcopal, and Presbyterian missions. By 1890, Point Barrow, Point Hope, and Cape Prince of Wales on the Northwest Arctic coast also had their own elementary schools.

Jackson's system of contracting with various missions to deliver educational services worked well enough when there were fewer than 500 non-Natives in the Territory and there was apparently little demand from the indigenous people for western-style education. In 1897, the discovery of gold in the Klondike and, subsequently, in Nome and in the interior of Alaska changed this situation forever. In 1890, there were 25,354 Natives and 4,298 non-Natives in Alaska; by 1900, the non-Natives had overtaken the indigenous people -- 30,450 to 29,542 (Rogers, 1971). The gold strikes drew not only thousands of people into the country but, of equal importance, the attention of Congress. New legislation enabled towns with 300 or more inhabitants to create local governments to provide services. The taxing powers of the town were, however,

limited to revenues collected from license fees -- one half of which could be applied to education. As a consequence of this legislation, the incorporated towns took upon themselves the education of non-Native children.

Within the next twenty years, sixteen towns incorporated. Amendments to the incorporation legislation provided for the election of local school boards. Community control of non-Native schools in incorporated towns dates from this time. This same legislation assigned 50 percent of the proceeds from federal business licenses to schools outside the towns. These revenues were intended to replace the direct allocation Congress previously made for the education of Natives.

After a visit to Alaska, Senator Knute Nelson of Minnesota sponsored legislation passed by Congress in 1905 creating the Alaska Fund to be generated from license fees collected outside of incorporated towns. While 70 percent of the fund was earmarked for road construction, 25 percent was allocated to establish and maintain schools outside of the towns for Indian and Eskimo children. Although the origins of the dual school system are traced to this legislation, developments had been tending towards a segregated system for some time. The Governor assumed responsibility for schools in incorporated towns, attended primarily by non-Native children; the Commissioner of Education in Washington, D.C., continued to serve as the delegated agent of the Secretary of the Interior for the education of Native children. The contracting arrangement Jackson had established with various missions was ended and Jackson himself removed from his post.

The non-Native population had grown significantly in the two decades since the first Organic Act in 1884. Increasingly, pro-development forces battled with preservationists like Jackson over the economic and political course the new

territory should follow. The year 1906 saw the creation of a road commission and the first territorial election -- for a delegate to Congress. In 1909, during the Taft administration, a legislative commission -- composed of the governor, attorney general, and commissioners of interior, mines, education, and health -- was formed, the first legislative body in the territory. Although all the elements of home rule were present by 1909, the indigenous people of Alaska had been, at best, marginally involved in creating nascent administrative organizations.

Nationally, social policy in "Indian affairs" was, at this time, governed by an image of indigenous people as "strangers from within" just as the image of immigrants was of the "strangers from without" (Cohen, personal communication, 1977). This first decade of the twentieth century witnessed the greatest influx of immigrants any nation has seen (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1965). Public officials, school people, and social commentators watched this rising human tide of strangers with apprehension. Unlike earlier immigrants from western and northern Europe, these later immigrants spoke southern and eastern European tongues and lacked political experience with representative forms of government (Cubberley, 1909:13-15). The school system had to adjust to these "strangers from without." As Dr. Ellwood Patterson Cubberly of Stanford wrote at the time, the task of the schools was:

... to break up these groups or settlements, to assimilate and amalgamate these people as part of our American race, and to implant in their children, so far as can be done, the Anglo Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order, and popular government, and to awaken in them a reverence for our democratic institutions and those things in our national life which we as a people hold to be of abiding worth (Cubberly, 1909:15).

This assimilationist ideology applied equally to the "stranger from without" as to the "stranger from within." To this end, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) developed a boarding school system; by 1881, 68 such schools throughout the country had been opened and were attended by some 3,888 students (Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1881). The purpose of the boarding schools as well as the reservation day schools was "the preparation of Indian youth for assimilation into the national life by such a course of training as well as to prepare them for the duties and privileges of American citizenship" (Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1890). The boarding school also represented the most efficient system for assimilating the Indian -- and efficiency was a by-word of the day. This image of indigenous people as "strangers from within" would dominate policy-making in education for the first quarter of this century (Szaz, 1974).

During the Wilson administration, Progressives in Congress encouraged Alaska's desire for increased self-determination. In 1912, the Second Organic Act created a territorial government -- albeit one with very limited powers. Conservationists had successfully pressured lawmakers to reserve to the federal government control over land and natural resources.

In the evolution of American Indian policy, the 1930s marked if not an end to paternalism at least a temporary reversal of assimilation (Szaz, 1974:38). A sharply critical study of the Indian Bureau, the Meriam report, and the reform efforts of Commissioner Carson Ryan in the 1920s set the stage for John Collier who brought a new philosophy and the full support of President Roosevelt to the office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1934. During Collier's first year in office, Congress passed legislation embodying his idea of "economic rehabilitation" and "organization of the Indian Tribes for managing their own

affairs." In 1936, Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), as this legislation was known in Alaska. This enabled a few Native communities to incorporate and made some loans available to villages to build canneries (Naske and Slotnick, 1979:107).

Collier and his Education Director, Willard Beatty, a nationally recognized progressive educator, affected Alaska indirectly through the changes they brought to the Education Division. Collier's predecessor, Ryan, had introduced a new course of studies for Indian schools in 1926 which emphasized Native cultures and vocational-industrial programs (Dafoe, 1978:21). Collier sought to revamp the training for Indian Service teachers by including an anthropological perspective. Beatty questioned the effect of boarding schools -- "let us be sure that the experience won't unfit him [the Indian] for return to life among his own people, while failing to fit him for making a living elsewhere" -- and encouraged the construction of day schools (Szaz, 1974:55). During Collier's tenure, 16 boarding schools were closed and 84 day schools opened (Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, 1969a:13).

Another bill dealing with Indian education passed Congress in 1934. The Johnson-O'Malley Act provided subsidies to local schools that enrolled Native students who resided on tax exempt land. In addition, the Act enabled the BIA to contract with states or territories to provide social services, including education, to Native Americans. Not until 1952 would the territory of Alaska contract to operate BIA schools.

These policy changes at the national level had little immediate impact on Alaska. The philosophical and curricular changes in the Education Division of BIA, the new funding arrangements present in the Johnson-O'Malley Act, and the

self-government options presented by the IRA were, however, to influence profoundly Native education in Alaska.

World War II and the Defense Buildup

Of greater impact on Alaska than even the Gold Rush was World War II and the resulting defense buildup. By 1943, over 150,000 members of the armed forces were stationed on Alaskan soil. Department of Defense dollars and construction crews were mobilized to develop Alaska's skeletal infrastructure -- modernizing the Alaska Railroad, building airfields, roads, docks, breakwaters and so on. Many of those who came to work or to serve stayed on after the war. Between 1940 and 1950, Alaska's population increased by two-thirds -- to 112,000 with some additional 26,000 military personnel (Naske and Slotnick, 1979:123).

The territory was hard pressed to keep up with the demand for schooling. Federal impact aid (P.L. 874) was paid to rural territorial schools and district schools for Native children. These funds together with those paid to the territory for on-base schools constituted between 25 and 29 percent of Alaska's education revenues throughout the 1950s (Dafoe, 1978:27). On the federal side, BIA officials came out of the war with a changed attitude towards Native education. No longer could officials assume that Natives would stay in their villages and that their schooling should be designed accordingly. This policy was manifest in the opening of Mt. Edgecumbe Boarding School in an abandoned Naval facility in Sitka. Until 1966, Mt. Edgecumbe was the only public boarding school in Alaska providing secondary facilities for Native youth who hailed from rural communities that lacked a local high school (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1974:Part II, 11). Only a handful of rural Native communities had secondary facilities.

Another illustration of BIA's changed attitude can be seen in the transfer of 22 schools in Alaska from federal to territorial control. During this same period of time, the BIA shut down all its schools in Idaho, Michigan, Washington, and Wisconsin (Fuchs and Havighurst, 1972:14). In the schools that remained, the curricular emphasis shifted away from venerating Native ways -- a policy established in the 1930s under BIA Education Director Beatty -- and returned to assimilation (Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, 1969a:14). These changes reflect the broader policy of termination pursued after the war and throughout the Eisenhower administration -- a policy that spurred Native leaders to closer cooperation and scrutiny of federal Indian policy (Szaz, 1974:113-114). In 1953, the House passed Concurrent Resolution 108 calling for the termination of all federal services to Indians. Historians such as Szaz (1974) date the organized, concerted movement of Indians for greater local control of their schools from this period. In Alaska, the lack of a modern communications and the dispersion of Native communities across the vastness of the country continued to impede cooperation and unity among the Native peoples.

Statehood and the 1960s

Although the first Alaska statehood bill was introduced to Congress in 1916, not until 1958 were political constellations favorably aligned to secure statehood status. With statehood, the effort to merge the two school systems increased. In 1962, a memorandum of agreement between federal and state officials guaranteed "federal financial participation" in any plan to transfer BIA schools to the state (Dafoe, 1978:30). Although this seemed, at the time, to remove a major stumbling block to merger, the two systems would continue to operate side-by-side until the 1980s. Although merger was the long-term goal,

the immediate problem was the lack of secondary opportunities in small, Native communities. A committee sponsored by the Governor in 1963 recommended that students from communities with less than 150 children of high school age should attend regional boarding schools which enrolled no fewer than 300 students (Governor's Committee on Education, 1963). This was consistent with the conventional wisdom of the time. For more than 15 years, the national trend had been toward the consolidated high schools. James Conant, the champion of the comprehensive secondary school, set 500 students as a minimum for an adequate secondary program (Conant, 1959). The concept of regional boarding schools was to dominate planning for rural secondary education through the 1960s (see Training Corporation of America, 1966).

Nationally, the 1960s marked yet another major shift in Indian policy. The efforts at terminating federal services during the 1950s had created profound suspicions among indigenous people throughout the nation. The Commission of Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian -- sponsored by the Fund for the Republic -- came out with a report in 1961 that attacked the paternalism of the BIA and the inadequacies of services; to correct these injustices, the report called for greater Indian involvement in programs which affected them (Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, 1969a:166-167). Shortly afterwards, Indian leaders gathered and drew up a "Declaration of Indian Purpose" calling for greater lay participation in policy making and program design -- a call the BIA apparently ignored (Josephy, 1969:33-34). Yet another study, headed by Secretary of the Interior Udall, emphasized the need for greater parental participation in Indian education (Ibid:24).

Reform came not, however, from the BIA itself but through the social legislation of the Johnson Administration. The Economic Opportunity Act funded

new programs such as Head Start which were instrumental in involving Native American communities in their children's schooling. Perhaps the most significant program to come out of this Act was the Indian Community Action Programs (CAPs). CAPs created the opportunity for indigenous Americans to plan, establish, and operate their own programs with the technical support of a consortium of universities. The social programs of the 1960s also introduced a variety of "change agents" -- CAP coordinators, VISTA volunteers, Operation Grassroot workers -- into small Native communities. These individuals often brought with them a strong community-control ideology, information about and contacts with community power networks, and knowledge of how to manipulate the political system. Programs under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965) poured additional funds into Indian schools -- and the parents advisory committees mandated for some of these programs, like those for Head Start, created in small, Native communities the potential for parental involvement in designing and evaluating such programs.

The expanding opportunities for community participation in designing educational and other social service programs for local conditions coincided with increasing unity and political sophistication among the indigenous peoples of Alaska. This greater unity and the desire for increased self-determination emerged from the Alaska Natives' struggle for their homeland -- a struggle spurred by statehood and still the primary political concern of Native people.

Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act

When Alaska became the forty-ninth state in 1959, the issue of Native lands was left unresolved. Indeed, the Statehood Act -- like the earlier Organic Acts -- contained a disclaimer on the status of Native lands, "the right or title

to which may be held by Eskimos, Indians, or Aleuts" (Naske and Slotnick, 1979:203). As the Alaskan Department of Natural Resources prepared to select 103.3 million acres of land to which the Statehood Act entitled the state, Natives grew apprehensive:

The fear of losing their lands aroused the natives and radicalized them. An identity revolution occurred in villages across Alaska during the 1960s, and by 1968 even inhabitants of the most remote settlements understood what was at stake (Ibid:205).

In the early 1960s, Northwest Inupiat Eskimos' success in scuttling an Atomic Energy Commission proposal (Project Chariot) to create an artificial harbor near the village of Pt. Hope with a nuclear blast demonstrated the value of organization and unity in direct confrontation with federal and state agencies (Brooks, 1971).

Shortly afterwards, an organization of northern Native people -- Inupiat Paitot -- coalesced around the resistance of Barrow residents to hunting restrictions imposed by an international migratory bird treaty (Arnold et al. 1976:95-96). Inupiat Paitot was not the first regional Native organization but it was the first organized to defy national or international attempts to restrict traditional land and resource use. Natives in the southeastern area of the state had organized in 1912 and in 1915 as the Alaska Native Brotherhood and the Alaska Native Sisterhood respectively. In 1962, in southwest Alaska, the Association of Village Council Presidents was founded. Natives in the interior organized Dena Nena Henash (Our Hand Speaks) in 1962 and the Tanana Chiefs Conference in 1963 (Ibid:108-109). By 1963, four regional Native organizations had been formed and Native leaders called for a statewide organization.

The state's plans to develop the land also threatened Native land use. State efforts to establish a recreational area in Minto, north of Fairbanks, ran headlong into the traditional use of these areas for Native hunting and trapping in the early 1960s. The Minto dispute is of particular importance because the first statewide newspaper -- the Tundra Times -- covered the meetings that took place and spread word of the issue (Ibid:99-100).^{*} It quickly became the primary source of information on the struggles of various Native people for their land rights.

To protect their lands, Natives throughout the state filed protests to the land selections made by the state. The situation had reached a total impasse by 1968 when Natives had filed protests on 337 million acres. In the meantime, Secretary of Interior Udall had frozen all land disposal -- including leasing of oil and gas tracts.

Efforts to organize Alaska Natives to protect their land culminated, in 1967, in the creation of the Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN), the first pan-Alaska Native organization (Ibid:112-117). Over the next three years AFN was kept busy evaluating the various settlements proposed by state, Congressional, and Interior Department committees and task forces. With the support of the Association on American Indian Affairs and the legal advice of Arthur Goldberg and Ramsey Clark, AFN came up with its own proposal designed

* Founder and editor of the Tundra Times was Howard Rock who had risen to prominence as a spokesman for the village of Pt. Hope during the Project Chariot struggle. Rock's role in these two incidents -- separated by almost a thousand miles and wide cultural differences -- illustrates the growing unity among Native peoples and the recognition that they faced a common threat. Rock's newspaper would be the first statewide voice to orchestrate this recognition and call for unity.

to avoid the pitfalls of earlier Indian settlements. In the meantime, the discovery of oil at Prudhoe Bay in 1968 and the decision of a consortium of oil companies to build the Trans-Alaska Pipeline System (TAPS) further complicated the issue, bringing new pressures for an expeditious settlement of the land issue (Berry, 1975).

Without a settlement, construction of the TAPS could not go forward -- to the consternation of both the oil companies and those in Alaska who stood to benefit from the proposed \$900 million project. The AFN had increased its resources and strength with loans and endorsements from state and national Native organizations. Throughout the first legislative session of 1971, the various actors worked on an acceptable settlement. Finally, in December, 1971, a settlement was reached among the various interests -- including AFN -- and President Nixon signed the bill into law.

Under terms of the settlement, in return for forfeiting claims to aboriginal title in Alaska, Natives were to receive \$962.5 million and 40 million acres of land. The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) also created twelve regional corporations to administer the settlement. Eligible Natives were enrolled in the regional corporation in their home area and received 100 shares of stock. Natives who lived in villages were also shareholders in their village corporation. The village corporations were entitled to as much as 161,180 acres of land each. While the village owned the surface rights to this land, the regional corporations owned the subsurface rights (Alaska Native Foundation, 1976).

Clearly, the experience of the long, intense struggle for land rights gave Natives the sense of their own power, of what could be accomplished through concerted, persistent effort. The experience contributed, moreover, to Native

confidence in their ability to determine their own destiny. Subsequently, the experience of residents of even small, remote communities in directing and managing their village corporations has had several effects.

Native villagers' sense of competency in running local institutions, which are alien to their culture, has increased greatly. Secondly, younger villagers now grow to adulthood within a matrix of political organizations -- corporations and councils -- adopted from the dominant culture. They are, thereby, socialized, comparatively early in life, to roles their elders may find alien. Finally, many Natives, particularly those who have come of age since statehood, resist any attempt to impose on their villages policy developed without local input. Against this background, then, we need to complete our story of the decentralization of rural education.

Boarding Schools and the Boarding Home Program

During the 1960s, Native students from rural areas who wanted a secondary education and who could not get a place at Mt. Edgecumbe in Sitka had to go outside the state -- to a BIA boarding school in either Chemawa, Oregon or Chilocco, Oklahoma. In 1965, there were 400 graduates of the eighth grade who had no place at all to go. The BIA decided to send 204 of those students to distant Chilocco (Szaz, 1974:127). Faced with budgetary restraints that prohibited expanding facilities, the BIA reduced the large number of eligible students without secondary opportunities by fitting the students to the system -- that is, sending Alaskan students to boarding schools where there was 'excess capacity.' Such cumbersome, heavy-handed policies -- viewed as a necessary compromise among distasteful alternatives in Washington -- were, in part, responsible for the unfavorable image of the BIA among educators and parents.

As we have seen, the recommendation from both state education leaders (Ray et al. 1959:356) and outside consultants (Training Corporation of America, 1967:66) to policy makers was to establish secondary boarding schools in rural areas.

Even measures as extreme as sending students to Oklahoma did not solve the problem. In 1967, because Mt. Edgecumbe, Chemawa, and Chilocco could not accommodate all the students who wished to go to high school, the State Department of Education initiated the boarding home program. Under this program, the Department found suitable homes in larger towns for students from small villages. Students attended the local high school, which received federal impact aid; the family with whom the student boarded similarly received federal funds for room and board. The cost of the program was high — over \$5,000 per student compared to the state average of under \$2,000 per student (Kleinfeld, 1973). By 1971, 1,200 Native students were in the boarding home program while the number going outside the state had been reduced from 876 in 1967 to 428.

Concurrently with the development of the boarding home program, the state and the BIA embarked on a joint secondary schooling venture. In 1966, the state floated a bond issue to raise money to build a secondary vocational school for rural Alaskans in Nome and the BIA agreed to build, staff, and fund the dormitory facilities. This arrangement was subsequently followed in both Kodiak and Bethel (Dafoe, 1978:13).

In an effort to become more responsive to rural needs and concerns, the Alaska Department of Education created a separate Division of State-Operated Schools with a Director, a seven-member Board of Education appointed by the governor, and superintendents in each of five areas of the state as well as at each boarding school. Following the lead of the BIA, the state legislature passed legislation to create advisory school boards for all state schools. Lacking any

genuine legal authority, these boards were charged to "advise and assist the Board of Directors ... through the local official administering the school" (Getches, 1977). By 1975, advisory boards were functioning in only half of the rural communities with state schools.

By the end of the 1960s, the dual system of education was still intact. Moreover, the provision of secondary educational opportunities to rural Native students remained inadequate. Only one in four Native secondary students was attending school in a Native community. In the 77 villages with state schools, only six had secondary programs; similarly, only six villages had BIA schools with courses beyond the eighth grade (Dafoe, 1978:33).

During a variety of public hearings in the late 1960s and early 1970s, spokesmen for the Native communities voiced their opposition to the limited options available to rural students who wanted a secondary education. At a meeting in Sitka in 1968, Native leaders raised objections to the regional high school programs then under development (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1974). At hearings before the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education, testimony focused on the failure of existing schools to instill pride, to develop self-identity, and to prepare students academically and socially so they could, if they chose, assimilate (Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, 1969b). In short, formal schooling for rural Natives was, in the eyes of both consumers and educators, not delivering.

Critics and policy makers alike felt that if secondary schooling was to improve -- indeed, if Native education was to improve -- a unified state system was essential. Natives felt that their ability to influence the education of their children would increase considerably if schools were under state rather than federal jurisdiction. The major sticking point in merging the two systems was

money: The state claimed it didn't have enough to take over and run the BIA schools. The BIA, in its turn, protested that it didn't have the money to expand secondary opportunities for rural Native students in their home villages. On September 10, 1969, in a matter of seven hours, the State of Alaska realized over \$900 million from the sale of 179 tracts of land on the North Slope -- and the sticking point disappeared.

Transition from ASOSS to REAAs

Critics attacked the Department of Education as unresponsive to the needs of rural students and parents and the state's rural schools as irrelevant to the experiences, traditions, and values of rural residents. In an effort to answer its critics and to make rural schools more responsive to the needs of their clientele, the State Department of Education, in 1970, spun off a completely separate state corporation to run the 130 state schools in the rural areas which were known collectively as the "unorganized borough." The Alaska State-Operated School System (ASOSS) had a Board of Directors -- six of whom had to come from rural areas -- appointed by the Governor. The Board exercised some of the authority over rural schools that had previously been held by the legislature and the State Board of Education. In addition, each school in the system had a local advisory school board. Absent, however, was a channel through which these local boards could communicate their wishes and needs to the Directors (Getches, 1977:27).

The discovery of oil at Prudhoe Bay and the large royalty revenue this discovery promised removed the major obstacle -- lack of funds -- to providing secondary educational opportunities to rural residents. This new situation resulted

in major developments on two fronts: the courts and the administrative organization of rural schools.

In the courts, a suit was brought in 1971 on behalf of five Native students from the northwestern Inupiat Eskimo village of Kivalina to force the state to provide a secondary program in their village. Before the case could be decided, the state expanded the school program in Kivalina to twelve grades. The State Board of Education also changed their regulations, guaranteeing "(e)very child of school age shall have the right to a secondary education in his community" (4 Alaska Administrative Code 06.020 repealed and re-enacted effective July, 1974). In 1972, a similar suit was brought on behalf of 28 rural Native students (Hootch v. Alaska State-Operated School System). This case dragged on for nearly four years, reaching the State Supreme Court in 1975.

In its decision, the State Supreme Court ruled that the state had no constitutional obligation to provide a secondary program in "one's community of residence." The Court returned the case to the Superior Court for adjudication of the charge that the plaintiffs' constitutional guarantee of equal protection before the law had been violated. In 1976, an agreement was reached in the case -- now known as Tobeluk v. Lind. According to this "consent decree," the state Board of Education changed its regulations to read that "(e)very child of school age has the right to a public education in the local community in which he resides" (4 AK. Adm. Code 05.030). The agreement also contained a schedule for the establishment of secondary school programs in villages lacking such programs.

A further impetus for establishing village high schools was a study of the boarding schools and boarding home programs (Kleinfeld, 1973). Professor Kleinfeld found that three-quarters of the rural boarding school students and six of ten urban boarding home students had developed school-related social and

emotional problems. In the same year the study appeared, Commissioner of Education Marshall Lind requested that the Center for Northern Educational Research (CNER) at the University of Alaska undertake an examination of the alternatives for secondary education available to the state (Center for Northern Educational Research, 1973:392-393). Working with the Human Resources Committee of the Alaska Federation of Natives and the Alaska Legislative Committee on Pre-Higher Education, CNER spent a year looking into the alternatives. A primary event was a "Forum on Education in the Unorganized Borough" at which various interested groups and individuals presented position papers (Darnell et al. 1974: Appendix, 15-148). Another key event was a meeting of representatives of rural Native communities in Juneau to discuss alternatives and offer their suggestions to CNER.

The report that CNER sent on to the Legislative Interim Committee on Pre-Higher Education reviewed the alternatives and reported the criticisms levelled at ASOSS. The report excoriated ASOSS for inefficiency, insensitivity, and deterring the development of local leadership and self-determination. The authors recommended that schools be placed under the jurisdiction not of a statewide system but rather under smaller districts and municipalities: "While local control is not a sufficient condition for improving education, it is seen by CNER as a necessary condition at this time" (Ibid:36).

The legislature failed, however, to act on the report's recommendations in 1974. During the Ninth Legislative Session, the Alaska Federation of Natives and other Native groups lobbied heavily to ensure that legislation embodying CNER's recommendations would pass both chambers. On June 9, 1975, the conference version of the bill -- S.B. 35 -- was signed into law.

As passed and enacted, S.B. 35 called for Regional Education Attendance Areas (REAA) which conformed to the boundaries of the regional corporations. The bill also mandated that district lines be drawn to maintain linguistic, socio-economic, and cultural homogeneity, and to reflect the realities of transportation, communications, and geography. Each REAA would have a school board composed of five to eleven members elected at large to represent particular sections of the region. This latter provision was to ensure the representation of the smaller communities. The legislation also mandated the election, in each community, of a community school committee whose duties were vaguely defined -- to "review and make recommendations to the board concerning the curriculum, program, and general operation of the local school." In 1979, this section of the law was repealed.

At the insistence of the CNER staff and AFN, the ASOSS was specifically precluded from becoming involved in the transition. A transitional organization -- the Alaska Unorganized Borough School District (AUBSD) -- was created to facilitate the decentralization of the system. The Alaska Department of Community and Regional Affairs carried out informational meetings in rural villages during July and August of 1975 to inform residents of the new system. In addition, hearings were held throughout the state to gather public opinion on proposed REAA boundaries. In July of 1976, 21 Rural Education Attendance Areas came into being.

With the gradual phasing out of BIA operations -- in 1983, only 14 BIA schools remained -- and the creation of the REAAs, Alaska is closer than ever before to a unified school system. For the first time ever, Alaska Natives have secondary programs in their villages and the organizational structures needed to make input into the governance of the schools their children attend.

This brief review of the historical development of educational policy in Alaska raises several themes which are pertinent to the issue of lay participation and influence in rural schools. The decentralization of education should be seen in the wider context of the decentralization of other social services and increasing Native self-determination. Changes in federal statutes as well as new statutes regulating the delivery of social services during the 1960s and 1970s favored "maximum feasible participation." The passage of ANCSA in 1971 and the subsequent formation of regional non-profit corporations provided institutional structures for Natives to control human service delivery in their area. Non-profit organizations contract with state and federal agencies to administer a variety of programs -- health care, welfare, education, housing, employment, and even public safety. In a matter of two decades, human service delivery in rural Native communities has been transformed -- from total dependence on the BIA to administer social services to Native administrative control of these services. Yet, Native organizations remain dependent upon state and federal sources to fund these social services.

Thus, a tension has developed as Native groups have achieved greater administrative control over human service programs. Despite this greater level of control, the level of funding is controlled by distant legislatures. The tension is described by an informant in a small, remote Native village:

I went down to Mt. Edgecumbe for high school. The problem there was that they never taught me to stand on my own two feet. That's the problem with all this grant money floating around. If you just give it to people, they never really learn what self-determination is. Can you call what [a village that contracted to run their local school] is doing self-determination? They're just going after all kinds of grants. So who determines what's going to happen? The grants, of course.

This tension -- between administrative control and financial dependency -- is exacerbated by a second type of dependence: technical expertise dependence. Of all the difficulties facing Alaska Natives after passage of ANCSA none was more serious than the lack of trained manpower to manage and staff the new organizations which the act created. As a consequence, Native organizations have had to hire non-Natives for many technical positions and rely on non-Native consultants.

As a product of these historical circumstances, decentralized schooling in rural Alaska is beset with these same tensions. REAA districts are totally dependent on the state legislature and, to a lesser degree, on the federal government for operating funds. Similarly, for technical expertise, Native schools must depend on non-Natives. Awareness of this tension may provoke Native people to greater vigilance in watching for signs of paternalism. This increased vigilance may generate uncertainty and prompt non-Native experts -- such as the local administrator and teachers -- to consult with community representatives before taking action.

Another aspect of the historical evolution of the decentralized, REAA districts was the lack of actual community input into the process of drafting the legislation and designing the school system. Native interests were represented in the process by spokesmen and leaders of the "Native community." One could argue that the political goals and interests of such individuals do not necessarily reflect the interests of Native people who live in small, remote villages. Studies of school governance have found that elites do not necessarily reflect accurately the attitudes and opinions of constituents -- particularly when the elites live apart from their constituents as do many Native leaders who live in urban

centers where the administrative offices of Native organizations and the political action are found.

One could argue that the present school system reflects less the actual needs and preferences of rural residents than the political objectives of Native leaders and their supporters in the university and in government. The document produced to guide lawmakers in drafting the decentralization legislation was written by University of Alaska faculty members (Darnell et al. 1974). These academics worked closely with the Alaska Federation of Natives and held public hearings at which interested parties could present position papers. Despite such provisions for input from the "Native community," we could find little evidence of participation of those who would be most affected -- parents and students living in small, remote Native villages.

Anticipating our results, we might note at this point that the lack of greater participation in some school governance process that we found in Native villages may be related to the lack of village involvement in designing the present system. Had villagers been asked, they may have suggested a system of local schools quite different than that created by the Legislature.

CHAPTER III
LITERATURE REVIEW

LITERATURE REVIEW

Relevant Theory and Prior Research

Research conducted in other cultural settings -- notably, urban areas -- has addressed the questions raised in this paper. Two broad areas treated in the literature have influenced our hypotheses and conceptual framework: (1) studies of the effects of decentralization on lay participation in educational decision-making; and (2) the relative influence of professionals and laymen on educational decisions.

Decentralization and Lay Participation

Much of the literature on decentralization concerns the efforts of urban blacks and other minorities, particularly in New York City, to wrest control of local schools from large city school bureaucracies. In attempting to gain greater influence over their schools, blacks found that the white power structure used central school boards as a means to protect their control (Cronin, 1973). Seeking to circumvent this stranglehold on power at the center, black leaders promoted the idea of decentralization to bring decision-making closer to those affected by the decisions.

Decentralization may be one of two types: administrative decentralization which moves the locus of control closer to its clients but does little to increase representation or participation; and political decentralization which creates smaller units of governance and dismantles much of the central power structure (Jennings, 1981:35). The 1969 Decentralization Law for New York included elements of both types of decentralization (Rogers et al. 1981:10.1). The origins

and implementation of this law have generated a considerable number of studies (for example, Rogers, 1968; Berube and Gittel, 1969; Zimet, 1973; Ravitch, 1974; Rogers et al. 1981). In general, these studies found little or no redistribution of power from professionals to the public as a result of decentralization.

Zimet, for example, found in his case study of School District 7 in New York that while the "community, through the Community School Board, does have a role in decision making the range of issues that are within the province of the Community School Board is restricted to such an extent that the sense of effective participation is neutralized by a sense of frustration" (Zimet, 1973:137). Gittel -- with various associates (1968; 1969) -- has examined decentralization in New York City and other urban settings. She found that, in New York, decentralization was not accompanied by a significant increase in lay participation although activists involved in agitating for decentralization frequently participated afterwards in other areas of politics. Rogers, in the most recent study of the New York decentralization, found that lay participation has not increased substantially (Rogers et al. 1981:10.3).

LaNoue and Smith (1973) argue, on the basis of their research in five large cities undergoing varying degrees of decentralization, that while the intention of decentralization is to increase constituent participation -- particularly among the poor and those not previously involved in school policy-making -- the actual result has been the emergence of a new elite to represent the poor. They find little evidence for large-scale grass-roots involvement in the governance of schools in poor neighborhoods. They conclude that "decentralized school structures have not yet overcome the traditional barriers to political participation" and go on to observe that "on the basis of available evidence, it does not appear likely that mass citizen involvement could

be induced under any imaginable system of local control of schools" (LaNoue and Smith, 1973:229).

Based on his study of centralized school boards in two medium-size cities, Lyke (1970) warns that whereas decentralization may increase the substantive -- as opposed to the formal -- representation of communities, it may also decrease participation in meetings and elections by reducing heterogeneity. Assuming that "people participate in local politics when they have something to protest rather than merely to exercise power," Lyke argues that "increased homogeneity may decrease the visible symbols of conflict in the community, thereby decreasing the incentive to participate . . ." (Lyke, 1970:164). Thus a policy of decentralization intended to increase the formal participation of the community in school governance could have the opposite effect.

Research conducted on decentralization in urban areas reveals that most attempts to bring governance decisions closer to those most affected by the decisions have not resulted in broader participation. In some cases, a new elite has arisen to assume the newly acquired power. In other cases, the center has reserved to itself authority over vital policy areas -- such as the budget -- thus emasculating the local boards. At least one researcher suggests that decentralization may actually decrease lay participation by removing the antagonisms which provoke participation. In short, decentralization of city school districts, according to the literature, has achieved considerably less than the advocates of broader lay participation had hoped.

A major limitation of the literature on decentralization is the lack of studies of rural decentralization. In Education in Rural America edited by Sher (1977), the sole case of rural decentralization -- in Vermont -- is a description rather than an analytical study. The literature also contains few studies that

examine the effects of decentralization on ethnic minorities. The few studies that do exist have been neither rigorous nor systematic. Some of these studies available on American Indian education (Navajo Tribe, n.d.; Dodge, n.d.) suggest that where school governance has been decentralized, Native Americans participate more, develop feelings of efficacy, and benefit from the greater congruence between the schooling experience and their lifestyles. The results from an unsystematic evaluation of community control at Rough Rock were controversial. When the evaluator questioned whether or not community control actually existed, other observers objected to the criteria and methods used (Erickson, 1970; Wax, 1970; Muskrat, 1970).

Professionals and Laymen: Relations of Power in Decision-Making

Several recent studies have examined the relationships of authority and influence between boards and educational professionals. Zeigler and Jennings (1974), using a nationwide sample of school districts, examined recruitment to school boards, responsiveness of board members to their constituents, and conflict and cooperation between boards and superintendents. Of particular importance to our study, these researchers found that school board members are insulated from the public and dependent on superintendents and their staffs for the information needed to make decisions. Superintendents, they conclude, are the key policy-making actors in the overwhelming majority of school districts.

This conclusion confirms the earlier findings of Kerr (1964) who argued that school boards are coopted into adopting the superintendent's point of view and, ultimately, serve to legitimate the educational professionals' decisions in the eyes of the community. David, in her study of the budgetary process in four districts, found "little evidence of continuous lay citizen participation and

influence in any of the school districts" (David, 1975:131). Although she concludes that the "main source of influence on the decisions taken on the budget" is the superintendent, she adds that "his influence is not unbounded. It draws strength from its roots in the character of the local community" (Ibid).

While David's overall findings confirm the conclusion that "professionals dominate the board," she raises the concept of congruence which Boyd (1976) develops further. In developing an alternative analytical framework, he argues for a less one-sided analysis of the balance between school boards and superintendents. Commenting on a study by Iannaccone and Lutz (1970), Boyd notes that these researchers found that "communities undergoing substantial social and economic change ultimately tend to experience a significant shift in the balance of community power which decisively affects educational policymaking" (Boyd, 1976:550). Iannaccone and Lutz based their study on statistical data from 117 California school districts and one intensive case study. Boyd further supports his argument by citing the research of Kimbrough (1964) who found that small informal elites exercised decisive influence in policy making in four rural southern school districts, and McCarty and Ramsey's (1971) study of school managers. These latter authors found considerable variation in power structure among some 51 communities. Using Zeigler and Jennings' 1974 data, Boyd argues for:

...the notion of continuing, but variable, community influence manifested in both direct and indirect forms. There is evidence to suggest that this ongoing community influence is such that in many, perhaps even most, school districts the superintendents (and their school boards as well) usually attempt to act in harmony with what they perceive as the predominant community values and expectations concerning the schools (Boyd, 1976:551, emphasis in original).

Boyd also raises the idea of a "zone of tolerance." Originally introduced by Charters (1953) and developed by McGivney and Moynihan (1972), the zone of tolerance is defined as the latitude or area of maneuverability granted (or yielded) to the leadership of the schools by the local community" (McGivney and Moynihan, 1972:221). As long as school officials operate within this zone, they act and make decisions largely unopposed. When, however, they violate the boundaries of this zone, they "come into conflict with the values dear to a particular community and face controversy and opposition" (Boyd, 1976:551).

Boyd argues that the balance of power and influence between the community and professional educators varies with at least two factors: type of school district and type of issue or policy question involved. Three variables constitute the type of school district factor: (1) size; (2) degree of urbanism; and (3) heterogeneity of school district. According to Boyd, major changes occur much more slowly in large, urban districts than in small, rural ones. He cites Zeigler and Jennings's 1974 data which shows that school board members' estimates of their chances for a victory over the superintendent increase as one moves from urban to suburban to rural districts (Zeigler and Jennings, 1974:170). After examining the Zeigler and Jennings data on board responsiveness to constituent demands, Boyd concludes that political information in small rural communities is communicated through informal networks and that, "as a result, the board, resting on powerful, informal networks, can dominate its superintendent when it needs to" (Boyd, 1976:555).

Boyd's third variable -- heterogeneity -- has been tested by Lyke (1968). Based on his research, Lyke argues that homogeneity in the school districts

increases the likelihood that professional educators and school boards will try to anticipate the demands of community groups. Lyke gives expression to the notion of "congruence" between professional educators and the communities they serve when he concludes that although

...citizen participation is low...it is not absent, and educators worry a great deal about being threatened by it. Major defeats of educators have occurred just often enough -- if not in their communities, then in neighboring ones -- for educators consciously to frame policies and programs that will be acceptable to an overwhelming majority of the potentially active (Lyke, 1968, quoted in Boyd, 1976:556-557).

The concept of congruence is further supported by Prewitt and Eulau (1969) who studied city councilmen in 82 cities in the San Francisco Bay area. They found that the public and their representatives in small, homogenous communities tend to be like-minded. Representatives in such circumstances can, therefore, make decisions according to their own lights and have confidence that their perceptions reflect the majority view. Zeigler and Jennings found confirmation for this result. The greatest congruence between the public and the school board members on policy preferences occurred in those districts in which school board members were largely unopposed at election time (Zeigler and Jennings, 1974:135-135). In other words, the less electoral competition for school board seats, the more likely that the school board members will represent the will of the community.

The other factor Boyd cites as affecting the relative influence of laymen and professionals is the type of issue faced. According to Zald (1969), lay boards are more likely to assert their power at "strategic decision points" rather than

on routine decision matters. Evidence from Tucker and Zeigler (1980) supports Boyd's second point: that boards and the public are more likely to concern themselves with external policies -- such as school finances and construction -- where they feel they have the greatest expertise than with internal issues -- such as curriculum and personnel policy -- where laymen are apt to feel that the professionals' technical knowledge is superior. Writing about lay deference to professional expertise, Lyke argues that "in policy areas that administrators are considered to have technical competence which laymen are chary to judge, it would be difficult, if not foolhardy, to support citizens consistently and ignore the professional staff" (Lyke, 1970:158).

Boyd's analysis of Zeigler and Jennings' data portrays a much more variable distribution of power and influence between the public and professionals than appeared in the original analysis. Rather than an unvariegated story of professional dominance, we can now imagine situations -- particularly small, homogenous school districts -- in which professionals are significantly influenced in their decision making by the values and preferences of the public.

Tucker and Zeigler (1980), in their study of communication and responsiveness in 11 school districts, tested the notion of congruence between school officials and the public. Their primary variables are lay preferences, communication and decision-making processes, and the content of decisions; their data are observational as well as perceptual. They conclude that the "preponderant form of decision-making in the school districts we have studied is that of the hierarchical or technological model" of school governance. "Experts dominate laymen" (Tucker and Zeigler, 1980:229). One example of the evidence they cite to support this assertion is their finding that 99 percent of the time

school boards accept the recommendations of the administration on decisions (Ibid:155).

While Tucker and Zeigler apparently feel their study lays to rest the notion that congruence mitigates the dominance of professionals, a closer examination of their data is cause for reservations -- at least in applying their conclusion to the Alaska context. The smallest school district in their sample -- Kentington -- which served a standard metropolitan statistical area of 62,000 people in 1972 is larger than all but one district in Alaska -- Anchorage. Kentington was a consistent outlier on Tucker and Zeigler's measures of attitude congruence among the public, community elites, and school officials. Whereas in the larger districts, school officials' attitudes most closely resembled those of the elite rather than those of the general public, on four of five measures of attitudes in the smallest district, school officials' attitudes represented the public better than the elite (Ibid:69). Examining the "attitude congruence" scores for this district, we find that congruence between the public and school officials is consistently high (Ibid:57, 60, 64, 78). On responsiveness indices, this district ranks first or tied for first on five of nineteen indices and second or tied for second on another five. On only two of the nineteen does it rank below the median (Ibid:225).

In other words, there is reason to believe that this relatively small district may differ significantly from the other districts in the sample. We would hypothesize that this district's size and its apparent "ruralness" are primary factors in distinguishing it from the other districts. These characteristics may also affect the responsiveness of school officials, the congruence of attitudes between school officials and the public, and the relative influence of the public on decision making.

Another viewpoint on lay versus professional control in education is presented in the writings of David Cohen (1976; 1977; 1978; 1982). In their study of the voucher experiment in Alum Rock, California, Cohen and Farrar (1977) report results that confound the original intent of the program. Voucher schemes are another type of educational reform intended to increase parental choice and control in their children's schooling. The authors found that, as a result of the voucher scheme, "[p]arents had more freedom to choose among more varied educational offerings, but as far as anyone can tell, they gained little power" (Cohen and Farrar, 1977:83).

Overall, they found that "[p]arents simply did not take advantage of the opportunities for gaining power" (Ibid:88). The scheme actually increased the power of professionals who took advantage of the situation to increase their autonomy and their resources.

Cohen and Farrar argue -- as Cohen does elsewhere (1978) -- that the reason has less to do with power-hungry professionals and more to do with the social and economic division of labor which characterizes contemporary society:

There are real imbalances in the governance of American schools, which contribute to the poor performance of political reforms to increase participation. But the real imbalance is not political in origin. It results more from a social division of labor that encourages the specialization of work, the professionalization of roles, and the partitioning of authority. In advanced industrial societies this solidifies professional power in education, as well as discouraging active parental involvement (Cohen and Farrar, 1977:92).

Cohen also argues that a political diagnosis of schools which focuses on the growth of professional power at the local level ignores the equally important

growth of private as well as public power at the state and federal levels. Studies of curriculum making (see, for example, Kirst and Walker, 1971) find that numerous private and public agencies and organizations are involved at all three levels. To conceive of the local control struggle as a simple zero-sum game between lay people and professionals is to oversimplify the ecology of power in education.

Cohen's arguments close on the heart of the issue: Local control of school governance may not appear -- even where both political and administrative decentralization occur -- not because professionals preempt or usurp decision-making power but rather because parents are content to concede authority to the professionals.

This review of the literature on the power and influence of school boards and community school committees suggests that while "professionals dominate laymen," certain factors may condition this relationship. Among the factors identified in the literature are: (1) type of issue; (2) community characteristics including size, degree of urbanism, and heterogeneity; and (3) the "zone of tolerance" which communities afford professionals in which to operate. Moreover, Cohen's analysis suggests an alternative framework for understanding the professional versus lay control issue. Rather than a zero-sum game, power and influence may be expanding at all levels of government. And, rather than usurping power which is rightful the community's, professionals may benefit from a social division of labor that encourages deference to expertise.

CHAPTER IV
METHODOLOGY

METHODOLOGY

This study is based on data from several different sources. Easily the most important source is data collected as part of the recently completed study, "Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska" -- a three-year project funded by the National Institute of Education and directed by Professor Gerald McBeath of the University of Alaska. Below we will describe the data collection approach, the process used in selecting our field sites, the evolution of our research question, and the limitations of our data.

Data Collection

Data on professional educators' perceptions of who participates and who is most influential in school governance were collected through two statewide surveys. The survey of rural principals, conducted by the Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska project team in 1981, was developed, reviewed by educators, pretested in field sites, and revised (McBeath et al. 1983b:57).

We sent out surveys to all rural Alaska principals listed in the Department of Education's "Education Director - 1981."^{*} The initial universe of rural principals was 315; subsequent additions brought the final count to 326. Excluded from this universe were principals of schools in the urban areas of Anchorage,

* For the purposes of the Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska project, "rural" describes not merely population density but "lifestyles and values" as well (McBeath et al. 1983b:2-4). That is, "rural Alaska consists of the area of the unorganized borough plus outlying parts of area-wide boroughs, whose residents pursue rural lifestyles" (Ibid:3). By this definition, the rural population is approximately 100,000 or slightly less than a quarter of the state's total population.

Fairbanks, and Juneau and the urban centers of boroughs in the southern and southeastern parts of the state.

Each rural principal received a questionnaire and an individualized letter. As an incentive, the project offered each respondent who returned a completed questionnaire a free book for the school library from a list of titles on rural Alaska. After the initial mailing and two follow-ups, 83 percent of the principals had responded. A telephone appeal produced an additional 5 percent and, finally, telephone interviews brought the response rate to 96 percent (Ibid:172-173).

The questionnaire sent to rural principals contained items that covered the following areas: the school calendar and daily schedule of classes; school facilities used by community members; "school climate" items drawn largely from Brookover (1979); the participation and influence of various actors in the governance of the school; data on school personnel and students; and background of respondents. In addition, data on population, educational levels, income, and ethnicity were drawn from a data base created by the Institute of Social and Economic Research and derived from 1980 U.S. Census tapes (ISER, 1983).

The completed questionnaires were coded and pertinent data from other sources -- the U.S. Census, the Department of Education, the Department of Health and Social Services -- were added. The coded data were entered on computer files and analyzed using the SPSS system of computer programs.

Project members also developed a questionnaire for rural teachers. The purpose of this questionnaire was twofold: first, to provide a reliability check on principals' perceptions of certain variables, particularly the school governance

items; and, secondly, to provide data on the teachers' view of classroom practices and expectations.

Project members drew on the knowledge and experience of rural teachers in putting together the questionnaire. It was then reviewed and, subsequently, pretested at field sites.

Our sample of rural teachers was designed to include one randomly selected teacher from each school. Once again, the Department of Education's "Education Directory" provided our sample list. One teacher was randomly selected from the faculty roster of each rural school. Because of the nature of some of the questions, which required the perspective of someone who taught in an academic classroom, we excluded teachers who taught only vocational and/or technical subjects from our sample list.

We mailed questionnaires to teachers in 292 schools and personally hand delivered and collected questionnaires at our 28 field sites. The same follow-up and telephone procedures were followed for the teachers as were used for principals (McBeath et al. 1983b:174). As with the principal questionnaire, we achieved, with these methods, a response rate of 96 percent.

Coding and key punching procedures were the same as those described above for the principal survey. As with the latter, additional data were added to the main data file.

Field Research

The primary objective of our fieldwork was to collect data on how the various actors perceived school governance processes at the local level. We also carried out other activities -- such as collecting various documents on attendance, standardized test scores, and school activities -- described by McBeath and his associates (Ibid:175).

The Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska project team developed separate, semi-structured interview schedules for the primary actors in school governance: principals, school board members, and district office staff, including the superintendent. Separate background questionnaires were developed for educational professionals and community members. The project team also designed a community member questionnaire. This included items which asked the respondents to evaluate the local school program, educational professionals, board members, and central office professionals.

These instruments were pretested at two field sites -- one of which was a Native village on the Yukon River and the other a mostly non-Native village on the road system. Subsequently, all instruments were revised and an additional interview schedule was designed for teachers. This schedule was pretested with rural teachers.

The interview schedules included questions about how certain governing activities -- hiring, budgeting, setting behavioral standards and so on -- were carried out. In particular, the schedules focused on the role of the local board. The interviews also included items on relationships and interactions between key actors -- the principal and the local school board, the local school board and the community, the district board and the local board, and so on. Questions about the level of lay participation in public meetings and elections as well as about types and frequency of communications between community members and key actors were also included.

The author was one of three researchers who carried out fieldwork. He was responsible for 19 of the 28 sites. The site visits took place over a five-month period between December 1981 and May 1982. The average length of stay in each site was five days -- with a range of two to ten days. Before

travelling to a site, the field researchers telephoned the district superintendent. We also telephoned — where possible -- or wrote to local principals to explain our purpose before travelling to the site. After arriving at a site, the author sought out the mayor or council president to explain the purpose of his visit.

Access to schools and communities was at no time a problem. Both school people and community members were tolerant and receptive. Indeed, most villagers and professionals were generous and supportive.

The author carried out fieldwork in all four types of school systems most commonly found in rural Alaska: REAA, city, borough, and BIA. He had previously taught in a contract school. Moreover, the communities in which he carried out fieldwork represented a cross section of the various types of rural communities in the state -- southeast villages, both Native and non-Native; southeastern towns with mixed ethnic populations; small Aleutian fishing villages; regional towns in the north and west, inhabited primarily by Native people but with sizeable white minorities; and remote Native villages, accessible only by air and tenuously linked to the outside world through radio and/or a single village phone. While there was no deliberate method used to decide which researcher should visit which sites, the author fortunately drew a representative subsample of the entire sample of rural schools and communities. Only a predominantly non-Native school on the road system was not included in this subsample.

The fieldwork of all three researchers resulted in some 300 interviews (Ibid:177). While access was not a problem, the fieldwork was bedevilled by the problems inherent to travel and life in rural Alaska: planes grounded by fog, rain, ice fog, snow, cold -- or various combinations thereof; early leads in the pack ice which, in one coastal village, lured virtually all the males who could ride a snow machine down to the open waters where the first seals of the season promised fresh meat (an event of such gastronomic and symbolic import as to

reduce one's importuning for interviews to the absurd); the loss of precious fieldnotes among the steam-fused pages of a notebook unwittingly left overnight in a gracious host's steambath house; and the inability to find key informants who were attending business in other villages or urban centers.

At each field site in addition to interviewing key actors in local school governance, we attended, when possible, school board, parent advisory committee, and council meetings. We also observed classes and talked informally with students. Also at the schools, we sought the views of cooks, custodians, and maintenance workers as well as paraprofessionals from the community. In many rural schools, these individuals constitute an "infrastructure" that remains amidst the comings and goings of educational professionals. High teacher and administrative turnover rates are recurrent sources of difficulty for some districts.

These field site visits enabled us to view the process of governing rural schools as an entity, as a whole piece. Our data on the communities in which the sites were located set the individual school in its proper cultural and socio-economic context and provided the connective tissue necessary to bind together disparate data and analysis. We coded the field interviews and entered the data on computer files. As we did not have an equal number of interviews of each type from every community, we did not use these data to compare individual field sites but rather to measure overall trends.

Sampling Methodology

To ensure that our final sample of field sites included a sufficient number of schools representing varying degrees of local input and involvement in governance, we stratified schools along two dimensions: localization and regionalization. In drawing our sample of field sites, we relied on data from the

statewide principal survey. An index of localization was constructed using items on local community participation in and influence over various school processes, community use of school facilities, services provided to the community by the school, and instruction in local language, history, subsistence skills, and appropriate vocational skills. We correlated the participation and influence of local actors — principal, teachers, local board members, parents, and students — on all items. The only significant association was between the local board and the principal ($r=.43$). The localization index consisted of the participation and influence scores for these two actors cumulated across all the governing processes. The index was divided into equal thirds and schools were ranked as high, medium, or low (Ibid:58-59).

Schools were also ranked according to a regionalization index (Ibid). To construct this index, we determined the degree of association between the perceived influence and participation for district-level actors -- i.e., superintendent, district office staff, and district school board -- and actual indicators of district influence (e.g., an academic year calendar which follows the district policy). The strongest correlation we found occurred between participation and influence of the superintendent and that of the district board ($r=.63$). The regionalization index consisted of the participation and influence scores for these two actors cumulated across all the governing processes. The index was divided into equal thirds and schools were ranked as high, medium or low (Ibid:59).

The next step was to stratify schools by localization and regionalization. Finally, we drew a ten percent sample of schools ($N=28$) proportionally from four strata: schools high on the localization index and low on regionalization; schools high on the regionalization index and low on localization; schools which were medium on both scales; and schools which were neither high, low, or medium.

Among those schools high on the localization scale and low on regionalization, BIA schools were proportionately over-represented. This was due to the self-determination policy embodied in P.L. 95-561. To ensure that schools other than BIA schools would appear in the sample, we oversampled non-BIA schools in this dimension.

Evolution of the Research Question

Since the creation of the REAAs and the building of the so-called "Hootch" schools in rural Alaska, educators, policy makers, academics, and the general public have all had more or less the same question -- "How are these schools doing?" The Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska project developed, in part, to answer this question.

The project was funded by the National Institute of Education. Professor Gerald McBeath of the Political Science Department at the University of Alaska at Fairbanks drafted the original proposal and created the research design. The author served as a research assistant on the project with primary responsibility as a field researcher and with the understanding that he could use the data collected for a doctoral thesis. The project included other researchers from the Department of Political Science, the Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, and the Institute of Social and Economic Research, all part of the University of Alaska at Fairbanks.

The project team first assessed the available data on rural schools. The limitations of what we could do immediately came home to us. A conventional approach to measuring changes in school outcomes over time is to examine standardized test scores. In the transition from the Alaska State-Operated School System (ASOSS) to the present REAA system, standardized test results were scattered -- according to former ASOSS employees, sometimes quite literally --

to the fourwinds. Consequently, a conventional "before and after" comparison of standardized test scores was not possible. We could, however, examine other outcome measures: absenteeism, behavioral problems, incidents of vandalism, and continuation of education after secondary school. Again, however, base-line data were often incomplete or missing.

Another key question in the study was the degree to which decentralization had been achieved. That is, what decisions were being made by whom at what level — local, regional, or state? The question was critical in the eyes of Native leaders and their non-Native supporters in government and at the University. The assumption behind the question is that the greater the degree of local control, the more responsive the schools to local needs, values, and environment. In other words, local control was seen as necessary for school improvement (Darnell et al. 1974:36).

The Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska project became increasingly focused on the different patterns of school control found in rural Alaska schools. The present author had a similar interest but somewhat narrower in focus. He spent the first year of the project teaching in a remote Yupik Eskimo village in western Alaska which had contracted with the BIA to operate the local school. During that period, he interviewed all the traditional council members — the federally recognized decision-making body for both the school and the village — as well as parents and attended all meetings in the village. Moreover, he debriefed both the principal and the council's project director, the primary liaison with the principal, almost weekly to keep abreast of communications and interactions outside the "formal" arena.

From these key informants and from the author's daily observations of the school, he formed several hypotheses which guided his later analysis. First of all, formal meetings appear to be less opportunities for debate and more public

demonstrations of consensus. Tucker and Zeigler (1980) found that, nationally, school boards vote unanimously 85 percent of the time. In this regard, the board in the village resembled those in other settings.

Secondly, although the local school board had full authority to hire teachers, plan the curriculum, order texts and supplies, and allocate the funds supplied by the BIA, the board delegated these processes largely to the principal. Again, in this respect, the village school board resembled boards elsewhere. While the board delegated authority to the principal, they expected, in return, that he would keep them informed of his actions. The principal was occasionally frustrated by the lack of guidance from the board: "Sometimes I just don't know where I stand with them. I'll suggest something but they'll just sit there, not saying anything..."

A third observation gleaned from this year of fieldwork was that the local board had two primary curricular concerns: That children learn basic literacy and computational skills; and that children be taught their language, history, music, dance, and some subsistence and craft skills. Feeling they lack expertise in the former, the board concentrated its attention on the latter.

Fourthly, attendance at regular school board meetings, Title I parent advisory committee meetings, and Head Start community committee meetings is low. During the author's year in the village, average public attendance at these educational committee meetings was two. Again, low attendance at public meetings is a nationwide phenomenon (Ibid).

Finally, educational professionals seem to learn the "zone of tolerance" -- the area bound by local values and expectations in which professionals are free to operate -- from a number of sources. Educational professionals who are veterans of the village or region, students, and, of course, villagers themselves point out to newcomers local customs and values. Another source is the

professional's own observations of village life. Professionals also learn from the negative examples of teachers who have been asked to leave or forced out of other villages in the region.

In the small, remote Eskimo village where the author lived, these tacit limits operated in the place of formal, public controls. Conventional measures of community control over school governance -- participation in school board elections, public debate of issues, public votes, formal communications, and even informal communications -- captured only a portion of the actual relations between professionals and laymen in a small Native village. Missing was a measure of how "educators consciously ... frame policies and programs that will be acceptable to" the local community (Lyke, 1968, quoted in Boyd, 1976:556-557).

During the fieldwork at the sample sites and during the analysis of the survey data, these observations influenced the author's approach. In particular, we were interested to discover whether or not lay boards at small rural schools differed from others in the level of participation and influence. More specifically, do the characteristics of Native villages -- ethnic homogeneity, smallness, and low average educational level -- affect the balance of power between professionals and the public? This is, finally, the question we have addressed in this paper.

Limitations

The most serious limitation of our data is that it is perceptual: We asked key actors about the governing process -- who participates in and influences decisions. To check the validity of professionals' perceptions, we did fieldwork in 28 randomly selected villages. At these sites, we were able to interview board members to compare their perceptions with those of the educational

professionals. Other than field data collected during these visits, we have no independent data on school governing processes.

Moreover, we have no systematic data on the congruence between the views of board members and other community members. By necessity, we are following the results of other research that shows representatives and their constituents in small communities as being like-minded (Prewitt and Eulau, 1969). The manner in which we selected informants for our field interviews may limit somewhat the generalizability of our results. At small schools with five or fewer teachers, we could interview all professional staff. At larger schools, however, we could not interview everyone. We chose veteran teachers whom we felt would be familiar with how decisions were made and who was involved.

Because board members in small communities frequently hold other public offices or have other responsibilities which require them to travel, we often missed board members. Consequently, board members we did interview were those who happened to be in town when we were. Although we made every effort to track down absent board members, we were not always successful.

Finally, given the process of decision-making in small Native communities, it may well be that survey techniques are not the most sensitive or reliable instruments for gathering data. Much of the governing process in these small communities (more than half of the rural schools are located in places with less than 500 people) is often carried out in private. It resembles less the posturing and negotiating of public meetings in urban areas and more a subtle process of consensus building, of consultations between young leaders and elders. While making the decision is seen as important, of equal importance is maintaining consensus which is vital to community harmony (Redfield, 1947).

CHAPTER V
FINDINGS

PART I

Participation and Influence in School Governance

From previous research we have a picture of school governance in which the lay boards and the lay public are mere background figures. Professionals — particularly the superintendent — occupy the foreground. Not only do they dominate the administrative functions — which they are hired to do — but, primarily through their monopoly of information, control of issue definition, and manipulation of alternatives, policy making as well (Paddock, 1979). Lay people, despite opportunities to influence school governance, rarely seem to exercise their potential power.

We need to address two questions to determine how faithfully school governance in rural Alaska seems to resemble the picture sketched above. Who is seen to participate in and exercise predominant influence over various school governance processes?

Participation

Both teachers and principals statewide most frequently reported professional educators as participants in every school governance area (table 1). The local advisory school board was mentioned second most frequently in one area and third most frequently in three other areas. Similarly, in three governance areas, the district school board was mentioned third most frequently. Clearly, Alaskan educators believe that the professionals and not lay people are the primary participants in all school governance areas.

Table 1

Statewide Surveys: Teachers'^a and Principals'^b Perceptions

Participation in School Governance:

Actors Ranked by Frequency of Mention as Participants
in Eleven Areas of School Governance

School Governance Areas	Actors ^c Ranked According to Teachers' Perceptions	Percentage of Teacher Mentions	Actors ^c Ranked According to Principals' Perceptions	Percentage of Principal Mentions
Hiring Principal, Teachers	Superintendent	91%	Superintendent	85
	District Board	66	District Board	64
	Principal	44	Principal	44
	Local Board	33	Local Board	36
	Parents	14	Parents	15
Hiring Classified Staff	Principal	76	Principal	68
	Superintendent	59	Superintendent	52
	Local Board	48	Local Board	44
	District Board	41	District Board	38
	Parents	16	Teachers	15
Deciding on the School Calendar	Teachers	11	Parents	10
	Principal	76	Principal	76
	Teachers	62	Teachers	65
	Local Board	55	Local Board	53
	Superintendent	52	Superintendent	52
	District Board	49	District Board	52
Selecting Textbooks	Parents	36	Parents	40
	Students	15	Students	25
	Teacher	89	Teachers	76
	Principal	65	Principal	73
	Superintendent	36	Superintendent	37
	District Board	26	District Board	32
Proposing New Courses or Programs	Local Board	16	Local Board	16
	Parents	11	Parents	14
	Teachers	83	Principal	81
	Principal	77	Teachers	77
	Superintendent	53	Superintendent	55
	District Board	43	District Board	49
Evaluating the Academic Program	Local Board	41	Local Board	48
	Parents	40	Parents	47
	Students	32	Students	40
	Principal	76	Principal	77
	Superintendent	68	Superintendent	72
	Teachers	55	Teachers	50
Evaluating the Academic Program	District Board	41	District Board	44
	Local Board	32	Local Board	37
	Parents	23	Parents	27
	Students	16	Students	19

School Governance Areas	Actors ^c Ranked According to Teachers' Perceptions	Percentage of Teacher Mentions	Actors ^c Ranked According to Principals' Perceptions	Percentage of Principal Mentions
Planning the School Budget	Superintendent	78	Superintendent	75
	Principal	73	Principal	72
	District Board	60	District Board	58
	Local Board	41	Local Board	44
	Teachers	34	Teachers	43
	Parents	13	Parents	17
Setting Standards for Student Behavior	Principal	87	Principal	84
	Teachers	84	Teachers	75
	Local Board	48	Local Board	50
	Parents	46	Parents	47
	Superintendent	42	Students	46
	Students	41	District Board	46
	District Board	39	Superintendent	45
Determining Community Use of Facilities Policy	Principal	82	Principal	79
	Local Board	52	Local Board	53
	Superintendent	48	Superintendent	51
	District Board	45	District Board	46
	Parents	43	Parents	35
	Teachers	35	Teachers	27
	Students	16	Students	15
Determining Local Construction Needs	Superintendent	77	Superintendent	75
	Principal	66	Principal	71
	District Board	66	District Board	64
	Local Board	51	Local Board	48
	Parents	41	Parents	39
	Teachers	33	Teachers	35
	Students	12	Students	11
Proposing New Facilities	Superintendent	79	Superintendent	75
	Principal	66	Principal	65
	District Board	63	District Board	64
	Local Board	51	Local Board	49
	Parents	43	Parents	38
	Teachers	40	Teachers	31
	Students	10	Students	13

^aN = 304

^bN = 326

^cActors mentioned by less than 10 percent of respondents are not included.

Source: Statewide Survey of Alaska Teachers and Statewide Survey of Alaska Principals, Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska Project, Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1982 and 1981.

We found a few differences between the perceptions of principals and those of teachers. In five governance areas, principals more frequently cited themselves as participants than did teachers. Nonetheless, the order of frequency of mention for each of the participants is virtually identical whether the respondents were teachers or principals (table 2).

The greatest difference occurred in the area of textbook selections: More teachers than principals saw the teachers as participants. Subsequent discussions with teachers and principals revealed that whereas teachers often select their own textbooks, principals may, if they choose, veto the selection. As one teacher explained, "Textbooks are selected by teachers in committees that work with district personnel. The principal is also influential because he can either approve or veto a teacher's order."

Of greater importance was the substantial agreement we found between the views of principals and teachers on the participation of laymen. In the eyes of both, neither the local advisory school board nor the district board was as frequent a participant in school governance as the professionals themselves.

Our interviews in 28 randomly selected field sites confirmed this picture of professional preeminence in school governance. Board members and professionals both mentioned either the superintendent or the principal most frequently in all decision-making areas save one -- setting the calendar. Lay board members mentioned the local advisory board most frequently as participating in setting the school calendar (table 3).

We also asked our field informants directly about local board activity in three school governance areas: curriculum, budget, and facilities use policy. While we found that, in general, local boards rarely view themselves as active participants in any of these three areas, there was an important exception. Board

Table 2

Statewide Surveys: Teachers^a and Principals^b Perceptions

Participation in School Governance:

Actors Ranked by Frequency of Mention as Participants in Eleven Areas of School Governance

School Governance Area and Status of Respondent
(T = Teachers; P = Principals)

Actors ^c	Principal/Teacher Hire		Classified Hire		School Calendar		Selecting Text Books		Proposing New Courses		Evaluating Academic Program		Planning Budget		Standards for Student Behavior		Facilities' Use Policy		Determining Local Construction Needs		Proposing New Facilities	
	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P
Principal	3	3	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2
Superintendent	1	1	2	2	4	4	3	3	3	3	2	2	1	1	5	5	3	3	1	1	1	1
Teachers	6	6	6	5	2	2	1	1	1	2	3	3	5	5	2	2	6	6	6	6	6	6
District Board	2	2	4	4	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	6	6	4	4	2	3	3	3
ASB	4	4	3	3	3	3	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	3	3	2	2	4	4	4	4
Parents	5	5	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	5

No significant difference between teachers' and principals' perceptions in any decision-making area.

^aN = 304

^bN = 326

^cStudents are not included because they were consistently mentioned least frequently—if at all—in all decision-making areas except “setting standards for student behavior.” They were mentioned second least frequently in this area.

Source: Statewide Survey of Alaska Teachers and Statewide Survey of Principals, Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska Project, Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1981 and 1982.

Table 3

Field Site Interviews: Board Members^a and Educational Professionals^b Perceptions

Participation in Decision-Making:
Actors^c Ranked According to Frequency of Mention as Participants in Six Areas of Governance

Decision-making Area	Actors Ranked According to Board-members' Perception	Frequency of Board-member Mention	Actors Ranked According to Educational Professionals' Perception	Frequency of Educational Professional Mention
Principal Hiring	Superintendent	55%	Superintendent	91%
	Local Board	30	Local Board	43
	District Board	26	District Staff	27
	District Staff	16	District Board	19
	Parents	10		
Teacher Hiring	Superintendent	54	Superintendent	68
	Local Board	43	Principal	55
	Principal	39	District Staff	38
	District Board	27	Local Board	27
	District Staff	19	District Board	11
Classified Hiring	Principal	71	Principal	89
	Local Board	61	Local Board	53
	Superintendent	11	Superintendent	18
Setting School Calendar	Local Board	80	Principal	83
	Principal	58	Local Board	66
	Teachers	29	Teachers	56
	District Board	26	Superintendent	23
	Superintendent	21	District Board	20
	District Staff	20	Parents	15
Planning Budget	Principal	59	Principal	75
	Local Board	51	Superintendent	40
	Superintendent	36	Local Board	35
	District Staff	26	District Staff	34
	District Board	21	Teachers	28
	Teachers	13	District Board	10
Defining Community Use of Facilities	Principal	51	Principal	73
	Local Board	51	Local Board	43
	Superintendent	10		

^aN = 97^bN = 88^cActors mentioned by fewer than 10 percent of all respondents are not included.

Source: Field Site Interviews, Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska Project, Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1982.

members that we interviewed at the non-REAA schools were significantly more likely to characterize themselves as actively involved in curriculum review and in planning the budget than local board members at REAA schools.

An obvious difference between the REAA and the non-REAA -- that is, city, borough, and BIA -- schools is the legal authority of the boards. Over 80 percent of the REAA schools have local advisory boards. These boards have only those powers delegated to them by the district board. City, borough, and BIA schools are, on the other hand, much more likely to have local boards whose decisions have the force of law. Moreover, whereas REAA schools receive no local tax contribution, city and borough schools -- which together, constitute nearly 70 percent of the non-REAA schools -- receive locally generated revenues.

With few exceptions, educational professionals and board members in rural areas agree that the educators are the most frequent participants in school governance. One area in which fieldwork produced evidence not consistent with this generalization is the budget. Here we find a possible difference between REAA and non-REAA schools -- a difference we will return to below.

Influence

When we asked teachers and principals who they thought were the most influential actors in eight school governance processes, we received responses that reinforced our picture of professional dominance (table 4). In all but one area, principals and teachers most frequently cited professionals as most influential. Where they disagreed, the principals most frequently cited the local school board as most influential in deciding on the school calendar. Teachers had most frequently chosen the principal as most influential in this process. All

Table 4

Statewide Surveys of Teachers^a and Principals^b

Influence on School Governance

Actors^c Ranked According to Frequency that Each was Perceived as Most Influential in Eight Areas of School Governance

Decision-making Areas	Actors ^c Ranked According to Teachers' Perceptions	Percentage of Teacher Mentions	Actors ^c Ranked According to Principals' Perceptions	Percentage of Principal Mentions
Hiring Principal, Teachers	Superintendent	66%	Superintendent	68%
	District Board	10	Local Board	11
			Principal	10
Hiring Classified Staff	Principal	47	Principal	56
	Superintendent	27	Superintendent	21
	Local Board	16	Local Board	18
Deciding how Budget will be Spent	Principal	46	Principal	46
	Superintendent	31	Superintendent	35
	District Board	14	District Board	10
Approving Textbooks	Teacher	42	Principal	43
	Principal	23	Teachers	27
	Superintendent	12	Superintendent	12
	District Board	11	District Board	11
Deciding on School Calendar	Principal	35	Local Board	28
	District Board	19	Principal	21
	Local Board	17	Superintendent	16
	Superintendent	13	District Board	13
Deciding on New Courses/ Programs	Principal	40	Principal	41
	Teachers	22	Teachers	19
	Superintendent	15	Superintendent	15
	District Board	12	District Board	12
			Local Board	10
Deciding on Acceptable Student	Principal	46	Principal	56
	Teachers	32	Teacher	18
			Local Board	13
Deciding on Community Use of Facilities	Principal	47	Principal	42
	Local Board	23	Local Board	26
	Superintendent	11	Superintendent	13
			District Board	12

^aN = 304^bN = 315^cAny actors mentioned by less than 10 percent of respondents are not included.

Source: Statewide Survey of Alaska Teachers and Statewide Survey of Principals, Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska Project, Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1981 and 1982.

other differences in the perceptions of teachers and principals of local board influence were statistically insignificant.

Principals and teachers more often disagreed on their respective influence. The disagreement we noted above over the process of selecting and adopting textbooks appears here as well: While four of ten teachers thought themselves most influential in selecting textbooks, an equal proportion of principals consider themselves most influential. The difference appears, however, to arise from their respective interpretations of the question.

Teachers also more frequently see themselves as most influential in determining acceptable student behavior and principals correspondingly less frequently as most influential ($p < .001$). A minority of teachers, we found in our field interviews, feel that the principal provides no standards for behavior and, consequently, the teachers must establish such standards in their individual classrooms. One non-Native teacher described the situation as he saw it in a predominantly Native school in Southeast:

... the principal affects this relationship [teacher-student], particularly in the area of discipline. I feel that he does not set a strong enough disciplinary tone for the school.

While such overt complaints about the principal's handling of discipline are rare in our field data, covert references to similar situations appear often enough to suggest a possible explanation for the difference in the perceptions of principals and teachers.

The teachers also more frequently mentioned the principal as most influential in setting the calendar than did the principals themselves ($p < .001$). The principals more frequently cited the local board ($p < .01$). Indeed, principals

mentioned the local boards as most influential consistently more often than did teachers.

These differences suggest that the principal, as the professional who works most closely with the local board, may be reflecting his unique understanding of the board's influence. At a BIA school where the local board had the legal authority to set the school calendar, all of the teachers reported that the principal was most important in setting the calendar. When we interviewed the principal and the board members, we got a different interpretation of the process.

The principal reported, quite unequivocally, that "the school board sets the calendar." As factors that influence the process, he mentioned "the end of fishing season the feeling [among board members] that fish camp and whaling camp are as educational as the school so school must be over by the last week of May...." To find out if the principal was merely striking a democratic posture for our benefit, we asked local board members. Board members described a process that was more interactive than the teachers had implied, if not quite as populist as the principal indicated. One board member reported that "the principal makes up the calendar and submits it to the board for approval. Our major concerns are opening day and the ending day of school because of the subsistence activities that take place." Another board member said that "the board had influence on the calendar, setting the opening and closing day of school" and mentioned subsistence camps as factors considered in making the calendar.

In the view of a third member of the school board, making up the calendar is a shared responsibility, an interactive process: "... the calendar and daily schedule are made up together between the principal and the board. We

also seek parent involvement." She also cited fish camp as an important factor. A fourth board member similarly referred to the principal's discussions "with his staff and with the board before the school year begins."

In the eyes of the principal, the board dictates the calendar because it reflects local subsistence cycles. Board members confirm that opening and closing dates accommodate local preferences. Yet, in the view of the teachers, the principal dominates the process. He draws up the calendar and submits it to the board which approves it without change.

The power or influence of the local community would probably manifest itself openly only if the principal tried to impose opening or closing dates that interfered with local custom or subsistence activities. Without such an obvious demonstration of local influence, the teachers see the principal as predominant. The principal, on the other hand, having drawn up a calendar that reflects local preferences, judges the board most influential.

This case typifies the difference in perceptions of teachers, principals, and board members. An alternative interpretation is that principals appreciate the political necessity of giving the impression of local input. Whether or not lay people actually have significant influence, principals, to survive, must internalize to some degree the ideology of local control. One principal — in a remote Native community — gave clear expression to this in his interview:

I went after the job in this village after being curriculum director in the central office. One of the reasons I did that was because of the active personnel out here. The whole staff has a commitment to the village.

I've told the ASB [that] this is their school, and what they want to happen, I will make it happen.

Such open advocacy of local control is not uncommon among principals in predominantly Native communities. Those who view such sentiments as mere genuflections to local control ideology hold that the principal manipulates the board.

This view assumes that the board can be duped by the professional. Our interviews with board members, however, indicated that they could distinguish as well as anyone else between processes in which their influence was significant or determinant and those in which their input was pro forma.

Overall Influence

We also asked educational professionals who they thought had the greatest overall influence in the governance of rural schools. The results are presented in table 5. As we would expect, given the results presented above, educational professionals dominate. Half of both teachers and principals surveyed believed the principal is most influential. Respondents mentioned the superintendent second most frequently. Lay boards -- local and district -- were cited as most influential by fewer than a quarter of the professionals.

These results reiterate the point brought home by our results above: That is, in the eyes of the professional educators, they unquestionably dominate school governance. We also see that principals are more likely than teachers to view lay boards as influential in school governance processes. Yet, the percentage of educators who believe the lay boards have predominant influence is relatively small.

Table 5

Statewide Surveys of Teachers^a and Principals^b
Most Influential in Overall School Governance

Actors ^c	Percentage of Teachers Perceiving Actor as Most Influential	Percentage of Principals Perceiving Actor as Most Influential
Principal	50	53
Superintendent	20	17
District Board	11	13
Local Board	6	11
Teachers	9	5

^aN = 304

^bN = 315

^cNeither students nor parents were considered most influential by more than 1 percent of our samples.

Source: Statewide Survey of Alaska Teachers and Statewide Survey of Principals, Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska Project, Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1981 and 1982.

Field Results: Influence

We asked informants in our fieldwork about fewer school governance processes than in the surveys. The results from this truncated set of questions parallel those we obtained in our statewide surveys (table 6). Unlike the survey, our interview asked about hiring the principal separately from hiring teachers. Both board members and educational professionals report that the superintendent has predominant influence in hiring certificated personnel. Lay board members are rarely viewed as influential in these processes.

When asked about hiring classified personnel -- that is, paraprofessionals, food workers, custodians, and so on -- more than a third of the board members and nearly a third of the educators report the local board is predominant. This area of local hire is of particular importance in rural areas. We will return to this below.

Nearly half of the board members we interviewed also reported that the local board had the greatest influence in setting the school calendar. The educational professionals did not agree. We have already seen that principals and teachers disagree about this process. From these results, board members' perceptions appear to be more like those of the principals. As we pointed out above, this may well be because of the process followed in setting the calendar: Typically, the principal draws up a calendar which reflects local preferences and submits this to the local board.

If we wish to understand the impact of the decentralization legislation on school governance in rural Alaska, we need to pay particular attention to those school districts created by that legislation. For this reason, we examined separately our data from the 20 REAA (Rural Education Attendance Area)

Table 6

Field Site Interviews: Board Members^a and Educational Professionals^b Perceptions

Influence on Decision-Making:

Actors Ranked According to Frequency Each was Perceived
as Most Influential in Four Areas of School Governance

Decision-making Areas	Actors Ranked by Frequency of Mention as Most Influential by Board Members		Actors Ranked by Frequency of Mention as Most Influential by Professional Educators	
		(%)		(%)
Hiring the Principal	Superintendent	(45)	Superintendent	(85)
	Local Board	(8)	Local Board	(8)
	District Board	(8)	District Staff	(5)
	District staff	(5)		
Hiring Teachers	Superintendent	(41)	Superintendent	(39)
	Principal	(20)	Principal	(36)
	Local Board	(15)	District Staff	(19)
	District Board	(9)	Local Board	(5)
	District Staff	(7)		
Hiring Classified Personnel	Local Board	(38)	Principal	(72)
	Principal	(34)	Local Board	(31)
	Superintendent	(10)	Superintendent	(8)
Deciding on the School Calendar	Local Board	(45)	Principal	(53)
	Teachers	(23)	Local Board	(25)
	Principal	(17)	Teachers	(18)
	District Board	(15)	District Board	(15)
	District Staff	(14)	Superintendent	(11)
	Superintendent	(8)		

^aN = 97^bN = 88^cAny actor mentioned by less than 5 percent of informants is not shown.

Source: Field Site Interviews, Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska Project, Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1982.

schools in our field sample (table 7). All but two of these schools had local advisory boards.

More than three-quarters of the board members at REAA schools believe the principal is most influential in hiring classified personnel. At the same time, over 60 percent thought the local board was most influential. This highlights a pattern common to REAA schools: The process of local hire usually involves both the local administrator and the local board. This pattern of decision making we have seen already in setting the school calendar. We will briefly illustrate this process here and return to it in greater detail below. A local advisory school board member in a remote Eskimo community described the classified hire process as follows:

We evaluate the applications. The principal does the interview. We go through what he has covered and we just pick out the best qualified applicant ... Real hard workers are what we're looking for.

A fellow board member drew the same picture of the process:

We go over [the application] during the meeting. The principal does the interview, then we go over it with the principal. We select from the applications.

In the eyes of most board members, distinguishing who is most influential in such a process is academic. Both the principal and the board members have input and the final decision is jointly reached.

Board members reported themselves as most influential in deciding on the calendar more often than did the professionals. Both groups, however, agreed that the professionals dominated the process of hiring certificated staff.

Table 7

Field Site Interviews: REAA Board Members^a and Educational Professionals^b Perceptions

Influence on Decision-Making:

Actors Ranked According to Frequency Each was Perceived
as Most Influential in Four Areas of Decision-Making^c

Decision-making Areas	Actors Ranked by Frequency of Mention as Most Influential by Board Members		Actors Ranked by Frequency of Mention as Most Influential by Professional Educators	
		(%)		(%)
Hiring the Principal	Superintendent	(38)	Superintendent	(84)
	Local Board	(5)	Local Board	(6)
	District Board	(5)	District Staff	(6)
Hiring Teachers	Superintendent	(31)	Superintendent	(39)
	Principal	(19)	Principal	(31)
	Local Board	(8)	District Staff	(23)
	District Board	(8)	Local Board	(5)
			District Board	(5)
Hiring Classified Personnel	Principal	(76)	Principal	(76)
	Local Board	(62)	Local Board	(31)
	District Board	(8)		
Deciding on the School Calendar	Local Board	(54)	Principal	(56)
	District Staff	(24)	Local Board	(25)
	Principal	(12)	District Board	(19)
	District Board	(7)	Teachers	(19)
	Teachers	(5)	Superintendent	(5)
		District Staff	(5)	

^aN = 50^bN = 63^cAny actor mentioned by less than 5 percent of informants is not shown.

Source: Field Site Interviews, Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska Project, Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1982.

Discussion

In rural Alaska, as elsewhere in the U.S., educational professionals appear to dominate school governance. School board members, teachers, and principals all share this general perception. Yet, there is evidence that, in some rural schools at least, certain governance processes involve principal-board collaboration. Some board members feel that the board's input in these areas is predominant.

In hiring certified staff, lay people and professionals agree that the professionals are most influential. In hiring classified staff, on the other hand, lay people feel their influence is often nearly equal to or greater than that of the professionals. As classified personnel in small rural communities are usually hired locally, the educational professionals often defer to the judgment of the board. Similarly, in deciding on the calendar, professionals often consult with board members on subsistence seasons and local customs.

For other governance processes -- deciding on new courses, acceptable student behavior, textbooks, and new facilities -- we have only the perceptions of the professionals. They see themselves as most influential in all these processes. Given the high degree of agreement between professionals and board members perceptions of other governance processes, there is reason to believe that board members might share the professionals' views.

At the same time, we see that lay people generally believe themselves more influential than do the professionals -- particularly, teachers. Teachers typically ascribe higher levels of participation and influence to professionals and lower levels to lay boards than do either principals or board members. A possible reason for this is our finding that most teachers do not regularly attend board

meetings and our interviews revealed that some had, at best, vague ideas about some areas of school governance. Their perception of the dynamics of governance processes appears less complete than the perceptions of principals and board members.

A fairly common perception of teachers in rural Alaska is that principals are power-conscious manipulators who mold board opinion and decisions through their control of information. A non-Native teacher at a BIA school in the northwestern part of the state reported:

The principal has too much power and discretion in terms of the budget. He is a small dictator....The local community has very little influence. The principal can push anything through the school board he wants to. The board looks for non-verbal cues from the principal, really looks for his approval.

Ironically, the board members in this community told us that they had sought the individual who became principal because of his ability to work with the community. He had previously taught for three years in the village, had left to teach in another village, and had been invited to return as principal. Yet, at least three of the teachers shared the opinion that the principal dictated to the board.

There are, no doubt, principals who fit the stereotype of manipulative cynics. The danger of the stereotype is that it ignores the subtler forms of communication with which boards signal the limits of their tolerance. Attuned to these messages and aware of the unspoken limits, local administrators may, consequently, attribute higher levels of both participation and influence to the

board than do teachers. One superintendent, describing his relationship with the board, reported:

...ninety percent of the time, the board approves action recommended by [me]. Ten percent of the time, they revise it or reject it entirely. I view a rejection ratio higher than that as meaning I'm not listening, or there's some conflict -- and I'm not the correct person for the job.

In other words, in deciding on his recommendations, he anticipates the board's preferences. Tucker and Zeigler (1980) found that, nationally, school boards follow the recommendation of their superintendent 99 percent of the time:

Defeat of administrative recommendations is extremely rare and is almost always limited to relatively unimportant matters. In short, the lay school board defers to educational professionals.... (Ibid:231).

These authors do not discuss the administrator's anticipation of the board's reaction to a recommendation. Nor do they deal with the repercussions of a recommendation rejected. As the administrator above says, such rejections indicate either that he is not "listening" to his board or that there is a conflict sufficiently serious to jeopardize his job. To this administrator, a vital aspect of his job is to anticipate correctly the preferences of his board.

To accept our survey results at face value and pronounce that -- in the words of Tucker and Zeigler (1980) -- "experts dominate laymen" would be, consequently, to ignore board-professional interactions and professional anticipation of board reactions which might qualify such a bold pronouncement.

Conditioning such interactions is the environment of school governance -- particularly, the immediate community of the school.

To increase our understanding of how the community conditions the interaction of lay boards and professionals, we need to examine how variations in certain community characteristics -- size, ethnicity, and educational level -- affect governance processes. Before we begin this examination, however, we first need to examine differences that some researchers believe exist in the various types of governance issues that boards and educational professionals must address.

PART II

Governance Issues: Internal and External

Boyd (1976) argues that community participation and influence varies with the "type of school district and the type of issue or policy question faced" (Boyd, 1976:552, emphasis in original). He draws a distinction between internal and external issues (Ibid:566). Internal issues are those "whose consequences are generally perceived (however correctly) to be largely confined to the school system itself" (Ibid). This category includes the curriculum, personnel policy, and textbook selection.

External issues "involve matters ... which have immediate visible and tangible effects on the ecology of the community as well as on the school" (Ibid). In this category, Boyd mentions construction, facilities, and school finances; we would add discipline and hiring local personnel. On external issues, lay boards and community members can claim as much expertise as the professionals. Internal issues are considered to involve technical knowledge. This technical knowledge constitutes the expertise that educational professionals claim for themselves. A teacher who voiced strong support for community control drew the line between external and internal issues:

I think the CSC [community school committee] should have a say-so but not an overall say-so. They aren't trained in education or administration. In choosing the curriculum, what should be taught, they should not have a strong say-so. On other things, having to do with their kids, the daily schedule, who [from the community] works here [at the school], and so on, they should have a

say-so. They have some very good ideas and those ideas are most welcome. But not formal decision-making on the curriculum.

For her, community control stops this side of professional expertise.

Below, we will discuss eight major governance processes, three involving internal issues and five involving external issues. In describing these processes, we will distinguish between different types of school systems. As already noted, local boards' activities and legal responsibilities vary according to the school system -- REAA, city, borough, or BIA.

Internal Issues

Hiring Professional Personnel

Professionals clearly believe that they are most influential in hiring their own kind (table 8). At the same time, more than six out of ten professionals report district board participation in hiring for their school. Fewer than four in ten, however, think the local board participates in hiring professionals.

Hiring the Superintendent

For most boards, the most important decision they make is hiring the superintendent. Although the survey did not ask respondents about the superintendent hiring process, we collected information on this process in the 16 different school systems represented in our sample of 28 schools. In 15, the district board had primary responsibility for recruiting, screening, and hiring the superintendent. Only in the BIA system did the board have no input into the superintendent hiring process.

Table 8

Statewide Survey: Educational Professionals' Perceptions

Participation in and Influence on School Governance
as Perceived by All Educational Professionals*

Internal School Governance Areas	Percentage of Educational Professionals who Believe Actor Participates in . . .		Percentage of Educational Professionals who Believe Actor is Most Influential in . . .	
		%		%
Hiring Professional Personnel	Superintendent	89%	Superintendent	63%
	District Board	66	District Board	9
	Principal	45	Principal	9
	Local Board	35	Local Board	8
	Parents	14		
Selecting Text Books	Teachers	83	Principal	33
	Principal	70	Teacher	32
	Superintendent	37	Superintendent	11
	District Board	29	District Board	10
	Local Board	16		
Proposing New Courses/ Programs	Parents	13		
	Teachers	81	Principal	38
	Principals	80	Teacher	20
	Superintendent	54	Superintendent	14
	District Board	47	District Board	11
	Local Board	45	Local Board	7
Parents	Students	36		
External School Governance Areas	Percentage of Educational Professionals who Believe Actor Participates in . . .		Percentage of Educational Professionals who Believe Actor is Most Influential in . . .	
		%		%
Planning the Budget	Superintendent	77	Principal	43
	Principal	73	Superintendent	30
	Local Board	43	District Board	11
	District Board	43		
	Teacher	39		
	Parents	15		
Planning the Calendar	Principal	77	Principal	27
	Teacher	64	Local Board	21
	Local Board	55	District Board	20
	Superintendent	52	Superintendent	14
	District Board	51	Teacher	7
	Parents	38	Parents	5
Students	20			

External School Governance Areas	Percentage of Educational Professionals who Believe Actor Participates in . . .		Percentage of Educational Professionals who Believe Actor is Most Influential in . . .	
		%		%
Setting Standards for Student Behavior	Principal	86 %	Principal	48%
	Teacher	80	Teacher	24
	Local Board	50	Local Board	10
	Parents	47	District Board	5
	Students	44		
	Superintendent	44		
	District Board	43		
Community Use of School Facilities	Principal	81	Principal	42
	Local Board	53	Local Board	23
	Superintendent	50	Superintendent	11
	District Board	46	District Board	9
	Parents	39	Parents	6
	Teachers	31	Teachers	5
	Students	16		
Hiring Classified Staff	Principal	73	Principal	49
	Superintendent	56	Superintendent	22
	Local Board	46	Local Board	16
	District Board	40		
	Teachers	13		
	Parents	13		

*N = 625

Source: Statewide Survey of Alaska Principals, Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska Project, Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1981; Statewide Survey of Alaska School Teachers, Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1982.

Four of the 15 systems were actively searching for a new superintendent during the year we gathered our data. Two of the four had contracted with an outside agency -- the Alaska Association of School Boards -- to assist in the search process. The contractor advertised for the position nationally, screened applications to determine if applicants met minimum standards, assembled files on all applicants, and did an initial screening cut.

The president of a school board in an ethnically mixed, fishing town of about 3,000 people described the process in her single-school city district as follows:

We went to the school board association and asked them to advertise nationally. The completed applications were returned to the AASB [Alaska Association of School Boards]. They did the initial screening. They simply eliminated those candidates whose applications were not complete.

Then all the applications were brought to [the school board]. The board reviewed all the applications and pulled 20 for closer consideration. We sent these back to the school board association. They set about contacting people who knew these candidates.

The applications will then come back to us with the comments of [the AASB Director] from the additional information that he has gotten from others. We will be contacting other school board members directly -- members who have dealt with these applicants. These comments are included in the file. We will narrow it down to 10 -- a first five and then a second five, who are prioritized. We will interview the first five [here in town].

We've discussed having a reception that will be open to the teaching staff and to the public, to give them a chance to react to the candidates. But the final interview will only have school board members there.

In far-flung REAA districts, such a reception could be attended only by those in the community where the central office is located; other district residents might have to travel very long distances to attend. As a consequence, usually no one but the regional board members and some central office staff are involved. A district board member from a remote Native area describes the superintendent hiring process then underway in his REAA district:

The first thing we had to do was to make a decision on who would handle the interviewing. We decided the board and the [retiring.] super could do it. We decided to have no outside consultant involved. All the board members will be involved. We will bring the finalists to the [central office] and interview them there.

... we'll have input from the ASBs [advisory school boards]. We want to get everyone involved -- teachers, assistant supers, staff. The ultimate decision, however, will be the board's.

In this case, only the ASB of the village in which the central office is located actually met the finalists, despite the best intentions of this and other board members. Logistical problems and the high cost of flying around to the villages conspired to derail plans for more community input.

Hiring the superintendent is a process that the district boards seem to dominate completely. Boards in predominantly Native districts seem particularly intent on including input from the communities within their districts. We found little evidence, however, of actual community influence in this critical hiring process.

Evaluating the Superintendent

Despite the rising concern nationally with accountability and with administrators as instructional leaders, we found even fewer instances of formal superintendent evaluation at our field sites. We found few instances of superintendent evaluation based on objectives or goals. As the board president in a mostly white town of 1,500 inhabitants said, "I don't think our board can really evaluate our super because we don't have clear goals." Most evaluations took place during contract renegotiations and were informal and oral.

Some of the board members we interviewed felt a formal evaluation was desirable but seemed reluctant to formalize relationships to such a degree. This seemed especially true in predominantly Native REAA districts:

We try to do a formal evaluation. We are currently developing a checklist. But because we're such a close group of people, it's much easier for us just to carry on an informal evaluation as we do now.

Another board member from a predominantly white REAA district on the road system described the evaluation process in his district:

We look at our board goals for the year and see how he's done. We ask what his conduct in the district has been like ... We also look at community involvement ... part of it is done with the super present. Then he leaves and we go into executive session.

In another remote Native REAA district, a board member reported:

When money matters come up ... when people ask for raises, we have a "policy" [for evaluating the superintendent]. Otherwise, we don't do any type of evaluation.

Even in a city district where the board is very active in other processes, the evaluation process can only be described as loose:

We've never had a written evaluation. We've just done it when we sit down to negotiate a new contract. It's just been informal. What evaluating we have done has been more on a day-to-day basis.

A primary activity of the district board seems to be hiring the superintendent. In all of our field sites, the district board determined the process and had the greatest influence on the outcome. In contrast to the attention focused on hiring, evaluation of the superintendent's performance tended to be ad hoc. While the inadequacies of the evaluation process appeared to worry board members from several districts, only two boards were actively reassessing their evaluation process.

The informal nature of the evaluative process in most districts speaks perhaps less to the irresponsibility of the boards and more to the nature of the relationship between members and their administrators. In the context of rural Alaska where communities are small and residents are often in one another's company in a number of settings, "getting along" is critical. Relationships are rarely formal; nearly everyone is on a first-name basis. Imposing a highly formalized evaluation process on such relationships seems to strike most board

members as unnecessarily impersonal -- if not distasteful. Asked about the evaluation process in her town, a Native board member in a fishing village of 350 souls said of the superintendent of this single-school city district: "He's on a pedestal here [i.e., constantly in view]. Everyone knows so damn much about everyone else in this town."

Hiring the Principal

Our survey results are of limited value in understanding the processes of hiring the principal (table 8). Unfortunately, the survey question asked respondents about "hiring professional personnel," erroneously assuming that the hiring process was the same for teachers and principals.

Interviews with principals, teachers, and board members established that the hiring process differs for teachers and principals. In half the rural school systems in our sample, the superintendent recruits, screens, and recommends a single candidate to the board. The assistant superintendent, other central office personnel, and one or more principals may assist the superintendent in interviewing. Lay boards do not appear to be involved.

A principal at a school in a predominantly Native REAA district, discussing his own hiring, reported that:

The super does both the recruiting and the interviewing for principals. The board gets involved but the decision is the super's. The board just generally approves who he chooses.

The superintendent of a predominantly non-Native city district described a similar process in hiring a principal for the high school:

I contracted with the Southeast Regional Resource Center for advertising [the position] and a preliminary evaluation of the application. They prioritized the application. We just looked at the first ten. We contacted these candidates and set up personal interviews. I ended up interviewing seven of them. The board wasn't involved. [The elementary school principal] also went through the applications. We recommended one candidate to the board and they accepted it.

In the other half of the schools systems in our sample, lay boards were involved to varying degrees. Typically, district and/or local board members serve as members of hiring committees:

There's a selection committee of eight persons -- district staff, superintendent, principals, and ASB members. We conduct the interviews. Anyone may blackball a candidate. We have voting on all serious applicants brought in [for an interview]. (Principal in a predominantly non-Native REAA on the road system.)

A local board member from a Native village reported that a representative from their board flew to the district office for the meeting at which a principal for their village school was hired. In the same village a teacher, veteran of six years in this district, described this as a token process -- "it's not effective in the final decision." The local board member did not share this opinion.

Even within districts, the process may differ between schools. In one Native REAA, with schools strung out over several hundred miles, candidates for the principalship of a school in a village near the central office had visited the village and were interviewed by the community school committee (CSC). The CSC in another village in the same district, located some 150 miles from the central office, had sent the superintendent a letter requesting that candidates

for the principalship of their school be sent out for interviews. According to a CSC member, the Assistant Superintendent had replied that "legal and logistic problems made it impossible for the CSC to have input into new hires."

What factors determine the role of lay boards in principal hiring? While our data do not yield a direct answer to this question, our fieldwork offered some insights. Certainly, district policy plays a major role. Where superintendents and the district board feel that hiring the principal is solely the superintendent's responsibility, there does not appear to be any lay input. Logistics also seem to influence the hiring process. The distances and weather conditions which make travel expensive and uncertain in rural Alaska complicate both sending candidates to village sites and bringing local board members in to the central office. Such difficulties serve both as genuine obstacles to greater lay participation and as convenient excuses for professionals who wish to limit lay influence.

A third factor seems to be the lay board's desire to be involved. We found this varied greatly among our fieldsites. In city districts in mixed and predominantly non-Native communities, the tendency appeared to be to allow the superintendent to hire the principals: "We let the super pick his own staff. We've placed our confidence in his ability and, as a consequence, we have let him hire his own people" (board member, city district in predominantly non-Native town of 1,500 people). Of those REAA districts on the road system with schools in mostly mixed or non-Native communities, one used a selection committee while in the remaining two districts, board members seemed content to leave the process to the professionals. In REAA districts in Native regions, board members, in general, seemed content to allow the superintendent to handle principal hiring.

This is not to say, however, that communities have no input into the selection process for their administrator. At nearly a quarter of our fieldsites, the communities were involved in selecting or retaining their local school administrator. In one remote Native village, the district had tried to replace the principal because of a new policy to retain only certificated administrators:

They decided to do this without any discussion with the villagers. The first response came from the students who opposed it and then from the staff and the village. Everyone got involved to stop it. They forced the district to change their plans. (Teacher in the village.)

Another village requested -- and received -- the appointment of a principal who had previously taught in the community's school.

A principal who violates local values jeopardizes not just his relationships in the community but his position as well. A local board member in a predominantly Native village of some 550 people described how the previous principal had alienated the community:

When [the previous principal] was principal, people came to see me. They were concerned. They asked me, "Are my kids supposed to study Bible in school?" We [the board] got into a heated argument with him. He said that all textbooks are from the Bible. I told him that if he did it again, I wouldn't let him alone. The parish council had to deal with the family. I called the superintendent and told him he had to do something. I wrote to the RSB [regional school board] about it, too. They brought him down to just the band teacher. He was no longer principal.

These examples illustrate our contention that formal lay participation in the principal hiring process may be less influential in personnel placement than the informal means communities employ to express their preferences. While the results of our fieldwork do not disprove the survey finding that educational professionals dominate the process of hiring principals, neither do lay people appear quite so powerless as they are sometimes pictured. In some districts, lay boards have at least token representation on hiring committees. In others, they may request a certain type of professional, a specific individual, or they may effectively control the decision to retain or to fire the incumbent.

Principal Evaluation

The evaluation process for principals in most rural schools, like that for superintendents, appears to be hit-or-miss. Even in districts where a procedure is established, the procedure is not, apparently, always followed. In 11 of the 16 systems in our field sample, the superintendent -- or his representative -- evaluates the principals without formal input from lay people. All three of the school systems that make community input part of the process were REAA districts with schools spread over large distances. Two are predominantly Native districts; one predominantly non-Native. Yet, in only one of the three districts could we confirm actual formal lay evaluation of the local administrator.

Perhaps of greater importance were the instances of informal evaluation which we noted above. When a community wants a principal removed, they appear to be effective in both communicating their assessment to the district office and the principal and in achieving their objective. Conversely, communities that wish to retain their principals seem capable of doing so in the face of concerted district office efforts to the contrary.

Hiring Teachers

Although professionals appear to dominate the formal process of teacher hiring, we also found evidence of significant community influence. While only three districts had formal participation of lay board members, in hiring teachers -- as in hiring principals -- local boards and community members certainly seem to influence the process (table 8).

A teacher -- who served as the local administrator at a two-teacher school in a Native village -- described the hiring process in the district that had the greatest degree of local involvement of any in the field sample:

They called us from the central office and wanted me to come up for an interview. They paid our way to the district office. We were interviewed ... by ... the Assistant Superintendent. Then we were interviewed in the village. We came out with the Assistant Superintendent. The community school committee had a meeting at the community center. Just about everybody in town was there. They asked us about our philosophy of education, why we wanted to be here in this village, what we thought we could offer to a little school. It was actually quite an ordeal.

No other district in our sample used this approach. In the two other districts that reported lay involvement in the teacher hiring process, board members were part of selection committees. The procedure described above, had, however, been used in several districts and subsequently dropped:

At that time we'd bring all the final candidates to the villages to give the local board the final nod. However, we got into some power plays with this process. You'd put the best you had out there -- and then they'd get rejected. For example, I took

a very good couple out once and the village turned them down. The only possible reason I could see that they did this was to exercise their power to say no. So they ended up with someone who came after school had already started. And as you know, the later you hire, the less likely you are to get good candidates since most of the good candidates go early.

In this REAA district in a Native region the superintendent -- author of the above quotation -- and his staff now made all teacher hiring decisions at the central office.

Typical of most rural schools is the process described by the assistant superintendent of a large, mostly Native REAA district:

The job description is sent out.... There are advertisements in the Tundra Drums, in the Anchorage papers, in the Seattle papers. It also goes to the University of Alaska Placement Office. We then send it to specific people who've requested information on that kind of a position. Finally it's posted in all the district schools. In other words, we try to advertise as widely as possible.

We'd wait 'til the closing date and then I will screen it down to an acceptable group. I will ask anyone who may be involved with the position in the central office to help get the number of applicants down. Then we conduct telephone interviews.

We offer 50 percent of the travel for anyone to come for an interview. If they are hired, we reimburse the other 50 percent. We do this to cut down on people who will use the opportunity as a free ride to Alaska If they don't want to come they screen themselves. We'll interview candidates ... by using a team approach.

Asked about local lay participation, our informant responded:

Local people are not very directly involved. In the _____ REAA [where he had previously worked] they brought teacher applicants to the central office [to be interviewed by board members]. In some ways, this was a mistake. For example, one woman who was a very good teacher was rejected because she was considered too short.*

The informal influence of lay board and community members seems more significant than any formal involvement. Educational professionals responsible for hiring consistently mention the ability to get along with the community as a primary criterion for hiring:

I contact the community to ask for specifics about who they want. For example, they may want someone who's strong in athletics. Then, in the screening process we establish this criterion. (Superintendent, large Native REAA.)

We avoid cultural ethnocentrism when we hire people. (Superintendent, large Native REAA.)

I think the most important thing for a teacher is being able to get along with the community. A teacher can be one hell of a good educator and not get along with the community and, therefore, he's not effective. (Assistant Superintendent, large Native REAA.)

* This administrator was involved in a public confrontation with the district school board chairman, an aggressive local control advocate, one week after this interview at the regular monthly school board meeting. The administrator resigned his position.

There are hidden agendas at the local level -- they need someone who can get on with people in the local community. (Superintendent, predominantly non-Native REAA on the road system.)

These quotations -- all from professionals directly responsible for teacher hiring -- illustrate the importance administrators placed on community acceptance of teaching candidates. Some of these informants, as well as others, described for us the type of teacher appropriate for different sites within their district. The better the fit between the teacher's and the community's values and expectations, the less the likelihood that the school will become a thorn in the administrator's side.

When educational professionals do violate community expectations and values, the community can often have the teacher recalled or not retained -- as we have described above. As a board member in a small Native village told us, "You don't have to worry out here about the teachers not being any good. If they're not any good, the parents will run them out if they don't like what is going on at the school." In another village, concerns about the principal teacher led the village council to hold public hearings. Community members and school employees were asked about the teacher's conduct at these meetings. The council then presented the testimony and signed affidavits to the district office. The district office gave the principal 48 hours to organize his family's effects and leave the village.

The power of lay boards and local communities, however informal, is sufficient to be perceived as a threat by some professionals. "They have more freedom in deciding on retention than I would like to see," reported an assistant superintendent in a large district of predominantly Native communities. "You get

all sorts of things -- illegal meetings, executive sessions where individuals are not confronted directly We may have gone too far in giving the ASB power. If they stuck to the powers they have on paper, it would be all right. But the powers they assume go beyond that."

A few local board members at our sample sites were dissatisfied with the professional domination of the hiring process. Most, however, seemed to accept the status quo. One reason may be the amount of time board members already spend in carrying out their responsibilities to constituents. Greater involvement in the hiring process would mean more time spent in meetings. One board member from a Native village told us he spent exactly half of one January at meetings outside his village and eight of the remaining evenings at meetings in his own community.

In short, few rural school systems appear to afford lay board members the opportunity to participate in the teacher hiring process. Evidence from our fieldsites seems to show, however, that lay boards and community members exert a powerful informal influence. That influence is best seen in the efforts of the administration to recruit and hire teachers who fit the values and expectations of the communities where they work well. Community members have also succeeded, moreover, in pressuring the superintendent to remove professionals from the community.

Teacher Evaluation

In most rural school districts in our sample, the teachers' contract stipulated the procedure for teacher evaluation. None of these procedures as far as we could determine include lay involvement. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the evaluation process was the singular lack of enthusiasm that all

concerned -- supervisors, teachers, and board members -- demonstrated on the subject.

The impression we have of the standard process is of an empty but necessary ritual. At a time of high public concern with and discussion of accountability, such apathy struck this writer as curious. Lacking in our informants' discussion of teacher evaluation is even the illusion that the process might lead to improved instruction. Rather, teachers and administrators alike seem to view the process as a highly formalized bureaucratic exercise, the primary purpose of which is to meet the legal terms of the teachers' contract.

The principal teacher carries out the evaluation. We receive a notice that it's evaluation time and we're given two questionnaires. One is a self-evaluation. It covers just about everything you do.... Then you have one formal evaluation.... The actual observation itself is really pro forma. We get an observation sheet from the principal that we fill out. He reads our self-observation. Then he fills out a checklist which has evolved from the master question list. You are rated on a scale from "needs no improvement" to "needs improvement." This goes in our file. (Teacher in an REAA school in a small, remote Native village.)

While most districts and local board members seemed content to leave teacher evaluation to the professionals, some wanted a larger role for the lay board. One local board member took it upon herself to challenge the professionals' hegemony of evaluation:

We don't know what our rights are. We went up to the school to evaluate the teachers. The principal told us it was illegal, that we could be sued by NEA.

Such challenges are apparently rare. The ubiquitous teachers' association contract ensures that evaluation will remain an intra-professional affair. The terms of such contracts may force communities to expedients such as expulsion from the village as their evaluation process of the last resort.

Hiring and Evaluating Educational Professionals: A Summary

In rural Alaska, as elsewhere in the U.S., educational professionals seem to dominate the formal processes of hiring and evaluating certificated personnel. The one important exception to this generalization is the superintendency: District school boards in rural Alaska both hire and evaluate the superintendent. Although legally empowered to hire all district employees, the district board usually delegates this responsibility to the superintendent who may, in larger districts, delegate the hiring of teachers to the site administrator.

Lay input into the hiring of principals and teachers appears, at best, informal or, at worst, non-existent. Where board members participate in hiring principals or teachers, they are most likely to do so as members of a selection committee or team. We found only one district of the 16 represented in our sample that actually sent candidates to the village where they were to teach if hired. Even in this district, the central office had narrowed the number of candidates to three in one village and one in another.

On the other hand, our interviews with administrators revealed that most consider carefully the fit between prospective teachers and the communities in which they are to teach. Communities have taken matters into their own hands and forced teachers who have violated local values and norms out of the community. This has happened often enough to alert administrators to the dangers of ignoring local preferences.

While district boards are responsible for evaluating their superintendents, few districts have an evaluation procedure that they follow consistently. A few districts used an evaluation-by-objectives approach. Most appear not to evaluate until forced to do so during contract negotiations. The national accountability movement has had seemingly little effect on procedures for evaluating rural Alaska's top administrators.

Superintendents or their delegates commonly evaluate principals. Where the local board makes input into the evaluation process, that input seems to be informal, oral, and does not become part of the professional's records. Similarly, in the case of teacher evaluations, the process is stipulated in the teachers' association contract. Such contractually defined processes generally do not include community input. Where we did find lay involvement in the evaluation of teachers, it was "off the record" or "advisory."

To conclude that the local communities have no voice in evaluating their teachers is to underestimate their resourcefulness. In the course of our fieldwork, we heard of numerous instances where communities had forced the district to relocate teachers or reprimand them because the teacher had offended local values or simply failed to do his job as the community expected. Conversely, attempts to relocate teachers that the community valued have been successfully resisted -- much to the consternation of the central office.*

* This writer incurred the lasting antipathy of one district office by publishing a favorable description of a school in that district. Apparently, the district office had been trying to get the principal-teacher out of the school for some time. The report provided the community with ammunition in their battle to keep the teacher.

Although a few local board members expressed frustration with their limited role in hiring and evaluating principals and teachers, the majority seemed to accept the status quo. Why, we might ask, aren't school board members agitating to increase their control in these critical governance processes? Two explanations might be offered.

The first follows the conclusion of Norman Kerr's (1964) classic study of the "school board as an agency of legitimation." According to Kerr, school board members have attenuated relationships with their constituents. Socialized and coopted into adopting the administrator's point of view, board members' most important function is to legitimate the superintendent's decisions in the eyes of the community. Boards merely "rubber stamp" the administrator's hiring and evaluation decisions.

The other possible explanation takes as its starting point the realities of a board member's life. Board members in rural Alaska are busy people. They generally have families of their own, jobs to go to, and civic duties other than the school board. The terms of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act place on Native residents the additional burden of corporate structures and resources to manage which involve attending a variety of meetings -- village and regional corporation, land selection, resource management and others. There are village or town council meetings for matters relating to state government. For Native communities, there are additional governmental structures -- traditional or IRA councils -- for federal matters.

In addition, rural residents in remote areas often lack the amenities of larger towns and cities. The individual must spend considerable time performing life support chores: hauling water; gathering and hauling firewood; tipping "honey" buckets; gathering, preparing and storing food in the absence of

convenient food storage facilities; performing household chores such as washing dishes and clothes without running water and washing machines. While rural Alaska is changing rapidly and more and more communities have conveniences such as community laundromats, freezer facilities, automobiles and roads, telephone service and so on, most rural residents must spend a significant portion of their time on life support chores.

Given the demands that contemporary life in rural Alaska makes on board members, they may readily concede control over hiring and evaluation — and, indeed, over other school governance processes — to educational professionals. In addition, deference to expertise is as powerful in rural Alaska as elsewhere in the U.S. Even residents of remote Native villages have been socialized through their contact with doctors, lawyers, and the army of government experts who traipse through their villages in the name of one agency or another.

Deference to professional expertise and the demands made on time and energy of board members complement the desire of professional educators to control the operation of their institutions and reduce the uncertainty in their environment. As a consequence, board members may willingly delegate their hiring authority to their administrators and accept their recommendations.

Kerr's conclusion -- that boards are coopted into legitimating the professionals' decisions to the community — may be supported by our data. Yet this explanation requires that we assume that board members are more easily coopted than are researchers. If researchers can see where and how professional educators coopt lay board members, why can't board members themselves see it?

The second explanation does not require us to assume that board members are coopted by manipulative professionals. Rather, the exigencies of board member's lives and the widespread norm of deference to professional expertise

create an opportunity for educators to exercise control over their work situation. In examining other areas of school governance, we will test this explanation against our findings.

Selecting Textbooks

Professionals appear to clearly dominate the process of selecting textbooks for classroom use (table 8). Professional educators cited district boards as participants in the textbook selection/approval process in less than one-third of the schools. The local board was mentioned by professionals in only 16 percent of the rural schools. As to who dominates the process, only one professional in ten mentioned the district board while a mere 7 percent indicated the local board had such influence.

Unlike some schools in the "Lower 48" states where interest groups -- particularly, religious fundamentalists -- have recently made textbook selection a controversial issue, rural schools in Alaska have been relatively free from such debates. Most teachers in rural Alaska appear to have a fairly free hand to order whatever textbooks and materials they want. Some districts have a list of recommended texts from which the teacher may choose. In districts that have curriculum coordinators, this individual may draw up the list. In other districts, a district-wide curriculum committee may provide a list of suggested textbooks.

In no district did we encounter lay interest in greater control over the textbook selection process. At two sites, lay people did raise concerns about the level of textbooks. Informants felt that teachers chose textbooks below the students' grade level. Teachers justified this by pointing to the low achievement test scores on reading comprehension in rural schools. Lay people felt the

material might be below the intellectual level of most students who, consequently, became bored or alienated.

How widespread such practices and the resulting community concern are, we do not know. We did not ask directly about this issue in either our surveys or interviews. This is an issue that deserves further investigation.

Proposing New Courses or Programs

The third governing process that we have categorized as being "internal" to the profession of education is proposing new courses or programs. Curricular development and design as an area of professional expertise has become so specialized in recent decades that, within the profession, educators themselves now pay deference to curriculum experts. In rural Alaska, all but the largest districts are too small to justify a curriculum coordinator or director. Our surveys of professional educators produced results showing that in eight of ten rural schools, the teachers or principals propose new courses or programs (table 8). Lay board members or parents propose new courses in almost half the schools. On the question of who has the most influence in this process, professionals dominate in most rural schools. Only 11 percent of the professionals regarded the district board as most influential and even fewer felt their local board dominated this process.

During our fieldwork, we found that city and borough district school boards had greater involvement in reviewing the curriculum than did district or local advisory boards at REAA schools. At the same time, these latter boards were more active in pressing for locally relevant courses. Their efforts had achieved results: Fully 70 percent of the predominantly Native schools had courses or

parts of courses to teach local community history and cultural traditions.*

The process of curriculum review in city and borough districts in our sample resembles that described by the president of the borough school board in a predominantly non-Native town of 8,000 inhabitants:

Two years ago we started having monthly curriculum reports. Each dependent does one. We look for continuity in K through 12. The last one was done by the Music Department. Before that we heard from the P.E. Department.

Every staff member in that department comes to the [board] meeting These reports give us an insight into what's being taught and why. They are very important.

In response to a follow-up question on the board suggesting new courses or programs, this informant responded, "We are lay people and the professionals are out there [in the schools]." From her point of view, this was not a legitimate board activity.

At least one board member in this district found the process unsatisfactory:

I find the present process of curriculum review very frustrating. The teachers will present a curriculum to us. We've tried to get them to give us a good review. But we haven't had much success. They tend to balk at any changes we

* Predominantly Native schools are those located in communities where the population is 81 percent or more Native. Of the 178 REAA schools in our sample, 63 percent were predominantly Native while slightly less than 20 percent were predominantly non-Native.

suggest in the curriculum. They say it can't be done. They tell us their problems and their needs rather than giving you a curriculum review.

This board member questioned the district's programs in fundamental skills such as writing and reading. His response may illustrate the way in which professionals use their claim of expertise to resist curriculum changes suggested by lay board members.

This type of review, however inadequate in the view of some board members, is more structured than that we found in other rural city and borough districts. More typical of the review processes is this:

We've gone over courses to see what's good and what's not. We've tried to get continuity in our courses so if a teacher leaves the course will continue. Teacher turnover has been a big problem here. (Board member, predominantly Native single-school city district).

Rural schools created as a result of the agreement in the Tobeluk v. Lind case (called "Hootch" schools after the student in whose name the suit was originally brought) are required to comply with state regulations mandating community involvement in curriculum assessment and planning. We found wide variations in district compliance with these regulations, known as the "05" regulations.

Of the eight districts in our sample, half appeared to make a genuine effort to use the "05" process as an opportunity to assess their academic programs and change the curriculum to meet local needs:

We do a survey of the village, of how they think each [academic] program was presented and carried out. We draw up a curriculum based on what [the villagers said] was needed. The ASB looks at this and makes further recommendations.

But when we asked this informant -- the principal teacher in a predominantly Native village of about 300 people -- how successful the survey was, he responded: "Most of the parents don't know what's going on, to be honest. The school board has a better idea. I try to do whatever they want. After all, it's their school." Asked who suggested new courses, he replied, "They came from the ASB. Last year they suggested more cultural classes. This year they want more music." All the board members in the community confirmed the principal's description of the curriculum process.

The remaining four districts in our sample seemed to approach the "05" procedure as a bothersome exercise to satisfy the state educational bureaucracy. The president of a local board in one of these districts described the "05" procedure in her village:

People from the district office gave us a pamphlet about 05 regulations. It listed the subjects that were taught and the cultural programs. Then it asked us whether or not we liked it, where there was room for improvement -- those kinds of questions. The principal ... was there and [the director of community education for the district] and [the district accountant who was also the superintendent's wife]. It would have been nice if each of the teachers had talked about their subject but they didn't.

Another board member who was present at this meeting noted that the district office personnel and the local principalship "wanted [the president of the board]

to sign off on the 05 documents. She didn't want to because she hadn't had a chance to read it. But she looked at it there and finally signed off on it."

Typically, in districts where the "05" process is seen primarily as an exercise in bureaucratic futility, the local administrator or a representative from the district office holds a public meeting with the local advisory board to discuss the curriculum. Given that school board meetings in rural Alaska, as elsewhere in the U.S. are poorly attended, community input in these districts is limited largely to ASB members' comments.

By their own admission as well as from reports of educational professionals, board members in predominantly Native communities are primarily concerned with cultural courses. Community members want the local schools to teach the skills and knowledge that distinguish them as a people with their own history, language, technology, and spiritual heritage. As noted above, 70 percent of the Native schools have community culture courses; 65 percent offer training in vocations appropriate to the community; 68 percent offer instruction in Native crafts; and fully 55 percent have separate courses in Native languages.

The relative success of Native communities and board members in pressuring the schools to offer culturally relevant instruction may be attributed, at least in part, to such federal programs as Johnson-O'Mally, Indian Education, and Bilingual Education. These programs provide funds for instructors and supplies. As the tide of federal aid ebbs, these cultural programs may be left high and dry.

Such an occurrence may result less from the hostility or indifference of professional educators to Native culture and more from a change we see coming in lay boards. Many current board members have had limited experience with schools -- particularly high schools. Increasingly, however, graduates of local

high schools, some of whom have some experience in college, are being elected to local boards. Eventually, these graduates will also be elected to district boards.

These younger board members are more familiar with the schools than are their elders. They also tend to be much more aware of the curriculum and its academic shortcomings. A newly elected board member in a Native village, who had graduated from high school and had attended college for two years, complained about the local high school: "The academic program is completely inadequate. The school doesn't prepare students for life, either in the community or outside the community. Kids are not given skills that will enable them to get the jobs that they want to get."

In another Native village, a graduate of the local high school ran for the board because he was concerned about his children: "I wanted to see the curriculum my kids would be taught." He voiced his concern about that curriculum:

My concern is that we are graduating people who are ill-equipped to face either world, either the Eskimo world or the white world. Am I equipped for the world of competition if I move to New York? The answer is no.

Although most Native board members we interviewed expressed concern primarily about the inclusion of cultural courses, a minority -- mostly young, mostly well-educated -- questioned the quality of academic offerings.

Proposing New Courses/Programs: Summary

Lay review of the curriculum or lay involvement in generating new courses appears very limited in rural Alaskan schools. Review of courses appears more common in city or borough schools.

State regulations require "Hootch" schools to conduct an annual curriculum assessment in the community. Some schools use this as an opportunity to gather community attitudes toward the school curriculum. Yet, the instrument used to generate this information -- the written community survey -- appears sufficiently alien to the culture to undermine the validity of the results.

In other districts, professionals seem to be merely going through the motions on the "05" process. Administrators in these districts resent the state Department of Education for imposing this procedure on them. While information is gathered from local advisory boards, little use seems to be made of the results.

The primary curriculum concern in Native villages appears to be culturally relevant courses. Community members and lay boards have successfully translated this concern into instruction in local culture and traditions in 7 of 10 Native schools. At the same time, younger board members who are products of the local schools show a tendency to be more critical than their elders of the academic courses.

Internal Issues: Summary

As we had expected, on those issues in which educational professionals claim special expertise, professionals dominate governance processes -- in the eyes of both lay people and educators. At the same time, lay people do seem to influence these processes. Their influence is usually not manifest as direct and

immediate input. Rather, professionals may anticipate lay reaction to their decisions and thereby shape their actions according to the values, attitudes, and expectations of those who will be affected.

In two of the three governance processes -- textbook selection and new courses -- local professionals rather than central office personnel tend to dominate. Local professionals' actions are even more vulnerable to community opinion and preference than those of central office personnel. Local concern for culturally relevant instruction has translated into new courses in a majority of predominantly Native schools.

External Issues: Budget Planning

An area in which laymen are likely to have as much expertise as they feel the professionals have is that of budgetary decision making. This seems particularly true in urban areas where laymen are frequently involved in private enterprise which requires at least a modicum of budgetary skills. As the public's "watchdog" over spending tax dollars, board members may feel they have reason to be particularly vigilant -- especially in these times of "Proposition 13." On a purely theoretical level, reason might argue that lay participation and influence would be greatest on this issue.

When we look at the responses of educational professionals to the question of who participates in budgetary planning, the reality of lay participation seems to fall somewhat short of theory. Nearly three-quarters of the professionals regarded the superintendent and/or the principal as participants but not even half mentioned the local and/or district board (table 8). In response to "who's most influential?", nearly three-quarters of the professionals cited themselves while only 11 percent mentioned lay board members.

In analyzing participation and influence in this area, we need to distinguish between school systems to which local taxpayers must contribute and those entirely dependent on state and federal funds. There are two types of systems in the first category: borough and first- and second-class cities.* In REAA districts, on the other hand, taxpayers make no contribution. Schools in these districts operate primarily on state funds with some federal program funding as well. BIA and contract schools are supported almost exclusively by federal funds. Consequently, we find substantial differences in the budgetary processes in REAA and city or borough schools.

Given their role as "watchdogs" over the dollars local property-tax payers contribute towards the operation of the local schools, board members in city and borough districts might be expected to be more involved in the budgetary process than their counterparts in REAA districts. The level of participation in these non-REAA districts appears to be, nonetheless, low. By examining the process through the eyes of both professionals and board members in a predominantly non-Native borough of 8,000 residents, we can illustrate the extent of the board's involvement.

The process originates with the four building principals:

We meet weekly with the superintendent. Often we discuss budget matters. We talk about our needs and if the money budgeted per student in each [budgetary] category is sufficient. The principals have flexibility to move money around.

* "First- and second-class" is not a qualitative rating but rather a classification of local government.

The superintendent corroborated this principal's description of the consultative process:

In November, the superintendent sends out budget forms to each of the principals who, in turn, consults with his staff. They then turn back into the superintendent's office these completed forms Finally the super puts the budget together. Then he has to take it to the school board for review. After the school board has reviewed it, then we have public work sessions with the town assembly Last year \$1.8 million out of our total budget of \$9.1 million came from local funding. We also get [P.L.] 874 funds.

In our interview with the president of the board, her description of the board's role in reviewing the budget matched that of the superintendent. "Our role in the budgetary process is a monitoring role."

The president's acquiescent attitude to this review role was shared by another board member who had been described to us as the "designated businessman" on the board. He had been encouraged to run and was supported by the local business community:

The budget is presented to us by the administration. We go through it, question it, make recommendations and additions. We have the final say before it goes to the assembly. The teachers and the principal have already made their input.

The superintendent will do an informal veto before it gets to us. He knows pretty well what will fly with us and what won't. In actual fact, we have a lot to say about [the budget's final form].

The board's understanding that the superintendent, in drafting the budget, anticipates "what will fly ... and what won't," seems to dictate that their review is program-by-program, not line-item by line-item.

A single-school city district used a budgetary planning process unique among schools in our sample. The superintendent requested from each of his principals "a budget based on his needs -- not a zero-based budget but rather a continuity budget." Then, the central office assembled these raw requests into a notebook which the superintendent distributed at a board meeting:

We didn't present a balanced budget so they can get familiar with what people want before we work on it. Then, we present them with a balanced budget.... Then, they will work over this proposal at board work sessions. The public may come but not participate. What they work over will be published. The board members will have all the data and the finished budget that goes to the state. From the board, it has to go to the city council.

Board members in this small city district felt a high degree of control. "We have as much control over the budget as we need. If you have a problem with something in the budget, you can stop it," commented a board member who had served as president the three previous years and was called "the financial person" by her fellow members.

Both professionals and lay people in city and borough districts attribute relatively high levels of involvement and influence in the budgetary process to board members. Obviously, this statement must be seen in context: As one board member said, "Once you've paid everyone's salary and the heating bill, what's left to talk about?" The picture of influence on budgetary planning in city and borough districts differs, nonetheless, from the overall picture as portrayed in

table 8. That is, the superintendent and the boards are perceived as most influential significantly more often in city and borough districts than in REAA or BIA districts.

During our fieldwork an interesting example of direct community input into the budgetary process occurred. At a board meeting of a district in a mostly non-Native borough of 8,000 people, the local arts council requested that the board allocate funds for an elementary arts teacher. Earlier that day, at the administrators' meeting, a particularly vocal and powerful principal had asked the superintendent to talk with the board president and "make sure she knows she doesn't have to give in to the demands of those arts people." The superintendent, before the meeting, expressed strong doubt that any action would be taken on the request. None of the three board members interviewed before the meeting thought the arts council would get anything more than an hour of the board's time.

On the night of the meeting, of the 30 people who appeared, all but 5 testified on behalf of the arts council's request. The board president was gracious, cool and patient throughout an hour of testimony. She then told the assembled parents and arts council people that the board would take their request "under advisement."

Veterans of three years of bringing their request to the board, the arts council supporters were not to be denied:

Arts council president: "We want to know if the school board is committed."

Board president: "We recognize this is an important need. I know you are looking for a commitment. We have to go through our budget process. Then there are space constraints.... But

I'm not without a certain commitment.... We can arrange for you to work with our staff."

Arts council president: "We'll be glad to help you devise a program. We've already given in-services at the school but we don't think that's enough...."

Parent: "Will you entertain a motion to commit the board to having an arts specialist?"

The board members seemed to become suddenly very interested in the papers spread before each on the table. Finally, the "business" member of the board looked up and, somewhat sheepishly, pronounced: "I move that we adopt a commitment to having an arts specialist in the elementary school." The motion carried, the arts council supporters applauded, the president gaveled a recess and the meeting hall emptied.

After the meeting, the president who earlier in the day had given the arts council "no chance" of attaining their goal had changed her tune. She now felt the board "had to recognize a legitimate concern of those who attend [board meetings]." The superintendent, who had been even more pessimistic about the arts council's chance of success, concurred.

While we cannot know how representative this event is of issues brought to school boards, the success of this well-planned and orchestrated effort illustrates the possibility that organized groups may affect the budgetary process. In this case, the group not only affected budgetary planning but they did so in spite of opposition from an administrator considered second only to the superintendent in power and the indifference of board members and the superintendent alike. Indeed, prior to the meeting, not a single supporter of the request could be found among administrators and board members.

This event illustrates as well an advantage that residents of single-school city, borough, and small REAA districts have over residents of the larger REAA districts -- all of which are mostly Native. Residents of these geographically more compressed districts have easier access to district board meetings. In the larger REAA districts, residents might be required to fly, at their own expense, long distances to attend district board meetings where, as we shall see, budgets are reviewed. All of these districts have a policy of holding board meetings in the different communities in the district. The board considers the budget, however, at only one or two meetings. A resident's opportunity to attend a meeting where the budget is discussed is consequently a matter of chance.

This is one difference between the city and borough districts in our sample and most REAA districts. We also found differences in the actual budgetary process. In general, district boards in REAAs appeared to participate less in developing the budget. The superintendent of a large REAA district in a Native region described the process in his district:

The budget is put together by me. I start off figuring out the fixed costs and identifying them, like salaries, utilities, maintenance. Then each school has a budget. This is prepared by the superintendent and presented to the regional school board for approval.

Board members in this district had varying impressions of the process. A non-Native board member who was a neighbor and friend of the superintendent explained the process:

The budget is made up by the administration. They try to explain everything to us. If in going through the budget we find something that needs revision, we'll tell them to go back and fix it up.

Then it comes to the board again. We get a copy of the revised budget. We can take it home and study it and, then, at the next meeting we can vote on it. If we're still not satisfied with it, we send it back again. But the budget is totally the board's decision.

A Native board member who lived in a village some distance from the district central office saw the process differently:

I don't like the budgetary process now. The priorities [as they appear in the budget] are not our academic needs. I don't know exactly what our priorities are.... We are trying to get a line-item by line-item review.

Another Native board member from another village in the same REAA complained that the board spent too little time reviewing the budget:

Now that we're into the year and the budget that the board passed is in effect, they are asking the kind of questions that they should have asked before the budget passed. Another thing is that the budget should have been brought out to the villages so that the locals could see it, and that wasn't done.

Site administrators in this district had virtually no involvement with the budget. As one reported, "This year the district office just showed me what they had and they asked if I had any suggestions. But it's pretty well set — the bulk of it goes for salaries."

Six of the nine REAA districts represented in our sample of schools had similarly centralized budget processes. Generally, the superintendent and his staff prepared a budget, submitted it to the district board, and the board

approved the budget. Occasionally, boards proposed revisions that the superintendent incorporated into the final budget. With few exceptions -- one of which we quoted above -- board members seemed satisfied with such a process.

In three REAA districts, budget planning is more a "bottom-up" process with local administrators and the local board submitting budget requests. The requests seem to be based largely on the previous year's budget. The budget request is forwarded to the district office and district board where it is either approved or returned to the site for revision.

The principal of a small school -- 60 students in K-12 -- in one of these districts described the process at the local level:

We've had three or four meetings on budget revisions. I draw up a budget and present it to the ASB. If they feel that money should be spent in another area, they will change it. We just finished the budget for the elementary school. They added money for aides and cooks. I had to change [the budget I had prepared].

Board members confirmed this description: As the president of the board said, "We can make any change we want."

Even in districts that have decentralized the budgetary process, local board input seems to be limited. While board members feel they can "make any changes we want," they rarely do. The few allocative decisions they do make seem less likely to involve the academic program than student extracurricular activities and travel.

At BIA schools, the role of the local board members appears to resemble that of local advisory boards in state schools. A BIA principal discussed the process in his school:

Twice a year we have student counts -- during the last week in October and the first week in November. Our budget is based on this. It's all on a formula basis. You get a printout from Washington telling you what you can spend -- I think this year it was \$1,964 per student.

During the last week in February you have another count and on the basis of this count the tentative budget for the next year is worked out. I get together with the school board and make the tentative budget for the next year. We break it down into administration, salaries, supplies, equipment. I give them the budget. We discuss it. They can accept it or change it.... The principal can't do anything or spend anything without the signature of the school board. My experience is that I've had to revise the budget six or eight times each school year. It's not a bad process. If the funds aren't there, you have to let an aide go. Then the school board has to review it and decide who to let go. This takes some of the pressure off the principal teacher.

Again, the board members confirmed the principal's description of the process and expressed satisfaction with the process.

In schools most likely to be predominantly Native -- REAA and BIA schools -- the lay boards seem to have little direct influence on the budgetary planning process. The reason appears to be less professional domination than board acquiescence. Board members seemed aware of their authority but reluctant to exercise it. Yet, few appeared intimidated by the technical aspects of the budgetary process. As one board member said, "It's not so complicated that we can't understand it."

In the city and borough schools, we found the board more involved in budgetary planning. Reviewing the budget was a primary board activity each spring. The board, however, rarely opposed the administration's recommendations -- according to the reports of both board members and administrators. At the

same time, board members from these districts appeared to spend more time on budget planning and to regard their "watchdog" role as more important than did their counterparts in REAA districts.

A possible explanation for this difference is the source of revenue for the schools. As we have seen, REAA districts -- lacking an adequate property base -- rely entirely on state and federal funds. Federal funds support BIA and contract schools. Local residents make no direct tax contribution to REAA, BIA or contract schools. City and borough residents, on the other hand, pay property taxes that help support the local schools. For this reason, perhaps, city and borough district board members feel a greater need to scrutinize educational spending.

Commenting on local residents' reluctance to exercise the authority they have over their schools, a Native administrator -- a veteran of the struggle for the Lands Claims Settlement Act -- remarked that, "... we don't own the schools, that is, the people in the villages don't contribute to the upkeep of the schools. I think this has a real effect." He argued that people's sense of ownership, of sovereignty depended on their material contribution. Without that sense of contribution, "people don't believe that they actually have the power to dictate what happens." While this informant made these remarks in discussing the budget, they may have wider application to the general theme of community control in rural Alaska.

Planning the Calendar

In most schools, both laymen and professionals appear to be involved in setting the school calendar -- in the opinion of both groups (table 8). Participation in this process seems to be broader than in any other area except,

perhaps, deciding on appropriate community use of school facilities. On the question of who has predominant influence, more than a quarter of the educational professionals surveyed mentioned the principal -- but 21 percent named the local board and 20 percent the district board.

The importance of the calendar appears to vary among communities. For communities that are highly dependent on subsistence or commercial fishing cycles, local input into the calendar may be considered vital. Families cannot leave for fish camp until school is out. Communities for whom this is a major concern tend to be Native although mixed and white commercial fishing towns along the coast may also consider school opening and closing dates critical.

We found that among most city and borough districts in our sample, the calendar is not an issue. The schools merely follow, more or less, the same calendar that they have followed in the past.

In the REAA districts, which are newer, and in the BIA schools where local boards have only recently been empowered, the school calendar has not yet settled into a conventional form. The high levels of local board and community participation and influence that we found in small, REAA schools reflect the professionals' understanding that a calendar without local input would simply not be followed. This is best illustrated by the following excerpt from an interview with a principal whose village is half Catholic and half Russian Orthodox:

Last year we let out schools for both Western and Orthodox Christmas. This year, I decided we couldn't afford that many days out of school. When the kids came back, it was like starting over in the summer. So I convinced the advisory school board to let the kids out just for Western Christmas. They went along -- pretty reluctantly.

Well, when Slavic [Orthodox Christmas] came along, we had maybe 20 percent of the kids in

school. So next year we'll go back to having vacation for both Christmases. The ASB tried to warn me but ...

Educational professionals who are veterans of rural Alaska seem agreed that an administrator who feels he or she can improve a calendar in a village is either naive, politically inept, or both.

Below, the principal of a high school in a very traditional village of some 350 Natives, describes the calendar planning process:

I'll prepare a proposed calendar and submit it to the ASB. They will make any changes they wish to. The factors used include things like Good Friday. Also, we try to avoid [religious] song fests or [religious] rallies. We also allow for Slavic [Russian Orthodox Christmas].... We have a mandated starting date from the district [office.] of August 24. We need to get out as early as possible in May because of seal hunting. Our staff is committed to having a Christmas break and we try to run Christmas and Slavic together but in order to get out early, it necessitates our going to school on Saturday at least once a month.

Board members confirmed this description: "The principal drafts a calendar. Before it's approved the ASB looks at it during a board meeting. We discuss it, then approve it. We make any changes that are necessary." This board member went on to describe what considerations shaped the calendar:

We look at the subsistence activities in the fall, particularly fishing. And at the end of the year, seal hunting and duck season. Also, we give the students a break, like during Thanksgiving. Also, at Christmas and New Year. We try to keep the students from being in school too much -- they will just get tired of it.

For spring hunting we have them go to school on Saturdays during the winter so that we will get out early. We know the students will want to participate in the seal and bird hunting. It's important for both boys and girls.

Typically, the district board and superintendent will establish district-wide dates for the beginning and closing of schools. Usually, the end-of-school date represents a date beyond which no school should hold classes. If schools wish to close earlier, they often can. Consequently, to log their 180 instructional days, some schools hold Saturday schools.

In the context of remote villages, residents view Saturday school as a welcome alternative to extending school into the late spring. Severe weather conditions and limited subsistence and recreational opportunities restrict activities in the winter. Spring, on the other hand, is a time of intense activity. In addition to hunting and gathering activities, spring is a time of preparation for later activities. Most village residents would gladly exchange a Saturday in February for a Monday in May.

For this reason, in remote villages, a calendar that conforms to local custom and practice is perhaps more important to citizens than in larger, less remote communities. That we found board and community input and influence so high in this process indicates a degree of community control rarely seen. Again, the degree of community determination of the final calendar appears greater than their actual participation in the process would seem to indicate.

The principal -- or principal teacher -- who draws up the calendar is -- or soon becomes -- aware of local factors affecting school attendance. As a consequence, the final calendar, although it will likely be drafted by the

principal and submitted to the local board for approval, will probably reflect local preferences.

On the other hand, we found little evidence of local community influence on the daily school schedule. This seemed to be left entirely in the hands of the professionals. Whereas calendars conformed, somewhat, to the rhythms and cycles of local life, daily schedules seemed similar to those in schools elsewhere in the U.S.

Typically, people in remote villages, like the sun itself, rise relatively late in the day during the winter. Custom holds that during this season one doesn't visit before 10 or 11 o'clock in the morning. At the other end of the day, people may not go to bed until quite late. Yet we found no instances of school schedules which conformed to this pattern among the schools in our sample. Like schools everywhere, classes at our sample schools started between 8 and 9 o'clock and finished between 3 and 4 o'clock.

Our data do not reveal why this is the case. Possibly the standardized schedule reflects the robustness of the institution and its standard operating procedure: Convention holds that schools, regardless of their environment, operate between early morning and mid-afternoon hours. As we have seen, however, the school calendar is sufficiently flexible to allow — in some environments — Saturday school and early school ending dates.

Another factor may be the preferences of educational professionals. Accustomed to standard working hours, professionals may be unwilling to work seemingly "odd" hours. We have found some evidence, in collecting data for other studies, that this may be true for at least some educators at remote schools.

Setting Standards for Student Behavior

As in setting the calendar, there seems to be widespread involvement in establishing standards for student behavior in rural schools. Between 40 and 50 percent of our respondents cited the local board, the district board, parents, and students as participants (table 8). Professionals feel, however, that the principal's influence is predominant. Professionals at only ten percent of all rural schools judged the local board to be most influential in setting behavioral standards for students.

Naturally, the lack of discipline is an issue weighing heavily on the minds of the American public. Over the past decade, the Gallup poll has consistently shown that most Americans consider discipline to be the number one problem in schools (Gallup, 1982).

We found few behavioral problems in rural Alaska schools. In only one of the 28 schools in our field sample did we find a school-wide concern with behavioral problems. Even in this case, the most serious behavioral misconduct that teachers reported was the use of "foul language." Most of the schools we visited reported no more than one suspension during the previous year. In our survey of principals statewide, only 30 percent of all rural schools reported acts of vandalism which caused at least \$100 in damages. In short, student behavior does not appear to be a critical issue for either community members or professionals.

Several factors may contribute to this. Foremost is the small size of communities in rural Alaska. Half of the rural schools are located in communities with fewer than 500 inhabitants. Perpetrators of vandalism, like perpetrators of any crime, would find it difficult if not impossible to hide in small communities. Similarly, misconduct at school quickly becomes common knowledge in the

community. While open and direct reprimands from the community may be unlikely, particularly in some Native villages, the offender may find himself aggressively teased or, worse, socially shunned. In short, in the village, there is no place to hide.

Another factor may be the close relationship that often seems to develop between teachers and students. Classes are extremely small compared to those outside of Alaska. For example, in the largest district represented in our sample, 255 teachers taught 2,457 students in 27 schools — or a teacher-student ratio of 1:9.6 with about 90 students in each school. Under these conditions, students do not seem to become as alienated as do their counterparts in urban areas. As one teacher explained the difference:

... the biggest difference between teaching here and teaching in the Lower 48 is having students who are your friends as well as your students. In the Lower 48, a teacher loses his or her effectiveness by having students as friends. Here, I'm more effective with students because they are my friends.

Not only are teachers and students closer but teachers have more contact with their students' parents. As another teacher said, "Because the community is so small and you can get to know the families, it gives you more insight into the students."

A fourth year teacher at a Native school where relations between professionals and the community are, according to both, excellent explained the absence of behavioral problems at his school as follows:

The kids love this school. The kids are glad to be here. Last year, just two days after school was out [for summer vacation], they wanted to come back. Even the problem kids are here every day. They are very interested in learning. Only one student [out of 67] has an attendance problem. This happens even with the high level of leniency among the parents, the teachers, and the principal.

While admittedly this school has an unusually good reputation, the teacher's description of students' attitude towards schools is not uncommon in rural Alaska.

Community Use of Facilities

In many rural Alaskan communities, the school may offer facilities available nowhere else. Such facilities often include a gymnasium, showers, a library, a large meeting hall, large-scale kitchen equipment, and accommodations for groups of visitors. The actual physical plant of the school constitutes an important resource. Who decides who gets to use it and under what conditions?

More than half of the educational professionals surveyed statewide reported that the local board is involved in making decisions on community use of school facilities (table 8). Professionals report, further, that local boards have predominant influence in 23 percent of all rural schools. Only in the area of planning the calendar has such a high proportion of professionals designated the local board as most influential.

In larger schools, board influence appears less likely to penetrate the administrative structure. That is, larger schools are more likely to have a facilities coordinator or community education director whose duties include scheduling community activities at the school. In such schools, the board

establishes a general policy for community use but decisions on individual requests are made by the administration.

In smaller schools, community members usually bring their requests to the principal who must make day-to-day decisions. As with the calendar, the local administrator who ignores either community preference or local custom does so at his own peril. In particular, the use of the gym is a matter of no little significance in small communities. Basketball is one of the few recreational activities that can be enjoyed during the long, cold, dark winter months. Basketball, as anyone familiar with rural Alaska will attest, is an unparalleled passion for participants and spectators alike.

A Native board member at a 92-student school (K - 12) in a very remote village described how decisions on facilities use were made in her village:

The ASB has control of the use of facilities outside of school hours. The primary issue in community use concerns the gym. The ASB is composed of representatives of all sectors of the community and is capable, then, of determining the best use of the facility ... At present, gym use is disputed. The basketball players [are] demanding more time than anyone else, students included.

A teacher in this village, discussing the importance of board, parent, and council input into community use decisions, warned that "the community has many ways to apply pressure on the principal if he acts alone [in making decisions]."

The importance of the principal's role as gatekeeper of the gym was highlighted by a Native teacher who explained why the present principal was so popular with the local community:

The last principal didn't include the ASB in his decision-making. He was afraid of the people. If two or three people would go to see him, then he would let them use the gym. But if only one person went to see him, he would not let them use the gym. This new principal has taken the lock off the door and opened up the school to the community.

The degree of the principal's power is well illustrated in this quotation, for governance of this school is highly localized. That is, the local board actively participates in virtually all governance areas. Yet, community members view the principal as the final arbiter of facility use.

The source of the principal's power may be relatively simple. She has the key to the school, is usually available, and, in the eyes of teachers and staff at the school, is the final authority. Board members usually do not have keys, may be unavailable, and are rarely recognized as the authority in the school by teachers and staff. The principal, in turn, must be guided by community preference.

We might speculate from our field interviews that a significant factor in determining local board participation in deciding on community use of facilities is the local administrator's attitude toward "ownership" of the school. Principals who felt that the local community "owned" the school expressed the conviction that community members, through the board, should decide on facility use policy and requests. For example, a principal who told us that the school "belongs" to the community answered our question about the process for deciding on community use as follows:

The ASB decides. We do it at the first school board meeting of the year. We set up our gym policy then, and handle any other requests for use of the building. The district policy says they can't use the shop in the school.*

Another principal who described himself as an employee of the local community as much as of the district said, "The district sets down parameters; the ASB will make decisions with these parameters."

A principal who considered the community's use of facilities as a "privilege" told us, "It's my decision." This attitude appeared consistent in the four schools we visited in this district. As a Native board member remarked, "What you're fighting at the district level is that the administration's attitude is that the buildings belong to the district. That is not in fact true. They belong to the community, but the administration doesn't seem to grasp this."

In short, in larger rural schools -- particularly in city and borough districts -- an administrator may be appointed to carry out the responsibility for making day-to-day decisions on community use of facilities within policy guidelines laid down by the board. In smaller communities, the principal or principal-teacher is the day-to-day gatekeeper. Her decisions are subject to community scrutiny largely because of the importance of the gym. The principal's decisions are, consequently, strongly influenced by local custom and experience.

* At this site, community members overrode district policy by main force and during our visit residents used the shop to repair snowmachines. The local administrator chose not to see what was going on.

Our evidence also indicates that key factors in determining the process followed in deciding community use are the attitudes of the local administrator and the district administration. Local administrators who feel the school "belongs" to the community are more likely to involve the board in making decisions than are administrators who view the school as district property. District administrators' attitudes seem to permeate to the local level on this issue, although we found that even district administrators who believe the local ASB should make decisions about community use did not express the belief that the schools "belong" to the communities.

Hiring Classified Staff

To understand why this issue is so critical in rural areas, we need to examine briefly the employment situation in rural Alaska. In some rural areas, unemployment may be as high as 20 percent. Unemployment is worst during the school year because some of the important wage jobs -- construction, commercial fishing, and fire fighting -- are only available in the summer.

Sources of employment are very limited in the village. The village store -- particularly if owned and operated by the village corporation -- is the source of a few jobs such as clerks, cashiers, stockmen, accountant and manager. The health clinic, sewerwater facilities, rural electric program, and public safety provide, at best, a couple of dozen more wage jobs. In some villages, there may be a city administrator and clerk, perhaps even a land planner -- to handle the village's land selection under ANSCA. In other words, outside of the schools, there are few full-time, year-round wage opportunities. This writer surveyed the existing jobs in an Eskimo village of 200 adults of working age -- and found 63, outside of the school (McDiarmid, 1983).

The local school is, consequently, a vital source of employment in most villages. Classified jobs typically include cook, assistant cook, one or more maintenance personnel, a janitor, a school secretary, and various paraprofessionals for Title I, Special Education, and the regular classroom as well as for such federal or state programs as Johnson-O'Malley, Indian Education, or Bilingual Education. In the village of 200 working-aged adults mentioned above, the school provided full-time employment to 17 villagers -- or over 20 percent of the total wage employment in the community.*

Our survey results show that professionals in 46 percent of all schools statewide think the local board is involved in hiring classified personnel. Forty percent of the professionals perceive the district board as a participant. The professionals see themselves as participants and as most influential significantly more often than the local board (table 8).

If we look only at Native schools in REAA districts, we see, however, that the local board is much more likely to play an influential role. In more than 35 percent of these communities, the principal reports the local board is most influential in classified hiring while 50 percent of the principals cited themselves as predominant. At city and borough schools in rural areas of the state, only four percent of the principals mentioned the board as most influential.

These data would lead us to believe that local hiring processes differ significantly between REAA and non-REAA schools. In our fieldwork, this

* An important exception to this discussion is the North Slope Borough. The borough is the major provider of jobs in North Slope villages and school jobs are considered inferior to other types of work within the borough (Kruse and Kleinfeld, 1981).

appeared to be true. City and borough schools in our sample all followed similar procedures: Professionals -- central office staff for classified central office positions and the principal for on-site positions -- do the screening and interviewing and recommend a single candidate to the superintendent. The superintendent then passes the recommendation on to the board. In our interviews we found no instances in which the board had turned down the superintendent's recommendation.

The process at REAA (and BIA) schools appears substantially different. The difference is evidenced in the following description from the principal-teacher of a REAA high school in a remote Native village of 300 inhabitants.

When a position is open, we put up notices and take applications. Then I sit down with my ASB . We go through the applicants -- and talk about what they've done in other jobs and how much they need the job. Most of the talking is done by the board members -- they've known these people, the applicants, all their lives. When we have narrowed it down to one candidate, I send that person's application and name to the District Board. Legally, I think they're the ones who have to do the hiring. But they always take our recommendation.

The process as described here resembles what we found in many remote Native sites. While the local board has no legal authority to hire, rare is the administrator who hires someone locally without soliciting the opinion of significant others in the community:

The local administrator and the ASB are both involved in classified hiring. The ASB has a tremendous amount of responsibility and power.

They won't interview the candidates. Even the paper review doesn't mean much. What is important is who needs a job, who's reliable, who stays away from the bottle, although alcohol is not a problem in this village ...

A veteran of six years in rural Alaska, this principal recognizes that the criteria the village uses to evaluate candidates are not the same as those a professional administrator might use. Lacking a bureaucratic perspective, village residents are more likely than professional educators to judge job candidates by, in Parsons' terms, particularistic rather than universalistic standards. In communities of 200 or 300 people, family financial need may be considered as valid a criterion as, perhaps, experience.

Not all remote rural schools operate in this way. At another remote REAA school in a different district, community members expressed some misgivings about a recent hiring decision made by the local administrator. When asked about this event, the principal explained:

I do the interviewing myself. I ask each of the three principal teachers for their recommendations and also go to some of the people in the village and ask them ...

We had three people apply for the cook's position -- two Natives and one white guy. Now the village Natives felt it should be one of the Natives. They wanted to hire a Native because -- for no other reason than he was a Native.

But the white had been to cooking school and had more experience. So I hired him. I took a little heat for that but it's more or less blown over.

This incident, despite the administrator's disclaimer, seems to have contributed to school-community tensions. Of all the REAA villages we visited,

none had worse school-community relations. Asked about local board participation in classified hiring, one of the principal teachers commented, "If the PAC [Parents Advisory Council] did the hiring, then I'd be concerned. Some of the people on the PAC aren't dependable themselves -- they can't even get their kids to school."* The mayor of the village told us that the entire local board had resigned the previous year: "The principal-teacher was making fools out of us. He made all the decisions -- and he just wanted us to smile and nod our heads."

Although this village is an outlier in our sample, the hiring incident illustrates the perils professionals risk in not allowing the local board to make the final decision on local hire. As noted above, the community closely monitors local hiring. In deciding who should get a job, the community may consider factors of which the administrator -- an "outsider" -- is unaware.

In summary, the process of hiring classified staff differs significantly between city and borough schools, on the one hand, and REAA and BIA schools on the other. In the former, professionals carry out the process and the board approves. In the REAA and BIA schools, the local board is much more likely to play an active role.

The local administrator's attitude towards local involvement in classified hiring appears to be a key factor in the part the board plays. Where

* The speaker of this quotation was involuntarily transferred to another school within the district at the end of the year. An assistant superintendent told us that the village mayor had requested him to visit the school -- and he had demanded that the principal-teacher be moved out of the village.

administrators recognize that the local community's priorities in hiring may differ from the professional educator's and that these priorities ought to take precedence, the local board plays a determinative role. Where such recognition is absent, the local administrator risks alienating community members with decisions that do not conform to local values.

The Issue: A Summary

In this section, we sought to test the proposition that community participation and influence varies according to the type of issue involved. On issues in which professionals can claim technical expertise -- such as hiring other professionals, planning the curriculum, and selecting appropriate textbooks -- they should clearly dominate. In matters such as planning the budget, hiring classified personnel, setting the calendar, and deciding on appropriate student behavior and on community use of school facilities, lay knowledge and opinion are arguably as sound as those of the professionals.

On those issues -- internal to the profession -- where we had expected to find professional domination, we did find it.

Hiring and Evaluating Professionals

The first hiring and evaluating process we examined -- that for the superintendent -- properly belongs among the external issues, for the district school board appears to dominate this process. We found very little evidence of local community participation in the REAA districts. In evaluating the superintendent, we found wide variation from school board to school board. Two boards used a process that sets goals by which to measure the superintendent's performance. Most, however, carried out informal, oral evaluations when the

superintendent renewed or renegotiated his contract. This may reflect, in part, the close, informal relationship that many boards have with their chief administrator in rural Alaska.

Principal hiring and evaluation appeared to be controlled by central office professionals. In two of the districts represented in our field sample, a selection committee composed of professionals and lay people interviewed candidates and made a recommendation to the district board. In most districts, however, the superintendent and his staff screen, interview, and recommend a candidate to the board. Most board members seemed satisfied with this arrangement.

We identified three factors which affected the role that a lay board plays in principal hiring: district policy, geographical dispersion of sites, and the board's desire to be involved.

Local boards and communities, we found, were not without influence in the principal selection process. They let their preferences be known. Moreover, a principal who violated local values and expectations risks her position. This is, in fact, a de facto form of evaluation which, for many communities, appears to be the only channel available to them. Communities seem quite effective in pressuring district administrators to conform to community preferences in principal hiring and retention. Generally, the final evaluation of the principals is carried out by the superintendent or his representative. Neither the local board nor the district board seems to participate in the principal evaluation process.

In the teacher hiring process, few REAA districts afforded local boards the opportunity to participate. Where lay input is encouraged, it is as part of a selection committee. In only one district in our sample were final candidates sent out to the villages to be interviewed. More typically, professionals recruit,

screen, and recommend one candidate for the district board's approval. No board member we interviewed reported refusing such a recommendation.

As with principal hiring, this is not to say local communities are powerless. Villagers have apparently run enough teachers out of town to cause administrators to screen out candidates who are likely to violate local norms.

We also found that the contracts negotiated between teachers' associations and rural school districts preempted the possibility of community participation in the formal evaluation process. Again, as we found with principals, community residents evaluate teachers informally and are effective at translating that evaluation into pressure on the district and/or the local school.

Thus, while educational professionals dominate the formal processes of hiring and evaluating professionals -- except in the case of the superintendent -- lay board and community members also wield significant informal power. The question we did not address is -- how much involvement do lay people want in these processes? Only a few board members at our sample schools expressed a desire for greater involvement. Most seemed content to allow the administrators to carry out these functions.

Selecting Textbooks

None of the board or community members interviewed raised this as an important issue. Professionals -- specifically, teachers and principals -- appear to dominate the process almost completely.

New Courses or Programs

On this issue we found differences between Native and non-Native schools. Lay boards in Native communities are involved in a particular area of the

curriculum: instruction in local traditions, crafts, and language. They are less interested in fundamental academic courses, although we found some evidence that younger board members are concerned about the quality of basic skills instruction.

In non-Native schools, some boards have curricular review policies. As with Native schools, however, board involvement appears sporadic and superficial.

On these internal issues, then, our findings conform to Boyd's (1976) hypothesis: Both professionals and lay people appear to consider these processes the domain of professional educators. Lay boards defer to their expertise.

Yet, even in these areas of professional domination, local communities can and do affect what happens in their schools. In making hiring decisions, administrators anticipate community reactions to different candidates. Professionals must operate within the boundaries established by the values, norms, and expectations of local residents. Violations of this "zone of tolerance" (McGivney and Moynihan, 1972) may result in expulsion from the school and community. Similarly, even professionals who believe that "cultural" instruction displaces needed academic emphasis have introduced courses in local language or traditions.

Next, we summarize our findings on those issues considered external to the educational professionals' expertise.

Budget Planning

The budgetary process in communities that contribute to local schools tends to differ from that in schools whose operating funds are provided exclusively from state and federal sources. The level of board participation and influence seems greater in the former than in the latter. In these city and borough districts, the boards typically review the budget for the coming year each spring. This may involve several "work sessions." The budget then is presented to the local representative assembly or council.

REAA and BIA boards' review appears to be more perfunctory. The local advisory boards' role in REAA districts that have such boards seems even smaller than that of the district board. At most, these boards and the local administrator will decide how the relatively small discretionary fund allocated to the board by the district board should be spent.

Planning the Calendar

The calendar appears to be of particular importance to residents of remote Native villages. Typically, the local administrator draws up the calendar and submits it to the board (where such local boards exist). In drawing up the calendar, the principal appears to take into account local custom and preferences.

In larger communities, the calendar has been established over a period of time and may require little modification from year to year.

While local preferences seem well represented in the school calendar, we found that the daily school schedule has changed little to conform to local habits in small, remote villages. This may attest to the strength of the bureaucratic nature of school and its standard operating procedures.

Setting Standards for Student Behavior

Student behavior does not seem to be a critical issue in rural Alaska. The small size of most communities and the resulting close relationship between students and teachers may contribute to the relatively good behavior of rural students.

Community Use of Facilities

In small communities, the school offers facilities found nowhere else. As a consequence, decisions about the use of school facilities are important. Even in communities where the local administrator decides who uses the facilities — particularly the gym — she must be guided by local preference and custom or risk antagonizing important others in the community.

In most small schools in REAA districts, the local board is involved in scheduling the use of the facilities. In larger schools in city and borough districts, the board makes broad policy and a community education director or other administrator may make day-to-day decisions.

Hiring Classified Staff

In city and borough schools, administrators recruited, screened, and recommended candidates for classified positions to the board. In smaller communities, however, the lack of full-time, year-round wage employment made decisions on local hiring more critical.

Local boards at most REAA schools participated in the classified hiring process. Local administrators often welcomed such participation; board members seem to have a different set of priorities they apply to hiring decisions. These priorities reflect the preferences of the local community.

seem to have a different set of priorities they apply to hiring decisions. These priorities reflect the preferences of the local community.

Where the local administrator in small Native communities does not involve local board and community members in the decision-making process, she risks provoking the ire of community members.

Conclusion

At first glance, professional hegemony of school governance seems almost total. Not only do they appear to dominate those governance processes where their expertise is acknowledged but those in which lay people can claim equal knowledge as well. Yet, our analysis pointed out how the latitude professionals have for decision-making is delimited by the local community.

This point was most clearly demonstrated in the case of the teacher hiring and evaluation process. While most communities have very little direct control over or input into hiring their teachers, they certainly have ways of letting both the teachers and the administrators know their assessment of the professionals in their community. In so doing, they indicate to the professionals who is and who isn't appropriate for their school.

Community control advocates argue that local lay people should be proactive rather than reactive. Yet the local lay people we interviewed seemed, in general, relatively content with the existing governance processes. Given the other demands on their time, energy, and attention, community members may be content to allow professionals to make decisions for them -- within the boundaries generated out of local values, traditions, and preferences.

PART III

Community Characteristics and
Lay Participation and Influence

The type of governance issue was one of two factors that Boyd (1976) argued conditioned community influence vis-à-vis professional educators. The second factor was the type of school district. Boyd, drawing on the work of Zeigler and Jennings (1974) and that of Iannacone and Lutz (1970), argues that professional dominance, clearly apparent in large urban districts, might differ in other settings: "... the picture of professional dominance gives way to a more variegated scene in suburban, small town, and rural school districts, where professional influence, if nonetheless substantial, often is significantly circumscribed" (Ibid:553).

The three characteristics of school districts that Boyd identifies as most important are size, degree of urbanism, and heterogeneity. To apply these concepts to the rural Alaska context necessitates some modification.

First of all, Boyd's idea of a school district is of a consolidated school system in a relatively confined geographic area. He did not have in mind districts larger than the state of Connecticut. For our purposes, therefore, our unit of analysis will be the community rather than the district. We will investigate variations in community characteristics and their effects on local lay participation and influence in school governance processes. In the context of rural Alaska, the community characteristics which, we hypothesize, affect

community influence on school governance most significantly are size, educational level, and ethnic homogeneity.

Size seems critical because of the differences between larger communities, such as those in the southeastern part of the state, which resemble small towns in the "Lower 48" states, and villages which lack such amenities as water and sewage systems and telephone service. In our field sample, community-size ranged between 8,000 inhabitants in the largest town and 47 in the smallest village. Size is, moreover, closely correlated with degree of "urbanity." The larger the community, the less it resembles the remote, Native village and the more it resembles small towns everywhere.

A second characteristic we hypothesize might affect the level of community control is educational level. Middle class control of education has been the accepted view since Counts's (1927) classic study. More recently, Cistone (1975) and Zeigler and Jennings (1974) have established the persistence and pervasiveness of middle class dominance. In Alaska, however, some communities lack a middle class.*

Finally, we hypothesize that predominantly Native communities differ significantly from mixed and mostly white communities. Most Native villages tend to be homogenous -- socially, economically, and culturally. (Commercial fishing villages and North Slope villages may be exceptions to this generalization.) This homogeneity is enforced by social and cultural norms. On the one hand, the

* We are using middle class here not simply to designate a range of income and set of occupations but also a culture distinct from that of those both higher and lower on the income and occupational scales.

sharing ethic is still very strong in Native communities. On the other hand, conspicuous displays of wealth -- or, for that matter, any demonstration of superiority -- that may embarrass others is considered unseemly.

In a Native village, the outsider may have difficulty distinguishing the relatively wealthy from the less wealthy by outward appearances. This phenomenon is a demonstration of the social homogeneity that Native people have found very functional for some fifteen millennia. Maintaining social harmony is essential to surviving the enforced closeness of winters when weather conditions may keep one inside for days on end. Merely living in close proximity to the same people throughout one's life may, by itself, be a difficult test for even the most harmonious people.

In contrast, mixed and mostly white communities lack such social and economic homogeneity. Social distinctions manifest in one's home, car, clothing and so on are accepted -- indeed, expected. In these settings, heterogeneity characterizes values, attitudes, beliefs, and expectations as well.*

Below, we examine each of these community characteristics and their effects on lay participation and influence in school governance processes.

Ethnic Homogeneity and Lay Participation and Influence

We begin by examining the apparent effects of homogeneity on lay participation and influence because, in our analysis, this characteristic accounts

* Whereas 60 percent of the Native communities in our statewide sample had populations of under 500, only 19 percent of the mixed communities and 21 percent of the non-Native communities had comparably small populations.

for more of the differences we found between communities than either of the other two variables. Theoretically, ethnic homogeneity may affect the lay-professional relationship in several ways.

First of all, a high degree of homogeneity may serve to reduce the level of uncertainty in the environment. That is, if a reasonably consistent set of values and attitudes predominates in a community, professionals from outside the community, having apprehended the pervading values, may act with some confidence. While this reduces uncertainty, it may also decrease the professional's political options. If the professional affronts the values and thereby provokes the opposition of one group in the community, she cannot look to an opposing group for support. Such a situation was described to this writer by the superintendent of a small rural school district in Connecticut:

One year the Moral Majority elements on the board and in the community really came after me. They were just looking for an issue that they could use to create a confrontation. So, before I did anything that might be the least bit controversial, I checked to make sure that the other board members -- who didn't share Moral Majority attitudes -- were behind me. Only then would I bring it up at a board meeting or in public at all.

In many small rural communities which are predominantly Native, the professional would have no opposing group to appeal to.

Ethnic homogeneity may also serve to reduce the need for formal lay participation in decision-making. As McGivney and Moynihan (1972) have argued, communities afford professionals a "zone of tolerance" in which they may operate. Professionals who violate the boundaries of this zone often lose their effectiveness and do not remain in the community for long. In small communities

with a high degree of ethnic homogeneity and, therefore, consistent values, community members assess or "check out" professional educators -- or, as a board member from a traditional Eskimo village described this process, "We have to know that guy and what he's doing." These outsiders appear to earn the community's respect in proportion to their demonstrated respect for local values and customs. Explaining the high esteem in which his community held the local principal, an elder and board member in a small, traditional Eskimo village said (through an interpreter):

The principal gave the power to the school board and the school board suggested a local culture course on our heritage and subsistence way of life. The board wanted to introduce more Native cultural lessons. The principal didn't deny it.... Men used to have kayaks here. The women made something for their sons or husbands. The principal wanted these things on display -- like in the mural of the gym wall (commissioned during the principal's tenure, it depicted traditional subsistence activities).

Once community members have decided a professional is "OK," the need to monitor the professional's actions becomes less urgent. The professional enjoys this trust until he affronts local values, and thereby violates the limits of the "zone of tolerance."

Lyke (1968) has also argued that greater homogeneity increases the likelihood that professional educators and the school board will try to anticipate community demands in the governance process. In framing policies, professional educators consciously consider what the community's reaction will be and act accordingly. While homogeneity may decrease active community participation in

decision making, it may increase the likelihood that professionals and the school board will be influenced by community preferences and values.

As a consequence, we have hypothesized that formal lay participation in governance might actually be less in communities which have high levels of ethnic homogeneity. To test this hypothesis, we have analyzed the responses to a statewide survey of principals and used 1980 census data to determine the level of ethnic homogeneity in each rural community. Using field interviews, we examined the association between our school governance variables and the degree of ethnic homogeneity of the community of the school.

Below we have organized our findings around the role each of the primary actors plays in the various governance processes and how this role varies among predominantly non-Native, mixed, and predominantly Native communities.* We begin with the actors at the "district" level, that is, the superintendent and the district board. Then, we describe the local actors — the principal, teachers, local board, parents, and students.

The Superintendent

Of all the professional positions, none shows such a high level of variation in influence by ethnic composition of the community as does that of the superintendent (table 9). In six of nine school governance areas, there were

* "Predominantly non-Native" communities are those which, according to the 1980 census, had 20 percent or fewer Alaska Natives; "mixed" communities are those in which Natives constitute 21 to 80 percent of the population; and "predominantly Native" are those communities in which 81 percent or more of the population is Native. "Predominantly non-Native" and "predominantly Native" are awkward phrases. In the interest of elegance, we will, therefore, use the terms "non-Native" and "Native" to mean "predominantly non-Native" and "predominantly Native" respectively.

Table 9

Survey Results: Principals' Perceptions

Superintendent Participation in and Influence on Governing Processes by Ethnic Homogeneity of Community

Percentage of Community that was Native in 1980 ^a	Percentage of Principals who Believe Superintendent Participates in . . .							
	Teacher Hiring	Classified Hiring***	Setting School Calendar**	Selecting Textbooks	Proposing New Courses***	Planning Budget*	Defining Appropriate Student Behavior**	Defining Community Use of Facilities***
1 to 20% (N = 84)	88	71	66	46	73	86	55	69
21 to 80% (N = 70)	81	60	59	41	61	77	57	60
81 to 98% (N = 170)	85	39	42	31	45	69	35	39

Percentage of Community that was Native in 1980 ^a	Percentage of Principals who Believe superintendent is most Influential in . . .							
	Teacher Hiring	Classified Hiring***	Setting School Calendar**	Selecting Textbooks	Proposing New Courses***	Planning Budget***	Defining Appropriate Student Behavior	Defining Community Use of Facilities**
1 to 20% (N = 84)	63	26	21	16	25	51	7	19
21 to 80% (N = 70)	59	30	19	6	10	34	3	15
81 to 98% (N = 170)	61	10	9	8	7	18	1	5

^aISER Census Data Base, derived from 1980 U.S. Census.

X² values:
* p < .05
** p < .01
*** p < .001

Source: Statewide Survey of Alaska School Principals, Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska Project, Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1981.

statistically significant differences among communities in the perceived participation of the superintendent. The perceived influence of superintendents similarly differs significantly in five areas.

In hiring classified staff, the superintendent in non-Native communities appears much more likely to participate in and to dominate than in Native communities. A possible explanation for these differences is that whereas most Native schools are in REAA or BIA districts, most non-Native and mixed schools are in city or borough districts. As we have already seen, the classified hiring process differs between borough and city schools, on the one hand, and REAA and BIA schools, on the other. Yet, if we hold school type constant, the difference between Native and non-Native communities remains: The superintendent in non-Native communities appears much more likely to dominate the classified hiring process than in Native communities (table 10).

This pattern seems to hold true for other school governance processes as well (table 10). In setting the school calendar, proposing new courses, planning the budget, and defining community use of facilities, principals in non-Native and mixed communities consistently perceive the superintendent as both participating and dominating significantly more often than in Native communities. When we controlled for type of school -- that is, REAA, city, borough, or BIA -- these differences remain in all areas except setting the calendar.

Differences in some areas appear quite dramatic. For instance, in planning the budget, more than half the principals at non-Native schools reported that the superintendent was most influential. At Native schools, fewer than two principals in ten perceived the superintendent as most influential.

Speculation on the sources of these differences would be, at this point, premature. Understanding these differences requires us to fill out the canvas of

Table 10

Statewide Survey: Principals' Perceptions

Superintendent Influence on Selected Governing Processes by Ethnic Homogeneity of
Community — Controlling for Type of School Authority

Type of School Authority	Significant Differences in . . .				
	Classified Hiring	School Calendar	Proposing New Courses	Planning Budget	Facility Use
REAA (N = 176)	**	n.s.	**	***	**
City (N = 30)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Borough (N = 69)	n.s.	**	n.s.	**	**
BIA (N = 40)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	**	n.s.

X² values:
 *p < .05
 **p < .01
 ***p < .001

Source: Statewide Survey of Alaska Principals, Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1981.

school governance, to sketch in the remaining figures. For the influence of each depends, to greater and lesser degrees, on his relationship with the other actors.

The District Board

In most school governance areas, the district board's participation and influence is fairly constant across community types (table 11). The three areas in which we found significant differences among communities were setting the calendar, planning the budget, and proposing new courses.

In general, while district boards are perceived as participants in school governance processes by most principals, few believe the district board is very influential. Only in setting the calendar did more than two principals in ten from any community type credit the district board with predominant influence.

While most of the differences between communities are not statistically significant, the pattern that emerges from the survey data is that district boards in non-Native and mixed communities participate more frequently and have slightly more influence than those in Native communities.

When we controlled for school type, differences in influence disappeared — except in two cases. In borough districts, the district board is seen as most influential in setting the calendar in non-Native communities by half of our respondents. Indeed, the district board is consistently more influential in the eyes of administrators at non-Native than at Native schools.

A second area in which we found a significant difference after controlling for school type is hiring teachers. In REAA districts, the principal is significantly more likely to view the district board as having predominant influence in Native communities than in non-Native communities.

Table 11

Survey Results: Principals' Perceptions

District Board Participation in and Influence on Governing Processes by Ethnic Homogeneity of Community

Percentage of Principals who Believe the Board Participates in . . .								
Percentage of Community that was Native in 1980 ^a	Teacher Hiring	Classified Hiring	Setting School Calendar**	Selecting Textbooks	Proposing New Courses	Planning Budget***	Defining Appropriate Student Behavior	Defining Community Use of Facilities*
1 to 20% (N = 84)	67	43	62	39	56	73	49	58
21 to 80% (N = 70)	64	49	63	30	57	67	56	54
81 to 98% (N = 170)	62	31	42	29	42	47	41	37
Percentage of Principals who Believe the Board is most Influential in . . .								
	Teacher Hiring	Classified Hiring	Setting School Calendar***	Selecting Textbooks	Proposing New Courses*	Planning Budget**	Defining Appropriate Student Behavior	Defining Community Use of Facilities
1 to 20% (N = 84)	4	1	32	12	17	13	10	12
21 to 80% (N = 70)	7	1	30	10	9	16	4	16
81 to 98% (N = 170)	10	3	11	11	7	3	3	7

^aISER Census Data Base, derived from 1980 U.S. Census.

X² values:
 * p < .05
 ** p < .01
 *** p < .001

Source: Statewide Survey of Alaska School Principals, Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska Project, Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1981.

Overall, the district board does not emerge as a particularly influential actor in any type of community. While slightly more influential in non-Native and mixed communities, the district board appears to be a dominant influence in very few schools.

The Principal

At the local level, the principal -- or principal-teacher^{*} -- appears to be the key actor in school governance at the local level. Regardless of the ethnicity of the community, at least seven out of ten principals mentioned the site administrator as a participant in all governance areas except teacher hiring (table 12). The only area in which a significant difference occurs is budgetary planning. A few more principals at Native schools reported themselves participants than did those at mixed and non-Native schools.

There are more differences in the principals' perceptions of who has the greatest influence. In setting the calendar, proposing new courses, and planning the budget, site administrators at Native schools are more likely to assign themselves predominant influence than are administrators at mixed and non-Native sites.

When we controlled for type of school district, we found that these differences remained. In REAA schools in Native communities, the site administrator was twice as likely as his counterpart in non-Native communities to be seen as predominant in planning the budget. Also in REAA schools, four

* Forty-five percent of rural schools have site administrators who are head teachers or principal-teachers rather than certificated principals (McBeath et al. 1983c:2).

Table 12

Survey Results: Principals' Perceptions

Principal Participation and Influence on Governing Processes by Ethnic Homogeneity of Community

Percentage of Principals who Believe the Principal Participates in . . .								
Percentage of Community that was Native in 1980 ^a	Teacher Hiring	Classified Hiring	Setting School Calendar	Selecting Textbooks	Proposing New Courses	Planning Budget*	Defining Appropriate Student Behavior	Defining Community Use of Facilities
1 to 20% (N = 84)	43	75	71	71	80	62	81	76
21 to 80% (N = 70)	49	73	70	71	80	71	83	76
81 to 98% (N = 170)	44	78	80	75	82	78	86	82
Percentage of Principals who Believe the Principal is most Influential in . . .								
	Teacher Hiring	Classified Hiring	Setting School Calendar**	Selecting Textbooks	Proposing New Courses**	Planning Budget***	Defining Appropriate Student Behavior	Defining Community Use of Facilities
1 to 20% (N = 84)	12	59	12	30	27	24	49	43
21 to 80% (N = 70)	8	46	9	39	37	23	47	32
81 to 98% (N = 170)	11	50	27	43	44	57	51	39

^aAISER Census Data Base, derived from 1980 U.S. Census.

X² values:
 * p < .05
 ** p < .01
 *** p < .001

Source: Statewide Survey of Alaska School Principals, Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska Project, Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1981.

Native school principals in ten believed that they dominated proposing new courses. Only 14 percent of the principals at non-Native schools thought they had predominant influence in this area. A powerful actor in all rural schools, the principal appears even more influential in predominantly Native schools.

Teachers

High levels of teacher participation and influence are limited to three issues: classroom conditions, curriculum, and terms of employment (table 13). Moreover, their participation and influence vary little among communities of different ethnic composition.

Specifically, the four governance areas in which teachers throughout rural Alaska participate are setting the calendar, selecting textbooks, proposing new courses, and defining appropriate student behavior. Although they are involved in these processes, their influence appears generally slight. Only in selecting textbooks did more than 20 percent of the principals statewide mention the teachers as most influential. In short, teachers seem to participate in relatively few governing processes and rarely dominate any process other than selecting textbooks.

Advisory School Boards

Three-quarters of the schools in rural Alaska have local advisory school boards (ASB). Ninety percent of the schools in Native communities have local boards whereas roughly half of the schools in mixed and non-Native schools have such boards.

Table 13

Survey Results: Principals' Perceptions

Teacher Participation in and Influence on Governing Processes by Ethnic Homogeneity of Community

Percentage of Community that was Native in 1980 ^a	Percentage of Principals who Believe Teachers Participate in . . .							
	Teacher Hiring	Classified Hiring	Setting School Calendar	Selecting Textbooks	Proposing New Courses	Planning Budget	Defining Appropriate Student Behavior	Defining Community Use of Facilities
1 to 20% (N = 84)	13	16	71	82	79	48	70	23
21 to 80% (N = 70)	16	9	70	73	79	44	81	31
81 to 98% (N = 170)	3	9	80	75	76	41	76	28
	Percentage of Principals who Believe Teachers are most Influential in . . .							
	Teacher Hiring	Classified Hiring	Setting School Calendar	Selecting Textbooks	Proposing New Courses	Planning Budget	Defining Appropriate Student Behavior	Defining Community Use of Facilities
1 to 20% (N = 84)	0	2	5	27	18	1	16	1
21 to 80% (N = 70)	0	0	7	27	19	9	20	1
81 to 98% (N = 170)	0	1	3	21	16	3	14	1

^aISER Census Data Base, derived from 1980 U.S. Census.

X² values:
 * p < .05
 ** p < .01
 *** p < .001

Source: Statewide Survey of Alaska School Principals, Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska Project, Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1981.

When we look at the perceptions of principals statewide, we find that more principals from Native communities than from either mixed or non-Native places reported local board involvement in all governing processes (table 14). Principals' responses to the question of who was the predominant influence produced similar results. As Native communities were almost twice as likely to have a local board as were the other types of communities, it was necessary to control for the presence of a local board for the school.

After controlling for the presence of a local board, substantial differences remained (table 15). In six of eight governance areas, ASBs in Native communities were perceived significantly more often as wielding predominant influence than those in other types of community.

In some governance processes, the difference appears to be striking. While nearly a third of the principals at Native schools judged their local board to dominate the classified hiring process, none of those in non-native communities and only 3 percent of those in mixed communities agreed. Four principals in ten in Native communities reported that the local board held predominant influence in setting up the calendar. In non-Native communities, fewer than two principals in ten accord the local board such influence.

Clearly, for a significant proportion of principals in mostly Native communities, the local board is an important and influential actor in a range of governance processes. The same cannot be said for non-Native and mixed communities, although ASBs in the latter communities appear to be substantially more influential in most governance areas than in the non-Native places.

Table 14

Survey Results: Principals' Perceptions

Local School Board (LSB) Participation in and Influence on Governing Processes by Ethnic Homogeneity of Community

Percentage of Community that was Native in 1980 ^a	Percentage of Principals who Believe ASB Participates in . . .							
	Teacher Hiring***	Classified Hiring***	Setting School Calendar***	Selecting Textbooks	Proposing New Courses***	Planning Budget***	Defining Appropriate Student Behavior***	Defining Community Use of Facilities***
1 to 20% (N = 84)	20	14	35	8	25	21	29	31
21 to 80% (N = 70)	24	30	41	13	34	31	34	31
81 to 98% (N = 170)	49	64	68	20	65	60	67	72
	Percentage of Principals who Believe LSB is most Influential in . . .							
	Teacher Hiring	Classified Hiring	Setting School Calendar***	Selecting Textbooks	Proposing New Courses	Planning Budget***	Defining Appropriate Student Behavior***	Defining Community Use of Facilities***
1 to 20% (N = 84)	6	0	8	1	1	0	4	8
21 to 80% (N = 70)	7	7	14	3	6	4	3	10
81 to 98% (N = 170)	13	27	38	7	13	10	19	37

^aISER Census Data Base, derived from 1980 U.S. Census.

X² values:
 * p < .05
 ** p < .01
 *** p < .001

Source: Statewide Survey of Alaska School Principals, Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska Project, Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1981.

Table 15

Statewide Survey: Principals' Perceptions

ASB Influence on Selected Governance Areas by Ethnic Homogeneity —
Controlling for Existence of Advisory School Board

Percentage of Community Native	COMMUNITIES WITH ASBs					
	Percentage of Principals who Believe ASB is Most Influential in . . .					
	Classified Hiring**	School Calendar**	Proposing New Courses*	Planning Budget***	Student Behavior*	Facility Use**
1 to 20% (N = 42)	0%	17%	2%	0%	7%	17%
21 to 80% (N = 30)	3	30	10	10	7	23
81 to 98% (N = 153)	30	40	15	9	20	39

X² values:

* p < .05

** p < .01

*** p < .001

Source: Statewide Survey of Alaska Principals, Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska Project,
Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1981.

Parents and Students

Principals' perceptions of the participation and influence of parents and students did not appear to differ significantly across community types (table 16 and 17). The highest level of parental participation occurred in defining appropriate community use of facilities. Yet, parental influence was seen as predominant by fewer than one principal in any type of school.

Students were perceived as even less involved and influential than were parents. In almost half the mixed and Native communities, principals viewed students as participants in defining appropriate behavior. In only one other area -- proposing new courses -- did more than a third of the principals report student participation.

Overall Influence on School Governance

In addition to asking respondents about individual governance processes, we also asked them a "global" question: "Which of the school participants ... is most important in the overall governance of your school?"

Principals in all three types of communities most often cited themselves as most important in school governance (table 18). The actor mentioned second most frequently differs according to community type. Seventeen percent of the principals in Native communities believe the ASB is most important overall -- significantly more than the small proportions who think either the district board or the superintendent is most important. Indeed, in Native communities, over a quarter (27 percent) of the principals feel that lay people -- parents, students, ASB or district board members -- are most important in school governance. By contrast, 20 percent of the principals in mixed communities and only 11 percent of those in non-Native towns mentioned lay people as most important.

Table 16

Survey Results: Principals' Perceptions

Parent Participation in and Influence on Governing Processes by Ethnic Homogeneity of Community

Percentage of Community that was Native in 1980 ^a	Percentage of Principals who Believe Parents Participate in . . .							
	Teacher Hiring	Classified Hiring	Setting School Calendar	Selecting Textbooks	Proposing New Courses	Planning Budget	Defining Appropriate Student Behavior	Defining Community Use of Facilities
1 to 20% (N = 84)	13	4	46	20	44	21	42	76
21 to 80% (N = 70)	24	10	41	17	60	19	53	76
81 to 98% (N = 170)	12	14	35	10	43	14	48	82

Percentage of Community that was Native in 1980 ^a	Percentage of Principals who Believe Parents are most Influential in . . .							
	Teacher Hiring	Classified Hiring	Setting School Calendar	Selecting Textbooks	Proposing New Courses	Planning Budget	Defining Appropriate Student Behavior	Defining Community Use of Facilities
1 to 20% (N = 84)	0	0	8	1	2	0	3	4
21 to 80% (N = 70)	0	0	3	1	1	0	5	8
81 to 98% (N = 170)	1	1	5	1	3	0	2	5

^aISER Census Data Base, derived from 1980 U.S. Census.

X² values:
 * p < .05
 ** p < .01
 *** p < .001

Source: Statewide Survey of Alaska School Principals, Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska Project, Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1981.

Table 17

Survey Results: Principals' Perceptions

Student Participation in and Influence on Governing Processes by Ethnic Homogeneity of Community

Percentage of Community that was Native in 1980 ^a	Percentage of Principals who Believe Students Participate in . . .							
	Teacher Hiring	Classified Hiring	Setting School Calendar	Selecting Textbooks	Proposing New Courses	Planning Budget	Defining Appropriate Student Behavior	Defining Community Use of Facilities
1 to 20% (N = 84)	0	0	21	4	31	2	38	7
21 to 80% (N = 70)	3	1	39	9	49	10	49	21
81 to 98% (N = 170)	2	2	21	7	41	10	49	17

In only one area—Use of Facilities—did more than 2 percent of the principals perceive students as influential.

^aISER Census Data Base, derived from 1980 U.S. Census.

X² values:
 * p < .05
 ** p < .01
 *** p < .001

Source: Statewide Survey of Alaska School Principals, Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska Project, Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1981.

Table 18

Survey Results: Principals' Perceptions

Most Important in School Governance by Ethnic Homogeneity of Community

Percentage of Community that was Native in 1980 ^a	Percentages of Principals who Believe Each of the Following Factors Most Important in School Governance:							
	Principal	Teachers	Students	Parents	ASB***	Super- intendent***	Board	Other
1 to 20% (N = 83)	48	5	0	0	1	27	10	10
21 to 80% (N = 70)	40	4	0	0	3	21	17	14
81 to 98% (N = 170)	51	4	1	0	17	7	9	12

^aISER Census Data Base, derived from 1980 U.S. Census.

X² values:

* p < .05

** p < .01

*** p < .001

Source: Statewide Survey of Alaska School Principals, Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska Project, Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1981.

CHAPTER VI
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Conversely, in non-Native communities, fully 80 percent of the respondents cited educational professionals as most influential compared to 62 percent in predominantly Native communities. In mixed communities, 65 percent of the principals cited professionals as dominant.

When we controlled for type of school district, we found that Native communities in REAA districts differed even more markedly from mixed and non-Native communities (table 19). The contrast is between 29 percent of the principals in Native communities who cited lay boards as most influential and only 9 percent of the respondents in non-Native communities who believe lay boards have such influence. The superintendent is significantly more influential in the eyes of principals in non-Native and mixed communities than in the eyes of principals in Native communities.

Controlling for the existence of a local advisory school board, we found that these differences remain. In schools with local school boards, these boards are more likely to be considered "most influential" in Native communities than in any other type of community. Perhaps even more noteworthy, principals in 85 percent of the Native villages cited either the local advisory board (20 percent) or local professionals (51 percent mentioned the principal and 14 percent mentioned teachers) as most influential. Only two percent of the principals believed either district professionals or district board members were most influential in school governance.

Ethnic Homogeneity and Lay Influence on School Governance: Summary and Discussion

The analysis above presents considerable evidence for the significant effect that ethnic homogeneity appears to exert on lay participation and influence. Table 20 summarizes our findings for the five governance areas in

Table 19

Statewide Survey: Principals' Perceptions

Comparison Among Communities of Different Ethnic Composition:
Actors Perceived as Most Influential in Overall Governance of REAA Schools

Actors ^a	Percentage of Community Native			Row Total
	1 to 20% Native	21 to 80% Native	81% or more Native	
Principal	45%	54%	53%	52%
Teacher	9	4	7	7
Local Board	3	4	17	12
Superintendent	30	25	10	17
District Board	<u>6</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>11</u>
Column Total	20% (N = 33)	17% (N = 28)	63% (N = 101)	100% (N = 161)

$X^2: p < .03$

^aParents and students are excluded as they were mentioned as most influential by less than 1 percent of the respondents in all communities.

Source: Statewide Survey of Principals, Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska Project, Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1981.

Table 20

Survey Results: Principals' Perceptions

Comparison Among Communities of Different Ethnic Compositions:

Actors Perceived as Most Influential in Selected School Governance Areas

School Governance Area	Community Ethnicity					
	1 to 20% ^b		21 to 80% ^c		81 to 98% ^d	
		Percentage of Community Native ^a		Percentage of Community Native ^a		Percentage of Community Native ^a
		% ^e		% ^e		% ^e
Classified Hiring***	Principal	65%	Principal	53%	Principal	54%
	Superintendent	28	Superintendent	35	Local Board	30
Setting the Calendar***	District Board	37	District Board	37	Local Board	42
	Superintendent	24	Superintendent	22	Principal	30
Proposing New Courses/Programs***	Superintendent	29	Principal	45	Principal	48
	Principal	26	Teacher	22	Local Board	14
Planning the Budget***	Superintendent	56	Superintendent	40	Principal	62
	Principal	27	Principal	27	Superintendent	20
Defining Appropriate Use of Facilities***	Principal	48	Principal	37	Principal	42
	Superintendent	21	District Board	18	Local Board	40
Overall School Governance***	Principal	53	Principal	47	Principal	58
	Superintendent	29	Superintendent	25	Local Board	19

^aISER Data Base, derived from 1980 U.S. Census.

^bN = 74

^cN = 60

^dN = 154

^ePercentage of respondents who mentioned actor as most influential.

X² values:
*** p < .001

Source: Statewide Survey of Alaska Principals, Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska Project, Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1981.

which we consistently found differences among community types. From this summary table, we may draw two inferences about the effects of ethnicity.

First, in Native communities, local advisory boards are much more likely to be considered influential than are either local boards or district boards in non-Native or mixed communities. Secondly, in Native communities, the principal's influence appears to be correlated with the local boards' influence. That is, the apparent increased influence of the local board does not seem to come at the expense of the principal. Rather, the principal's influence seems, if anything, enhanced by the greater influence of the local board. The local boards' apparent gain in influence comes seemingly at the expense of the superintendent and district board.

Returning to our first inference -- that principals in Native villages are more likely to consider the local board as influential -- we need to examine the possible sources of the differences we have noted. First of all, does the greater possibility that Native villages will have a local board explain the differences? If we look only at schools with local boards we find that the difference in local board influence between Native communities and non-Native and mixed communities remains. Consequently, the higher proportion of Native communities with local boards does not account for the difference.

Another possible explanation is that the ethnic homogeneity that characterizes predominantly Native communities somehow contributes to the greater influence of the local board. Ethnic homogeneity may imply a high level of both cultural and social homogeneity as well. The homogenous community holds and presents to the world a coherent, shared set of values and, similarly, a set of expectations about the behavior of others -- both from within and from outside the community.

The non-Native school administrator must quickly learn what the values and expectations of her community are. If she fails to do so, her effectiveness will be limited. A veteran principal who has lived and worked in several Native villages expressed the importance of getting the village "point of view":

If we have a problem, I like to get them in on it right at the beginning. I want to know how they feel. This really prevents me from pushing something, pushing a point of view or a solution that doesn't fit with their values.

As the local administrator will, in all likelihood, be unable to internalize all the village values, his next best means of assessing community feelings and possible reactions is through consultation. Another veteran principal, discussing why he allowed the ASB to control the classified hiring process, explained:

They've known these people since they were born. Sometimes I don't know why they hire someone. Then when they have been around the school for awhile, I understand.

This consultative approach appeared frequently in our interviews with principals and board members in Native villages. One board member, explaining the positive relations between the ASB and the principal, reported:

Sure our relations with the principal are good. When something comes up, a letter or something, he doesn't do it on his own. He goes around to each board member's house and explains what it is. He goes to the chairman first and the chairman may call a special meeting if he thinks it's necessary. He doesn't go ahead and do things on his own.

In describing how various governing processes are carried out -- particularly classified hiring, setting the calendar, planning the budget, and deciding on community use of school facilities -- ASB members in small Native villages often describe a cooperative effort:

The principal-teacher puts the money where he thinks it's needed. We ask him all kinds of questions about the budget.... Is it valuable using our money there? Is it going to do any good there? ... if we want to move money around we can. He does a good job for us. (ASB member in a remote Native village of 300.)

When I was chairman, the principal would come to me and talk to me about the students. We would try to solve the discipline problems. We would talk to the parents.... The principal is well-liked by the students and the local people. Whenever he wants to do something or make plans, we have a meeting ... and we talk about it. (ASB member in a remote Native village of 250).

Well, what we do is we have a meeting [to discuss a classified hiring]. We decide who we want. The principal teacher looks to see who has the best qualifications. He tells us who's best qualified and then we tell him if that person's O.K. (ASB member in a remote Native village of 175.)

This consultative approach protects the principal from both taking an action that will offend local values and from bearing the brunt of community criticism if an action backfires.

The consequences of violating local values may include expulsion from the community. We have already described two such incidents above (see part I).

Another example was provided by an ASB member in a remote Native village of 200 inhabitants:

We do [evaluate].... Someone comes from [the district office] and we can talk about [the teachers]. Last year we had problem with a teacher. The man got mad with the students in public. The school board made the recommendation to move him to another village.

In this case, the teacher's public displays of anger -- which, apparently, included yelling at and shaking students -- violated the community's expectations for adult behavior towards children. Moreover, open, unbridled expressions of anger are considered demonstrations of immaturity (Briggs, 1970).

In other words, Native communities have exercised their power to expell professionals who violate local values and expectations often enough to forewarn those who would ignore community preferences. The inclusiveness of shared values in Native villages means that the professional may have no other set of values to which he can appeal in a crisis.

Ethnic homogeneity, therefore, seems to bespeak a cohesiveness of values and attitudes that shapes the behavior and governing activities of professionals. In Native villages -- which are typically small and remote -- the local board seems to enjoy levels of direct and indirect influence on governing processes not usually possible in ethnically and socially variegated communities.

The second inference we have drawn is that the principal's influence appears enhanced by the local boards' relatively greater influence in Native villages. The tendency for principals and local boards to engage in cooperative processes to decide on action or policy may help explain why this correlation of

influence seems to occur. In communities in which the local board is less influential, the principal does not appear to be significantly more influential. Rather, the district superintendent is more influential.

In such cases, not only are local residents likely to exercise less influence than an actor at the district level but that actor is a professional. While the evidence is by no means conclusive, we might argue that organizational arrangements and policies which increase the power of professionals at the local level serve to increase local control of schools. When the local administrator and the local board together decide to take action or make policy in opposition to the district, their solidarity poses a dilemma for central office professionals.

To oppose such a coalition exposes central office professionals to charges of resisting local control -- a serious indictment in a political environment hypersensitive to apparent instances of paternalism and "cultural imperialism." At the same time, the professional is bound by policies adopted by the district school board. The administrator is answerable to the board if this policy is not applied.

Such a situation developed in a remote Native village of about 200 people. The local board and the principal decided to upgrade their graduation requirements. A young board member -- himself a college graduate -- explained the change:

.... We think that our students, where they go to college, will be able to do the college work. We try to have courses that will help them. Also, we try to determine what courses they will use here in the village, like if they want to work at the [village] corporation or in the city office.... We aim to provide them with an education that will prepare them for jobs here in the village or for college.

As a consequence the ASB established the requirement that students complete two more credits in math and science than students at other schools in the district.

At the district office, this development was viewed as an example of the principal's manipulation of the ASB and community opinion. A high-level staff member at the central office complained:

When you go into that school it's just not natural. The students are like automatons. They don't talk to you. I think he's got them terrified.

Yet, local support for the principal was solid and pervasive. The local board resisted the district's best efforts to get rid of the principal:

[The district office people] were in the process of firing our principal. We really like the work he's doing and people like what he's doing for the community. I went to the [district] board and presented our views.

The principal involved the ASB in every phase of governance not dictated from the central office. According to board members, setting the calendar, classified hiring, facilities-use decisions, defining appropriate student behavior, and planning the budget were all processes in which they participated. Moreover, they expressed a high level of satisfaction with the decisions that came out of these processes. Board members singled out as the principal's most effective behavior his willingness to consult with them before making decisions: "He doesn't just go ahead and do things on his own."

ASB members interpreted the central office's attempt to remove the principal as evidence of antagonism to genuine local control and of racism. Speaking of the central office's responsiveness to local concern, the ASB president reported:

They listen, maybe, but they don't do nothing. We do make them understand [our needs]. Even though they understand it, they have no idea about our way over here. Their concern is with [the regional town where the district office is located], not [our village]. They understand their school in [regional town] like we understand ours here.

Another ASB member was not so charitable in discussing the central office's opposition to the principal:

The way they [the central office] think is that all Eskimos are dumb and are not capable of achieving with Kuss'aq [white] students. They are trying to eliminate the courses in math and science that are on the same level with Kuss'aq schools.

They aren't interested in our goals -- or they would contact each village as to what their goals are. I haven't seen any requests for our goals, our needs.

... they are trying to eliminate some of our programs because our curriculum is different from other schools. It's different 'cause this is what people want.

This case illustrates a relationship between a local administrator and the local board which seems to increase the influence of each on school governance. At the same time, this cooperation allows the local board and the administrator

to make maximum use of any latitude for local determination that is allowed in district policy. In extreme cases, as in the case described above, this may bring local school personnel and community members into conflict with the district office. More typically, this alliance can speak with a single voice -- on both day-to-day matters and episodic, critical issues -- that the district office ignores or refuses at its own peril.

This finding is consistent with those of other studies (Jennings, 1981). The effectiveness of school advisory councils in other settings appears also to depend primarily on their cooperation with the local administrator.

Boyd's prediction that the degree of community homogeneity would affect lay influence appears to be borne out by our findings. Those communities in which there is the greatest ethnic homogeneity -- and, by extension, higher levels of cultural and social homogeneity -- are also those in which the local board is most influential.

We also hypothesized that two other community characteristics -- size and educational level -- may affect lay influence.

Community Size and Lay Influence and Participation

Boyd (1976) argues that although size and heterogeneity are positively correlated, size has an independent effect on lay influence:

As the size of the school system increases, the visibility of lay opposition groups tends to decrease and school system bureaucracy, the social distance to the school authorities, and the ability of the system to maintain 'business as usual' in the face of lay opposition tend to increase (Ibid:560).

Even in districts which are small and heterogenous, professional educators may be more susceptible to lay influence than in larger districts.

In rural Alaska, all communities are relatively small. In our field sample, the largest community had fewer than 8,000 souls. Yet, this town was 170 times larger than the smallest village in the sample. While the magnitude of difference in size is greater than differences in urbanity, social and cultural differences are nonetheless considerable. How do such differences in size affect lay influence in schools?

Although our initial analysis identified differences among communities of varying size, after we controlled for ethnicity, these differences disappeared. The one exception was the difference among principals in various community of different sizes on the question of who has greatest overall influence. Principals in Native communities whose population was under 500 were significantly more likely than their counterparts in larger Native communities to regard the local board as most influential. Twenty-two percent of the principals in these small Native villages mentioned the local board as most influential. In general, however, it appears that the greater influence of local boards in small places is related more to their ethnic homogeneity than to their size.

This is a very suggestive finding. One implication is that the outward differences between large and small places in rural Alaska may have less impact on local influence in school governance than the subtler cultural and social differences between ethnically homogenous and heterogenous communities. The heavier volume of information, the higher level of technology, and the presumed greater political sophistication of larger places are, apparently, not necessarily conducive to higher levels of lay influence.

Thus, within the narrow range of rural Alaskan communities, community size does not appear to affect lay influence significantly. Where we did find an independent effect, it appears that smaller Native communities are more likely to have local boards that have predominant influence on overall school governance.

The third community characteristic we hypothesized might influence lay power vis-à-vis professionals is the community educational level.

Community Education Level and Lay Participation and Influence

Educational level serves, partially, as a surrogate for the socioeconomic level of the community. Because of the small size of many rural communities, we were unable to use census data on income.* Educational level cannot, however, be substituted for income level in all cases because of communities in the North Slope and along the coast of southern Alaska.

On the North Slope, local government spending -- fueled by taxes levied on the oil companies -- has raised mean family income and living standards well above those of other Native regions (Kruse and Kleinfeld, 1981). In southeastern Alaska -- including the Alaska Peninsula and the Bristol Bay Area -- commercial fishing has generated per capita incomes that are among the highest in the nation (ISER Base, 1983). These important outliers aside, we find that low community income levels are correlated with low community educational levels (Ibid).

* In over a third of the Native communities, population sizes were sufficiently small that income levels for the entire community were suppressed. See ISER, 1983.

Community educational levels seem to be associated with another characteristic of rural Native communities. That is, the more remote a village and, hence, the shorter the period of contact with non-Natives, the lower the average educational level appears to be (Ibid). For example, villages along the Yukon River and the coast in the western part of the state seem to have higher average levels of education than do less accessible villages further inland and not on a major river (Ibid).

Closely related to educational level, remoteness, and length of contact is experience with the institution of schooling. In remote Native villages, older residents typically have little experience with formal schooling. Most board members are not high school graduates (McBeath et al. 1983b:46, 48). As a consequence, the local school strikes many of the older residents and even some of the younger adult residents as a foreign institution. One teacher, a veteran of six years in a remote Native village of 200, told us, "I think they view the school as foreign to them. They are a bit afraid to get involved." Another veteran teacher from a similar village said that, "School is still an awesome place to many of the people in this village."

A board member in another village with a low average education level explained why she thought parents were hesitant to visit the school even when their children have problems:

They come to me, especially those who don't speak very good English. They will come to me and ask me [to go see the teacher]. I usually ask them to go see the administrator, and they say, "Come with me." And I say, "I'll just stand there and not say anything." And sometimes they ask me to bring things up at meetings without naming the names.... They're afraid they wouldn't understand what is being said [to them by the professionals].

Attitudes such as that suggested by this quotation might lead one to predict that remote Native villages with low educational levels would be unlikely to have lay boards that influence governance processes.

Using data from the 1980 census, we coded the percentage of community residents 25 years of age or older who had completed at least 12 years of formal schooling. We then grouped communities into three categories -- those in which a third or less of the residents had at least the equivalent of a high school education, those in which a third to two-thirds had achieved such a level, and those in which two-thirds or more had 12 years or more of schooling. We then looked at the association between community educational levels and lay/professional participation in and influence on school governance issues.

As we discovered with the community size variable, the educational level of the community seems to have little effect on participation and influence levels when we control for ethnicity. Table 21 shows the areas in which significant differences remained after controlling for ethnic homogeneity of communities.

Generally, we found that the local boards participate most often and exert predominant influence most frequently in Native communities with the lowest level of education. As the level of education rises, superintendents are increasingly perceived as most influential and, correspondingly, principals are less frequently perceived as most influential. In most governance areas, however, these differences are not statistically significant.

Returning to those differences that remained after controlling for community ethnicity, we will first present these differences and then attempt to understand what they indicate about local community influence.

Table 21

Statewide Survey: Principals' Perceptions

Differences Among Communities with Varying Educational Levels:

Who is Perceived as Most Influential in Selected Governance Areas
Controlling for Ethnicity of the Community

Percentage of Community that was Native in 1980 ^a	Significant Differences in Proportion of Principals ^b who View Various Actors as Most Influential in . . .				
	Classified Hiring	School Calendar	Proposing New Courses	Planning Budget	Facility Use
1 to 20%	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
21 to 80%	***	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
81% and up	n.s.	*	*	*	n.s.

^aISER Data Base, derived from 1980 U.S. Census.^bN = 315X² values:

*p < .05

**p < .01

***p < .001

Source: Statewide Survey of Alaska Principals, Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska Project, Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1981.

Setting the School Calendar

In this governance process, more than twice as many principals in Native communities with the lowest educational level reported the local board as most influential as principals in mixed communities. Indeed, the local board is considered as most influential by more than half of the Native communities with the lowest educational level. As the educational level of the community rises, so does the influence of the superintendent and district board also seems to rise.

Why is the local board more influential in Native communities where the educational level is relatively low? A possible reason is that such communities are those most remote and most committed to subsistence activities. For such communities, the calendar holds particular importance. Beginning and ending dates of school determine when people must return from and leave for summer subsistence camps. As a board member and hunter reported, "Subsistence hunters have to go out while they can -- according to the season and weather." In short, Native villages where the average educational level is relatively low may consider the calendar more important than other types of communities and, therefore, make sure it reflects their preferences.

Proposing New Courses

In predominantly Native communities with the lowest educational levels, the principal and local board are mentioned significantly more frequently as exercising the most influence in proposing new courses than are their counterparts in communities with higher educational levels. Nearly half of the principals in Native, low-education communities reported that the local principals are most influential while one in five designated the local board as most influential.

Correspondingly, in communities where educational levels are higher, the superintendent is more frequently mentioned as most influential -- as are teachers. Significantly fewer principals in these communities regard themselves and the local board as most influential.

As we have noted above, Native communities with low average educational levels may be more "traditional." As such, they are very concerned that their culture, traditions, and language be preserved. Many of these communities have tried to use the school as a medium for ensuring cultural continuity.

Their efforts have seemingly achieved some success. Three-quarters of the Native villages with the lowest educational level have schools that offer community culture courses, significantly ($p < .005$) more than Native communities with higher average education levels. These low education villages are also significantly more likely ($p < .001$) to have Native craft and Native language instruction.

Why local boards in low education communities should be seen often as having predominant influence in budgetary planning is not immediately apparent. Significantly, principals are most frequently seen as having predominant influence in budgetary planning in the same types of communities. Where we see both the local board and the principal mentioned as most influential for a given school -- a common occurrence among Native, low-education communities -- we can assume that the district, in such cases, affords the sites considerable latitude in planning the school budget.

In short, Native, low-education communities, located typically in geographically dispersed districts, may benefit from a district policy that favors local influence. At the same time, the cultural, political, and social

characteristics of such villages may encourage a cooperative form of government. This possibility is discussed further below.

Community Education Level: A Discussion

For most governance processes, the educational level -- like size -- of a community does not seem to have much effect on lay influence. Differences in lay influence between communities that have different levels of education tend to disappear when the ethnicity of the community is controlled. In those areas where educational level does have an independent effect, the direction of that effect runs counter both to intuition and to other research findings.

The local board's influence is perceived as dominant most often in Native communities that have the lowest educational level. The principal was also most likely to be seen as most influential in the same type of communities. In communities with median educational levels, the superintendent is more likely to be seen as most influential and, correspondingly, the local board and the principal are mentioned less often. This seems to be true in all communities but is most marked in Native villages.

What could account for this finding? We would normally expect lay influence to increase as the educational level of the community rises. One possibility is the type of community that is Native and has a low average educational level. In rural Alaska, nearly 90 percent of these communities in which a third or fewer of the residents have a high school education are predominantly Native.

These communities' low educational levels are, to a degree, measures of their remoteness. Having had less contact with Western culture and Western

institutions -- particularly, formal schooling -- these communities tend to be more remote than other communities with higher average levels of education.

An aspect of life in remote communities appears to be a consensual, cooperative mode of making decisions. Traditionally, when important decisions had to be made in Native communities, elders gathered to discuss the issue and reach a decision. No one individual exercised authority but, rather, individuals offered advice (Service, 1966:52-53). That we found the highest frequencies of both lay and professional influence on governance in more traditional villages may reflect such governance processes. Our field interviews revealed that Native board members in remote villages were more likely to mention both the principal and the local board as co-jointly most influential than were board members from other types of communities.

Another aspect of remote Native villages is the consensual community values we have noted previously. The remoteness of most low education villages contributes to the survival of these shared values relatively intact. The pervasiveness and consistency of these values sends signals to the local educational professionals which are usually unambiguous. When we asked about the change in community control since the creation of the REAA districts, some informants talked about these "signals". A board member in a remote Native village of 200 told us:

It used to be that the people could not do anything if the students didn't like a teacher. Now the ASB can go to a teacher and say, 'Straighten out or ship out.' I can see this in [other] villages, too. I would definitely say that people have more power today.

These signals warn not only the teacher involved but all professionals working in the villages.

Lay Influence in Remote Native Villages

When we tested Boyd's (1976) hypothesis that community characteristics condition the lay-professional balance of influence, we found that levels of lay participation and influence seem to vary with the degree of ethnic homogeneity, the educational level, and to a less degree, the size of the community. The type of community in which the local board seems most likely to participate and influence certain school governance processes is the small (i.e., less than 500 inhabitants) Native village with a low average educational level (i.e., fewer than one-third of the adults have completed 12 years of education).

To test whether or not these communities differed significantly from other types of communities and to identify the governance areas in which such differences occur, we compared small, remote Native villages with other, rural communities (table 22). In six governance areas, the local board in remote Native villages is significantly more often perceived as most influential than the local or district board in other rural communities. Even in an area considered primarily a matter of professional expertise -- proposing new courses -- the local board is second most likely, after the principal, to be seen as most influential. In two areas -- setting the school calendar and defining community use of facilities -- the local board is regarded as predominantly influential by more principals than is any other actor. In three other areas -- local hiring, the budget, and setting behavioral standards -- only the principal is mentioned more frequently than the local board as most influential.

Table 22

Statewide Survey: Principals' Perceptions

Comparison Between Remote Native Villages and All Other Rural Communities:

Actors Perceived as Most Influential in Selected School Governance Areas

School Governance Areas	Remote Native Villages ^a	% ^c	All Other Rural Communities ^b	% ^c
Classified Hiring***	Principal	50%	Principal	59
	Local Board	40	Superintendent	23
	Superintendent	6	Local Board	13
Setting the School Calendar***	Local Board	59	District Board	27
	Principal	28	Local Board	22
	District Board	6	Principal	20
			Superintendent	20
Proposing New Courses/Programs**	Principal	52	Principal	40
	Local Board	24	Teacher	21
	District Board	10	Superintendent	17
Planning the Budget***	Principal	67	Principal	41
	Local Board	20	Superintendent	38
	Superintendent	12	District Board	11
Defining Appropriate Student Behavior***	Principal	54	Principal	57
	Local Board	32	Teacher	19
	Teacher	14	Local Board	9
Defining Community Use of Facilities*	Local Board	43	Principal	43
	Principal	41	Local Board	23
			Superintendent	14

^aN = 54^bN = 238^cPercentage of principals who mentioned each actor as most influential.X² values:

* p < .05

** p < .01

*** p < .001

Source: Statewide Survey of Alaska Principals, Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska Project, Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1981.

Among only those communities that have local boards, most of these differences remained. Controlling for the presence of a local board, the significant differences between remote Native villages and other rural communities disappeared in only two areas -- facility use and appropriate student behavior. In these two areas, although the differences were not significant, the local boards were considered more likely to be influential in remote Native villages than in other rural communities.

Finally, looking at overall influence (table 23), we see that both the principal and the local board seem to be considered most influential significantly more often in remote Native villages. In other rural communities, the superintendent and the district board appear more likely to be mentioned as most influential than in remote Native villages.

This is surprising. Members of a minority group with lower levels of education, removed from the heavy flow of information found in larger towns, would appear to be ideal victims of educational professionals intent on controlling the school. How can we explain such an apparent contradiction?

In discussing our findings, we have already offered several possible explanations. Specifically, we argued that these small, homogeneous villages share common values, expectations, and beliefs to a degree unknown in larger, more heterogeneous communities. Educational professionals are very much a minority in remote villages. Not only are they from a different ethnic group but they tend to be from a different socio-economic class and different educational background.

As a minority, professionals have no other immediate reference group -- except the other educational professionals -- in remote Native villages. Although the professionals are outsiders, they are often drawn into the network of social

Table 23

Statewide Survey: Principals' Perceptions

Comparison of Remote Native Villages and All Other Rural Schools:

Primary Actors Regarded as Most Influential in Overall School Governance

Actors ^c	Percentage of Principals in Remote Native Villages ^a Perceiving Actor as Most Influential	Percentage of Principals in All Other Rural School Settings ^b Perceiving Actor as Most Influential
Principal	63%	52%
Superintendent	6	19
District Board	4	14
Local Board	25	8
Teachers	2	5

χ^2 : $p < .005$

^aN = 51

^bN = 238

^cNo other actor was considered most influential by more than 1 percent of our samples.

Source: Statewide Survey of Alaska Principals, Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska Project, Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1981.

relations which, in many ways, is more like that of an extended family than that of a small town.

Consequently, the professional, facing a consensus of values and expectations and, to a greater or lesser degree, involved in the social network of the village, tends to find local preferences difficult to resist. A principal who has spent 12 years in rural Alaska described his relation with his board in a remote Native village of 250 people:

There are a lot of things that I try and let them decide -- like hiring classified people. As far as I'm concerned, they have the say-so. I'll make a recommendation, but I'll live with what they say.... Even if they've made a bad decision, I'll live with it. School schedules, the scheduling of the community in the school building for community education -- those kinds of things, our PAC [parents advisory committee] is in charge of that. I'll give them some input if I really feel that it's necessary.... They make the decision and they catch the flak when it goes wrong, too....

It's been a real positive experience for both of us. It's made life for me in the bush, in [this village] here, much, much easier because some of the village feelings that get focused at me are not really focused at me anymore; they're focused at the school and the advisory committee and they have to live with it.... It's nice that there is a group of people here that are making decisions.

This professional is relieved to have the local board assume more responsibility in the governance process. With the board explicitly involved in school governance, the principal is less likely to make inappropriate decisions based on misreadings of community values and expectations.

Another possible explanation for the greater influence of local boards in remote Native villages is precisely their remoteness. By definition, these

communities are located in relatively inaccessible spots. Communications with such villages are, at best, unreliable.

Prior to the creation of the REAA districts and the decentralization of the BIA schools, this geographical dispersion often served to augment the power of the local professionals. A veteran of ten years in the BIA system described her situation in the small remote villages where she and her husband had previously taught:

We got so close to people ... and you'd really have to watch it. Because in the bush you have a tendency to be a little bit overbearing because you're the only ones there [with any] kind of authority. People looked up to you as an authority even though you may not feel like you are. But they'd come and ask you a lot of questions, so you have to watch the way you word your suggestions....

A board member from a remote village of 200 people described this situation from the villager's point of view:

Some years back when they didn't have the ASB [advisory school board] the teacher would just send kids home when the kids misbehaved or they couldn't handle them. Or a kid would come home and complain because the teacher mistreated the kids. If the parents went to see the teacher about it, the teacher would say that the teachers had a right to do what they wanted. It used to be that the people could not do anything if the students didn't like a teacher.

The geographical dispersion which characterizes the larger, REAA districts -- made up of the more remote Native villages -- may actually favor greater local community control today. In these districts, local administrators who want

more autonomy for their schools can often use their distance from the central office and the difficulties of communication to justify greater independence. As an administrator in a very remote small village -- located some 150 miles from the district office -- reported: "I have the clearest possible relationship with [the district office].... This is my thing out here, though I have to meet the guidelines of the district."

In this case, the local administrator's independence from the district office serves the interest of local control: "I've told the ASB [that] this is their school, and what they want to happen, I will make it happen." The ASB members in this village confirmed the administrator's description. As one said, commenting on the board's influence on the curriculum, "The principal gave the power to the school board and the school board suggested a local culture course...."

The local boards in REAA district legally have only advisory authority. Consequently, their ability to influence governance process seems contingent on several factors: 1) the attitude and policy of the district school board; 2) the attitude and actions of the central office professional staff -- most importantly, the superintendent; 3) the attitudes and behavior of the local professionals, particularly the local administrator. The geographic dispersion of sites within a district affects the policies, attitudes, and practices of all three of these primary actors. Where sites are widely dispersed and, consequently, travel and communications between the district office and the school are problematic and undependable, all three of these primary actors may adapt their attitudes, policies, and actions accordingly.

Finally, remoteness may further enhance the opportunities for local board influence through its effect on the attitudes of local residents. Residents of remote villages tend to show an intense loyalty and pride in their particular

village. Non-Natives tend to lump all indigenous people together under the general rubric of "Native." Not only are there major linguistic groups and subgroups but dialectic differences -- indicating a distinct historical evolution of the group -- often exist between villages that are as close as 20 miles. The distinctiveness of the group is a matter of great importance to village inhabitants.*

In particular, residents of villages at some remove from the district office feel that central office administrators and, in some cases, district board members cannot grasp the situation in their village. This seems most often true when the district office is in a regional town -- which may be several times larger than the villages in the district and have a significantly higher proportion of non-Native residents. The president of the local board in a remote village of 200 expressed this sense of distinctiveness that we found in several remote sites:

[The district board members] listen, maybe, but they don't do nothing.... They have no idea about our way over [in our village]. Their concern is with [the regional town where the central office is located], not [our village]. They understand their school in [the regional town] like we understand ours here.

* The author once mistakenly implied in a paper that two neighboring villages -- with numerous consanguinal relations -- shared a common dialect. When he presented the paper to the village for review prior to publication, he was treated to an hour-long disputation on the dialectic differences between the two villages. More than any other aspect of the paper, this failure to distinguish accurately the villagers from their neighbors -- and, in many cases, relatives -- provoked indignation (McDiarmid, 1983).

Such an attitude encourages the local board to maximize their influence. One way this is done is by supporting the local administrator in conflicts with the central office. A fellow board member of the informant above described such a situation:

All [the principal teacher] gets are gripes from the [central office]. [A central office administrator] told [the principal teacher] that she would do the evaluations on our teachers. We didn't see how she could evaluate the teachers on the basis of a one day visit. We wrote to our representative on the [district] school board ... and we tried all winter to get him to come down here.

When the local administrator and the local board make common cause on an issue or policy, rare is the superintendent or district board willing to run the high political risk of defying such a formidable alliance. During our fieldwork, we saw several examples of this. In one large Native district, local boards successfully lobbied the district board to vote down a plan proposed by the administration to reorganize the management of the district in a way that the local boards and at least some local administrators felt would limit local autonomy.

In another, the district office, after nearly two years of trying, succeeded in removing a principal teacher who was tremendously popular with his village but a thorn in the central office's flesh. The central office replaced him with someone who, in the words of one administrator, would soon "have the situation under control" -- that is, curb the local advisory board's authority. The community responded by forcing the new administrator out of the village within two months. Finally, another large Native REAA was forced to rescind a policy

requiring all local administrators to be certified principals. Apparently, several villages who liked their administrators saw this as an attempt to replace professionals sympathetic to local control with someone more tractable to district office policies and objectives. These villages forced the district to change its policy.

In sum, we offer three possible reasons for the greater likelihood that principals in remote Native villages will regard the local board as a key influence on school governance. One possible explanation is that shared, community values, expectations, and beliefs which characterize remote Native villages are a powerful, almost irresistible influence on local professionals. In the consultative, cooperative mode of governance which often characterizes small remote Native villages, the local board shapes the process and the final decision through their interactions with the principal.

Secondly, the geographical dispersion of school sites in the larger Native REAAs may also promote greater local board influence. Individual sites are often a considerable distance -- as much as 200 miles -- from the district office. As communications cannot always be counted on, the local administrator and the board often must make day-to-day decisions without consulting the district office.

Finally, we have suggested that the remoteness of these small Native communities sustains the sense of uniqueness, local pride, and independence. Educational professionals may encourage this parochialism to increase their own independence and power vis-à-vis the district office.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Summary of Findings

This study was originally motivated by a desire to find out if the implementation of decentralized education in rural Alaska had actually increased lay participation and influence in running local schools. While the intent of the legislation was to decentralize education to the regional level -- represented by 21 Rural Educational Attendance Areas -- provision was also made for the creation of community school committees -- a provision later made optional.

The experience of communities involved in urban decentralization throughout the nation has been that lay participation and influence did not increase significantly following decentralization. Rather than benefitting lay people, decentralization appears more likely to benefit educational professionals. As most cases of decentralization are urban, there was no literature on rural decentralization -- particularly in a setting as remote and sparsely populated as rural Alaska -- prior to the Decentralized Education in Rural Alaska project which provided the data for this study. The national literature did suggest, however, that Tucker and Zeigler's (1980) conclusion -- professionals dominate laymen -- did not adequately account for differences in lay influence that appeared to be related to two factors -- type of issue and type of school district. On the basis of these findings, we develop two broad hypotheses:

- (1) That lay participation and involvement would be greater on issues considered "external" to the

expertise of educational professionals than on those considered "internal" issues. Examples of "external" issues are facility use and construction policies, school calendar, classified personnel hiring, and budgetary matters. Examples of "internal" issues are curriculum and professional personnel policy;

(2) That community characteristics -- specifically, ethnic homogeneity, size, and educational level -- will affect the influence of lay boards vis-à-vis educational professionals. Specifically small, remote rural communities which are ethnically homogenous are likely to exhibit little formal lay participation; rather, such communities should be characterized by relatively high levels of informal lay influence and "congruence" between community values and preferences and educational professionals' actions.

To test these hypotheses we used data from two sources: statewide surveys of educational professionals -- principals and teachers -- in rural schools; and fieldwork in a stratified random sample of 28 rural schools. In our survey of educational professionals, we asked who participated in and who had most influence over school governance processes. During our fieldwork, we interviewed local and district board members as well as educational professionals. Again, we

asked our informants about various school governance processes -- who was involved and who influenced outcomes. While the surveys supplied the bare numbers on the participation and influence of various lay and professional actors, the fieldwork gave us information on the actual process of school governance and policy implementation.

We cannot say with certainty that principals have accurately reported the reality of school governance. Yet, principals, in general, are in a better position than perhaps any other actor in a school to understand governance processes and who is involved. Moreover, our fieldwork allowed us to judge the accuracy of the information provided by a sample of principals. While we found that principals were reliable reporters of school governance processes, our data remains perceptual.

In presenting our findings, we first addressed the question of who participates and who is most influential in various governance process in rural Alaska schools. Using our field interviews, we described eight school governance processes and the roles played by various actors. In particular, we were interested in discovering if lay participation and influence differed according to the issue involved. Then, we measured the association between three community characteristics -- ethnic homogeneity, educational level, and size -- and the participation and influence of the various actors on school governance areas.

1. Who participates in the various school governance processes in rural Alaska?

We found that principals and teachers alike mentioned educational professionals most frequently as participants in all school governance areas. We also found that there was no significant difference between our principal and teacher respondents when we ranked actors according to frequency of mention.

Further support for these findings came from our field data. Both board members and educational professionals mentioned professionals most frequently in all governance areas -- save planning the calendar.

2. Who is most influential in the various school governance processes in rural Alaska schools?

In our survey we asked who is most influential in various school governance areas. Our results parallel those we received when we asked about participation: Professionals were consistently seen as the dominant influence in all areas.

Board members and educational professionals at our field sites reported similar pictures of influence. In hiring classified staff and in deciding on the school calendar, board members were more likely than the professionals to regard the local advisory board as most influential.

Predominant influence was assigned to the principal in all areas except hiring professional personnel. The superintendent was seen as most influential in this area by both our survey respondents and our field informants.

Finally, when we asked who was most influential overall, both teachers and principals named the principal as most important with the superintendent second and the district board third.

3. Lay participation and influence will be greater in issues that are "external" to the expertise of professional educators -- e.g., setting the calendar and facilities policies, hiring classified personnel, and deciding on appropriate student behavior -- and less in "internal" issues -- e.g., hiring professional personnel, deciding on the curriculum, and selecting textbooks.

While, in general, we found that lay participation and influence were greater in issues that were external to the expertise of the professionals, professionals seemed to dominate in both internal and external issues.

Internal Issues

(a) Hiring Professional Personnel: Despite measurement problems with this item, there seemed little doubt that professionals dominate except in hiring the superintendent.

(1) Hiring and Evaluating the Superintendent: In all of our fieldsites we found that the district board was by far the greatest influence on this process. Some boards relied on outside consultants in the early, recruitment and screening phases. Other boards involved community members in informal interviewing. The district board, however, interviewed finalists and the hiring decision appeared to be theirs alone.

Few district boards carried out systematic written evaluations in which the superintendent's performance was judged against mutually agreed upon goals. Most evaluations were informal and oral and occurred at contract negotiation time.

Relations between district boards and superintendents appear informal and personal. Many board members expressed the view that the superintendent was the board's "hired gun" and that deference to his expertise constituted appropriate behavior for board members.

(2) Hiring and Evaluating the Principal: Central office professionals -- that is, the superintendent and his professional staff -- seem to dominate both hiring and evaluating principals. Two districts -- both REAAs -- of the 16 in our field sample used a selection committee, which included lay board members, in the hiring process.

Again, district board members expressed little dissatisfaction with professional domination of principal hiring. A few local board members complained that communities do not have sufficient input into the hiring of their administrators. Most board members, however, accepted that the central office and district board should select the principals.

While central office personnel appear to evaluate principals in most districts, communities have informal means for evaluating the educational professionals at their schools. Professionals who violate local values and expectations have been expelled from rural communities sufficiently often to put all professionals on notice.

(3) Hiring and Evaluating Teachers: We found little evidence of local board involvement in teacher hiring. In a few districts, local board members may, as in the case of hiring the principal, serve on selection committees with professionals and district board members.

Teachers were most likely to be chosen by other professionals -- central office staff and principals -- and formally hired by the district board. Apparently, local board and community members do, however, communicate to the central office the type of professionals who would be welcome in their communities. In

some districts, central office professionals actively seek such information; in others, the community has demonstrated its preferences by its past treatment of local professionals.

Again, while principals are formally responsible for evaluating teachers, the local community has informal means for such evaluations. In some districts, local board members are invited to evaluate the teachers orally in the presence of the local administrator or a professional from the central office.

A major impediment to greater community involvement in evaluation appears to be teacher association contracts which exclude lay involvement. Excluded from formal participation in evaluating the professionals in their local school, community members may resort to one of the few available options: Pressuring the district office to retain or remove teachers.

In short, while professionals certainly dominate the hiring and evaluation processes for certified staff, local boards and community members have informal, indirect ways of influencing these processes.

(b) Selecting Textbooks: Neither board members nor community residents raised this as a critical issue. Principals and teachers disagreed as to who was most influential. Teachers regarded themselves as dominant while principals designated themselves as most influential. Our interviews revealed that while teachers generally select the textbooks for their classes, these texts are ordered by the principal — a responsibility that principals feel amounts to veto power.

(c) Proposing New Courses or Programs: While local professionals -- principals and teachers -- appear to dominate this process, we found a significant difference in lay influence between mostly Native and predominantly non-Native communities.

In majority Native communities, local board members have been very successful in adding instruction in local traditions, crafts, and language to the traditional Western academic curriculum.

In a few non-Native schools, the board appears to review the curriculum on a regular basis. Generally, board involvement appears sporadic and superficial, at best.

Our findings on these internal issues support Boyd's (1976) hypothesis that professionals would dominate primarily on the basis of their claim to expertise. Board members appear to defer to their expertise. Local communities are not, however, without their own resources. Administrators, in making hiring decisions, apparently try to anticipate community preferences. After being placed in the community, professionals find their actions and behavior are monitored by local residents. Professionals who violate local expectations and values risk expulsion from the community.

External Issues

(d) Planning the Budget: The process of planning the budget appears to differ according to the type of school district. That is, lay boards in districts in which residents make a tax contribution to the local schools are significantly more likely to participate in and influence the budgetary process than are board members in districts completely dependent on state and federal funds.

In several of the city districts in our sample, board members attended work sessions at which they reviewed the budget. These reviews are, typically, program-by-program rather than line-item reviews.

Local boards at BIA and REAA schools rarely seem to influence budgetary planning. At most, they may decide on how the relatively small amount designated as the "ASB budget" should be allocated.

(e) Planning the Calendar and the School Schedule: We found, again, that the process for planning the calendar differed by type of district. "Older" districts -- city and borough -- tended to have a calendar that is inherited from earlier times. For most of these communities, the calendar is not an issue -- it's an institution. For the "newer" districts -- REAA and the recently decentralized BIA schools -- the calendar may have particular importance for local residents. Frequently, residents in these districts are highly dependent on subsistence seasons. Consequently, local determination of the calendar is viewed as critical. In addition, a number of these communities observe Russian Orthodox Christmas. Understandably, they want a calendar which reflects Orthodox holidays. In these communities the principal typically draws up a calendar reflecting subsistence seasons, religious holidays, and professionals' preferences for Christmas vacation -- and submits it to the local board which checks it, changes it if necessary, and passes it.

A trend we noticed is that district offices are increasingly insisting on common starting and ending dates -- as a matter of administrative convenience. Some local board members seemed prepared to defy the district if the dates inconvenience the local community.

(f) Determining Community Use of School Facilities: In larger communities, a central office professional -- often the community education director -- schedules community events at the school according to school board policy. As there are usually alternative facilities available for most activities, use did not appear to be a major issue.

In smaller communities typical of the mostly Native REAAs, there may be no alternative to the school -- particularly, to the school gym. Consequently, the community attends closely to decisions about using facilities. We learned of at least one local administrator who very nearly lost his job because of his refusal to increase the availability of the gym to community members.

As a consequence, the local administrator seems to consult with his board and important others in deciding on gym use. Other decisions on facility use are more likely to be left to the administrator.

(g) Setting Standards for Student Behavior: Unlike citizens in the 'Lower 48' states, rural Alaskans appear to consider student behavioral problems as less critical than other issues. We found very little evidence of serious behavioral problems in rural schools. The small size of the communities and the schools and the resulting close relations between students and teachers may reduce the irritations and misunderstandings which contribute to behavioral problems in other settings.

(h) Hiring Classified Staff: Because of the shortage of full-time, year-round employment in rural areas -- particularly in Native regions -- this is a critical issue in many communities. While only about one principal in five reported the

local board as dominant, our fieldwork in Native communities suggests that this statistic misrepresents the dynamics of the process.

In small Native communities where unemployment is likely to be most acute, the local administrator appears to depend frequently on the local board's knowledge of the applicants in hiring decisions. In a few communities, the administrator apparently hired without consulting the local board. This was, however, unusual.

In city and borough schools, administrators appear to recruit, screen, and recommend a single candidate to the board. Rarely do boards seem to reject an administrator's recommendation.

The Issues: "Experts Dominate Laymen"?

Our findings here seem to bear out Tucker and Zeigler's (1980) conclusion that "experts dominate laymen." They appear to dominate not only those issues considered "internal" to professional expertise but also those in which laymen are thought to have an equal claim to expertise. Yet, the descriptions collected in our fieldwork portray the governing process as more interactive, more collaborative than Tucker and Zeigler's conclusion would have us believe.

Specifically, local administrators not only depend on their boards to provide information on local preferences but, through their interactions, the professional learns the boundaries of community tolerance. Professionals may also learn from others in the community. Some, however, because of fear, indifference, or prejudice, may have very limited contact with other community members. This is why the local board-principal relationship seems so critical.

We did not find widespread dissatisfaction among board members or community members with professional predominance. Certainly, some local board

members would like to be more involved in hiring professionals and, in Native communities, some want to see more culturally-relevant subject matter included in the curriculum. Others had grievances directed toward a specific professional, usually because of the professional's treatment of an individual child.

While we found instances of professionals manipulating community attitudes through their control of information and of issue definition, we also found a high degree of acquiescence to professional expertise. Doubtless, in some Native communities this acquiescence is a habit formed from years of BIA or SOS (State Operated Schools) suzerainty. One principal, explaining his frustration at not being able to get his local board to take more decision-making authority, reported:

Their perspective is the BIA perspective. I'm seen as a king pin, a benevolent dictator at the school. My word goes and I don't like it. I don't perceive my role as they do. But they don't know what their role is.

This is, however, the 1980s. Such acquiescence rarely appeared in our fieldsites. Alaskan Natives have fought and won battles for land and for greater self-determination. Despite fits and starts, they have adopted and successfully operated within such Western organizational structures as corporations, councils, and boards. Currently, they are questioning the appropriateness and effectiveness of these structures and some are prepared to reject these in favor of a structure -- the IRA council -- that they feel better protects their land, resources, and traditions.

If Native school boards and community members defer to the local educational professional, they are probably less likely to do so today out of deference to the 'white man' and more out of deference to expertise. In this

regard, Alaskan Natives are like other Americans who are accustomed to acquiescing to professional expertise in a range of settings.

The board members we interviewed were busy people -- nowhere more so than in Native villages. Villages are burdened with a superstructure of local government organizations -- advisory school boards, federal program advisory councils, Head Start parents' councils, village councils (for state purposes), village corporation boards, land selection committees, parish or church councils, fish and game advisory boards, and so on. As elsewhere, community members who command the respect and trust of their fellow residents are elected to several boards. Such public service is additional responsibility for people who have jobs and families and who, in small remote communities, must perform for themselves services that, in larger communities, are publicly available.

In this context, deference to professional expertise makes sense. Even where the local board has full legal authority over hiring professionals -- a degree of control envied by some of the members of boards which lack such authority -- it had, in all cases, delegated this authority to the local administrator.

Our results lead us, thus, to question two assumptions current in the research and the debate about local control of school governance. The first is: Does the concept of professional dominance take adequate account of the degree to which professionals in small rural communities shape their recommendations and actions according to the values, expectations, and preferences of the community? Secondly, how much of what is called professional dominance is actually lay acquiescence? Before attempting to answer these questions, however, we need to summarize the findings generated by our last hypothesis.

4. Certain community characteristics -- that is, ethnic homogeneity, size, and average, educational level -- will affect the influence of local lay boards vis-à-vis educational professionals. Specifically, small, remote rural communities which are ethnically homogeneous are likely to exhibit little formal lay participation; rather, these communities should display relatively high levels of informal lay influence and congruence between local values and preferences and professionals' actions.

To test this hypothesis, we determined the degree of association between the community variables -- ethnic homogeneity, size, and educational level -- and the distribution of participation and influence among the various actors on eight governance processes. To understand the relative contribution of each variable to differences among community types, we held each constant and again examined the degree of association.

We found that ethnicity appears to account for most of the differences we found between community types. Average educational level of the community seems to have a small, independent effect while community size appears to explain little when ethnicity is controlled. Specifically, our examination of the survey data together with our interviews conducted with local professionals and board members, and district office professionals and district board members suggest the following:

(a) Ethnic Homogeneity: We had thought that a high degree of ethnic homogeneity might enhance the influence of the local board. Villages in rural Alaska which are predominantly Native exhibit a shared set of values and attitudes rarely challenged by a competing set of values within the community. The consistency of values across the community and their expression through daily behavior lend them a strength that even the most obtuse and ethnocentric non-Native professional would find hard to resist. This situation limits the

administrator's political options: There is usually no opposing group to which to appeal in a confrontation.

We found that the local board appears to both participate in and dominate certain school governance processes more often in Native villages than in either mixed or non-Native communities. When we looked at results from only those communities that have local boards, the differences remained.

We also discovered that in those governance areas in which local boards in Native communities are more likely to be regarded as predominant, the local administrator was likewise more likely to be considered most influential. Similarly, in overall influence, both the principal and the board in Native villages were more likely to be predominant. In our interviews with local board members we were struck by how frequently they mentioned the board and the principal as jointly most influential.

This suggests that the conventional assumption -- that local professionals hold power at the expense of the lay board -- might oversimplify what is, at least in Native villages, a more complex professional-lay interaction. Perhaps increased local influence on school governance depends on the sharing of authority and responsibility which engenders mutual support. In a struggle with the central office or with the district board, such mutual support translates into a formidable alliance. In our fieldwork, we learned of the success several such alliances have achieved in defying the superintendent and district board. Although these local alliances do not appear to win every battle, they seem to win frequently enough to give the superintendent and the district board considerable pause before taking them on.

Finally, just as the influence of the principal and the local board is likely to be predominant in Native villages, the superintendent and district board are most often regarded as predominant in mixed and non-Native communities.

While our findings provided somewhat ambiguous evidence for Boyd's (1976) assertion that the type of issue conditions lay influence, the evidence for ethnic homogeneity as a factor in conditioning the level of lay influence seems more substantial. Ethnic homogeneity may indicate a consensus on social norms and expectations and/or values and preferences. This consensus is of particular importance in influencing local professionals.

(b) Community Size: While all rural Alaskan schools are small, our fieldsites range between 8,000 and 47 inhabitants. In our analysis, we found initially that lay influence varied by community size. When, however, we control for community ethnicity, we find that lay influence no longer differed significantly across communities of various sizes.

While differences were not statistically significant, smaller communities appeared somewhat more likely to have higher reported levels of local board influence than larger communities.

(c) Community Educational Level: We had anticipated that higher educational levels would be associated with higher levels of lay participation and influence. Instead, in rural Alaska, lower average educational levels seem slightly more likely to be associated with local board predominance in school governance. Specifically, lower educational levels seem to be associated with the greater likelihood that the local board will be regarded as most influential in setting the calendar, proposing new courses, and planning the budget.

Communities with the lowest educational levels are almost exclusively small, remote Native villages. Educational professionals in such communities are outsiders who face a cohesive set of values and who function within the tightly knit fabric of social relations characteristic of small Native villages. In such circumstances, professionals may anticipate -- consciously or unconsciously -- community reactions to various alternatives and select a course of action that conforms to local values and expectations.

We found that consultations between principals and their boards on matters of special concern to the villages -- such as classified hiring, the calendar, local culture instruction, and community use of school facilities -- are common in remote Native villages. This consultative approach may represent an administrative strategy to insure that the local board shares responsibility for actions and policies which directly affect the local residents. It may also represent, on the part of some administrators, a quite genuine commitment to local control. Some administrators believe a part of their role is to "educate" the local board as to its powers -- both formal and informal.

Another feature of small Native villages with low educational levels is their remoteness. This remoteness may also contribute to the greater likelihood that the local board will be considered predominant in certain school governance processes. The geographic distance from the central office, which implies increased difficulties in travel and communications, seems to offer the local administrator and the board the opportunity to increase their autonomy. Crucial to taking advantage of such circumstances appears to be the unity and agreement between the local administrator and the local board. A key to such unity may be, in turn, the administrator's demonstrated support for greater community involvement in the local school.

Remoteness may also be associated with a heightened sense of distinctiveness and separateness among the inhabitants of such Native villages. This may contribute to the tendency found in these villages to view with skepticism and, sometimes, suspicion the policies and programs emanating from the central office and the district board. Given this mistrust of the "center," the principal may recognize that to be effective and to ensure her tenure in the community, it would be politic to align oneself with local values and preferences — particularly when these conflict with district policies. The local board may also realize that the cause of local control may best be served by supporting the local administrator in conflicts with the district office. These tendencies may coalesce to enhance the influence of both the local administrator and the board in remote Native villages.

Our hypothesis that community characteristics would affect the relative influence of lay boards and educational professionals seems to be borne out — at least for communities in rural Alaska. Somewhat surprisingly, the communities in which the local board is most likely to predominate in certain school governance processes are remote Native villages with low average levels of educational attainment. We have suggested that this greater influence may result from at least three conditions found in these villages.

First of all, local administrators in such communities may be more powerfully influenced by local values and preferences than their counterparts in other communities. This may occur because of the consensus on values and expectations and the coherence of the social network in remote Native villages. Secondly, the remoteness of the villages seems to discourage central office professionals and district boards from monitoring closely local board and

professional actions. This remoteness, thirdly, may also increase the dissonance between the village and the district office. Both local professionals and board members seem to find it politically expedient to support one another's autonomy from central policies and directives.

Conclusion

This paper grew out of the author's sense that the conventional political science pronouncement on school governance -- "Experts dominate laymen" (Tucker and Zeigler, 1980:229) -- ignores some of the more critical subtleties of lay-professional interaction. School politics in the author's experience -- as a former high school teacher and administrator and as a field researcher in rural schools -- was a richer, more complicated, and, academically, more interesting world than that portrayed in some analyses. Too often, this literature and the critics of professional "domination" of schools tend to understate the indirect influence of community values, to make unwarranted assumptions about lay people's desire to control all aspects of school governance, and to overstate the ability of educational professionals to control policy making in schools.

In rural Alaska, the issue is further complicated because in many communities, the professionals are outsiders from the 'dominant' culture and the lay people are members of an ethnic minority. This adds another dimension to their political interactions. Self-government and control over resources for Alaska Natives are issues which appear to condition all such interactions. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has seemingly left a legacy of colonial paternalism among the indigenous people. Many Native leaders view any government intervention -- whether state or federal -- in local affairs with suspicion, if not

hostility. The lay-professional issue in rural Alaska overlays an issue of perhaps even greater moment: Native versus non-Native control.

What then do the findings presented above contribute to the debate over lay versus professional control?

From a speculative point of view, we would like to conclude with an examination of several assumptions that appear in discussions over community control. This examination draws both on the findings presented above and on the findings of other researchers and analysts.*

The first assumption that appears in the literature and in public discussions is that power and influence are more or less fixed quantities. If the power and influence of educational professionals is increasing, then that of lay people must be decreasing. That is, relations of power between professionals and laymen is a zero-sum game.

In the wider political arena, this view has been challenged by Leach (1970) and Grodzin (1966); in the narrower field of educational policy making, Cohen (1982) raises similar objections. These authors hold that as policy expands at the federal level, a parallel expansion of power and organizationa occurs at lower levels.** Greater activity, resources, and organizational size at the federal

* In particular, this discussion draws on the ideas of David K. Cohen presented in a series of articles that have appeared in the Harvard Educational Review and The Public Interest over the last decade.

** "Characteristically, when the federal government assumes a new function, it takes on only part of it, leaving substantial discretion and authority in state hands." (Grodzins, 1966:297; quoted in Cohen, 1982:478).

level may result in a similar expansion at the state and local level. Such an expansion may serve to increase rather than diminish local lay power and influence vis-à-vis the educational professionals.

An example is the influence that local boards in Native communities have to affect the curriculum of their schools -- although this effect occurs largely at the margin and leaves the core of the curriculum largely untouched. The greater influence of local boards may be due, in part, to federal Indian education policy. The 1970s saw passage of the Indian Education Act, the promulgation of new Johnson-O'Malley regulations, and the Indian Self-Determination Act (Getches, 1977). All of these federal policies provided local communities with the power and the resources to create educational programs to meet local needs -- particularly, the transmission of culturally specific knowledge and skills. At the local level, parent advisory councils mandated by these programs increased both the complexity of curriculum policy making and the influence of local communities in this area of school governance.

Local communities were not the only "private" groups to benefit from these federal policies. The Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN) became the prime contractor with BIA for all Johnson-O'Malley (JOM) programs outside the Aleutian region. In that area, local Native corporations contracted directly with the BIA to run their own programs. Subsequently, the BIA contracted with regional and village corporations around the state to operate the JOM programs (Ibid:16). In this way, policy expansion at the federal level served to increase the influence of these private organizations at the state, regional, and local levels.

At the same time, the influence of educational professionals over the standard academic elements of the curriculum has not, apparently, decreased

appreciably. On the contrary, from the findings presented above, one might argue that by focusing community attention on instruction in cultural knowledge and skills, these policies have actually ensured educational professionals a free hand in conventional academic subjects. One local administrator admitted that he and his board had a tacit agreement: They organized and supervised instruction in traditional knowledge and skills without interference from the professionals; in return, the professionals taught the academic subjects they believed essential. Both parties expressed a high level of satisfaction with such an arrangement.

Curriculum is a particularly appropriate policy-making area to examine, both because it is considered a matter of professional expertise (Boyd, 1976:566), and because of earlier treatments of the subject. Kirst and Walker (1971) found that not only did both private and public agencies and organizations influence curriculum but these influences operated at all levels of government. As a consequence, these researchers conclude that their research "has shattered the myth of local control of schools, at least in the area of curriculum" (Ibid:500).

Kirst and Walker amass impressive evidence for their conclusion. Minimum curriculum standards are set as much by private agencies such as regional accrediting associations and testing agencies -- e.g., the Educational Testing Service -- as by public agencies -- i.e., State Boards of Education and the State Department of Education. Alternatives to the standard curriculum are also circumscribed. Textbooks, designed for a national market, offer, by necessity, conventional, uncontroversial treatments of most topics.

There are also a wide range of interest groups maneuvering to influence the curriculum. Some groups have specific educational purposes such as the Council on Basic Education. Others -- such as the AFL-CIO, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the American Legion -- view the curriculum as

a medium for influencing the public of the future. Still others -- such as the NAACP, the Moral Majority, or NOW -- monitor the curriculum for materials or attitudes detrimental to their membership or cause.

Funding to develop curriculum material comes from a mixture of public and private sources. At the federal level, the National Science Foundation and, more recently, the National Institute of Education have initiated and sponsored curriculum efforts. In the private sector, foundations -- primarily Ford, Rockefeller, and Carnegie -- have funded various curriculum development projects. Finally, subject matter experts at colleges and universities -- both public and private -- have provided ideas for changes and innovations.

All of these influences are outside the school and the profession. Teacher unions have taken a larger and larger role in providing alternatives to conventional curriculum approaches -- including materials on the Ku Klux Klan and U.S. economic policy in non-industrial countries (Finn, 1983:34-35). As individuals, teachers may or may not use an assigned textbook or other curricular materials in their classes.

In short, this array of private and public, federal, state, and local agencies and actors represent an environment in which power and influence are highly diffuse. Taken together, however, this array of forces may limit severely the curriculum options of local communities. How many communities would jeopardize their schools' accreditation and the future educational opportunities of their children by substituting locally determined graduation requirements for those of the state board? While school districts may choose among four or five nationally normed achievement tests, opting to forego such tests would violate evaluation requirements and result in the loss of Title I -- now Chapter I -- funds.

Local communities, as Kirst and Walker contend, appear to have little control over what is taught in their schools. Federal policy, however, may — as in the case of Alaska Native communities — create the opportunity for local school boards to influence curriculum development. This is an apparent paradox as conventional wisdom maintains that the growth of policy and organization at the center results in the loss of self-determination at the periphery.

This suggests that local communities in rural Alaska may benefit from policy initiatives at the federal, state, and regional levels. Simpler, more linear analyses which equate policy development at higher levels with further constrictions of local options and influence may misrepresent the dynamics of school governance. From this perspective, the creation of the REAAs — and the parallel creation of a host of Native governmental organizations at regional and local levels — have increased the organizational complexity of school governance in rural Alaska. This complexity decreases the likelihood that any one agency, actor, or group of actors — public or private, state, regional or local — will accrue sufficient authority to dominate policy making or implementation. While "experts dominate laymen" may describe superintendent-board relations in some urban settings, it understates the richness, variety, and diffusion of authority and influence that seem to characterize school government in rural Alaska.

This analysis also leads us to question the assumption that by pursuing increased control of policy and governance processes, educational professionals usurp power which, rightfully, belongs to the community. Advocates of various remedies — such as decentralization (Rogers, 1968), vouchers (Friedman and Friedman, 1980), and community control (Hamilton, 1968; Levin, 1970) — intended to put "people back in control" have subscribed to variations of this analysis. Other critics — notably Katz (1971a, 1971b) and Bowles and Gintis (1976) —

present the bureaucratization of education as a historical development that has insulated professionals from the people.

That professionals, through their unions and professional associations, have, particularly since the early 1960s, attempted to expand their control of school governance appears undeniable (Finn, 1983). In trying to increase their power, teachers have at times clashed, dramatically, with lay people in their efforts to gain greater control over the governance of local schools (Berube and Gittell, 1969; Haskins and Cheng, 1976). Such highly publicized confrontations have served to implant in the minds of both the public and the advocates and analysts of local control the conviction that professionals are threatened by greater community control. Educational professionals, consequently, will block or subvert, where possible, the efforts of local people to expand their control or influence.

Such a diagnosis of the problem demands a political remedy: Policy must be designed to increase the power of parents and other community members vis-a-vis educational professionals (Jencks, 1966). Decentralization, community control and vouchers are political strategies intended to do just that. All have been tried — and have, generally, disappointed their champions.* Despite attempts at reform, professionals continue to dominate local school governance.

Typically, advocates claim that the school bureaucracy and the professionals conspire to undermine reform (Salisbury 1967; Cuban, 1969).

* For a review of decentralization in New York City, see Zimet (1973) and Rogers et al. (1981); for community control, see Cohen (1978); and for vouchers, see Cohen and Farrar (1977).

Apparently, advocates of such reforms are reluctant to question their original diagnoses.

Evidence offered above presents an alternative picture of power and influence in school governance. If power and influence are highly diffuse and if the creation of policy and organization at higher levels -- federal and state -- spawns new organizations and new opportunities for actors -- both public and private -- at lower levels, then it does not necessarily follow that professionals need to undermine local lay power to augment their control. In this alternative scenario, professionals may increase their power without having to undermine efforts to increase lay control. In fact, greater lay control may, in such contexts, create opportunities for local professionals to extend their power. The question that remains is, however, why have reforms intended to increase lay control over school governance met with such limited success?

Cohen and Farrar (1977) sought to address just this question in their examination of the educational voucher experiment conducted in Alum Rock, California between 1972 and 1975. Although a primary objective of the program was to increase the power of parents, the actual outcomes confounded this goal. Although some parents -- about 18 percent -- took advantage of the experiment to increase their choice among alternatives, teachers seem to have benefitted most. They used the greater resources and the increased flexibility in working conditions created by the voucher program to increase their autonomy.

Analyzing these unanticipated outcomes, Cohen and Farrar argue that, while there are "political imbalances in the governance of American schools," the most serious imbalance is not political. Rather it:

... results more from a social division of labor that encourages the specialization of work, the professionalization of roles, and the partitioning of authority.... (T)his solidified professional power in education, as well as discouraging active parental involvement (Ibid:92).

As teaching has gained greater definition and autonomy as a profession over the past century, power and influence in school governance have become more diffuse and less concentrated in communities.

In rural Alaska, decentralization apparently has not created the degree of educational self-determination that some advocates had hoped. At the same time, public satisfaction with the performance of local professionals and the quality of instruction appears generally, fairly high (McBeath et al. 1983b:89-90, 123-124, 143-144, 161-162). Contacts with community members at our fieldsites confirmed that most people seem to approve of the way the local schools are operated.

Thus, despite the limited degree of formal local control in most rural communities, people appear moderately satisfied with their schools.* Perhaps residents of rural Alaska, like lay people elsewhere in the U.S., are content to concede authority over school governance largely to educational professionals. Educational professionals, rather than subverting the rightful authority of lay people, may benefit from a societal norm of deferring to professional expertise.

The high degree of formal professional domination that we found in rural Alaska schools may be due to the highly decentralized nature of authority and influence in school governance. In this situation, lay deference to professional

* Exceptions to this generalization are the schools in rural communities that have city districts composed of a single school. In these communities, the local board has plenary legal powers.

expertise -- which characterizes social relations in other areas of activity as well as education -- works to the advantage of educational professionals who seek to reduce the risks of decision making in the uncertain environment of rural Alaska.

Such deference is not, however, absolute. Community members expect professionals to behave and carry out their responsibilities within limits determined by community values and mores. While this "zone of tolerance" may be fairly wide in urban areas where there are a variety of ethnic groups and socio-economic classes, in remote rural areas of Alaska this zone seems comparatively narrow. In Alaska, where ethnic and social homogeneity are great, the range of values and mores is limited. This greater unity and consistency of values may increase the influence of the community over both the professionals and the governance process.

APPENDIX: INSTRUMENTS

APPENDIX

SURVEY INSTRUMENTS

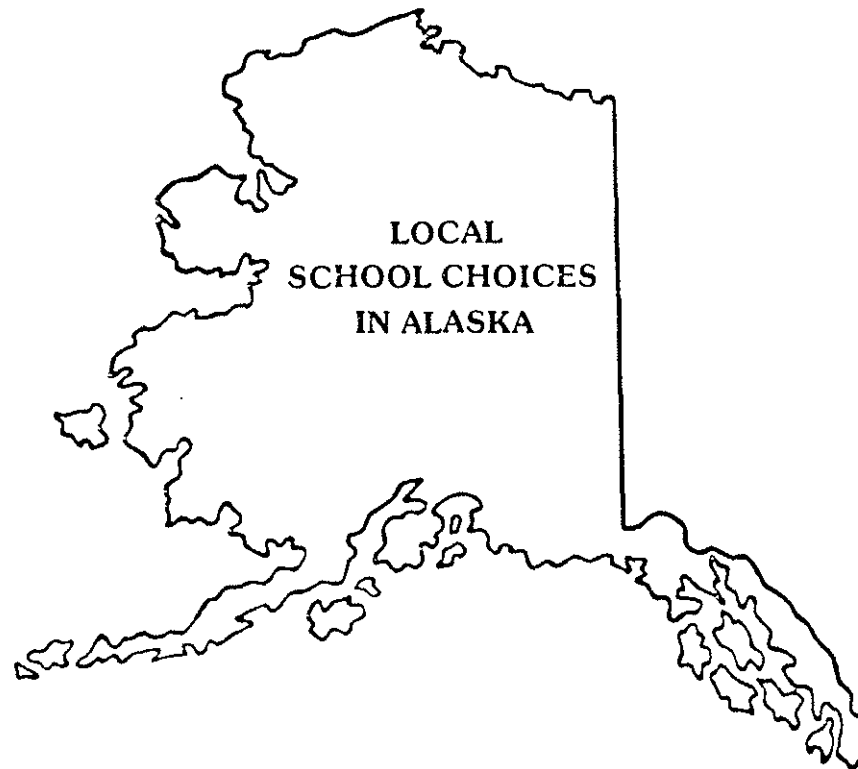
1. Principal Survey
2. Teacher Survey

FIELD INSTRUMENTS

1. Interview Topics and Questions, Teachers
2. Background, Teachers
3. Interview Topics and Questions, District Staff
4. Interview Topics and Questions, Principals
5. Background, School Administrators
6. Interview Topics and Questions, Board Members
7. Background, Community Leaders

A STATEWIDE SURVEY OF ALASKA SCHOOL PRINCIPALS

This survey is being done to better understand the choices that communities and school districts are making in such areas as scheduling, curriculum, and use of school facilities. We would appreciate it if you would answer all of the questions. If you wish to comment on any questions or qualify your answers, please feel free to use the space in the margins. We will read and take into account all of your comments. Thank you for your help.



Decentralized Education Project
Center for Cross-Cultural Studies
University of Alaska, Fairbanks
Fairbanks, Alaska 99701

One purpose of our study is to understand the rhythm of community life as expressed in the school calendar and the use of the school facility. First, we would like to ask you some questions about the calendar and schedule of courses in your school.

Q-1 What factors were important in setting the calendar and daily school schedule for your school? (Circle all that apply)

- 1 MEETS THE NEEDS OF LOCAL ECONOMIC CYCLE
- 2 MEETS OTHER LOCAL NEEDS
- 3 PREFERENCE OF SCHOOL STAFF
- 4 STANDARD DISTRICT POLICY
- 5 OTHER (specify) _____

Q-2 Could you please tell us how your school building is used after the school day and on weekends? (Circle all that apply)

- 1 SCHOOL IS CLOSED
- 2 SUPERVISED STUDY HALL FOR STUDENTS
- 3 SPECIAL ACADEMIC COURSES FOR STUDENTS
- 4 ADULT EDUCATION COURSES
- 5 STUDENT SPORTS AND EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES
- 6 COMMUNITY SPORTS ACTIVITIES
- 7 FREE STUDENT USE FOR STUDY AND RECREATION
- 8 COMMUNITY MEETINGS THAT ARE NOT SCHOOL-RELATED
- 9 OTHER (specify) _____

Q-3 Communities differ in the types of services they want and need from their schools. What services do your school and its staff provide for your community at-large? (Circle all that apply)

Provided for Students	Provided for Students and Community	
1	1	LIBRARY
2	2	SHOWERS AND BATHING FACILITIES
3	3	SCHOOL NEWSPAPER, RADIO OR TELEVISION PROGRAM
4	4	CLASSROOMS FOR COMMUNITY EDUCATION
5	5	MOVIES
6	6	CAFETERIA OR RESTAURANT
7	7	GYMNASIUM OR SWIMMING POOL
8	8	GREENHOUSE
9	9	ENGINE OR APPLIANCE REPAIR SHOP
10	10	AID IN PREPARING INCOME TAX OR OTHER FORMS
11	11	FIRST AID OR EMERGENCY SERVICES
12	12	OTHER (specify)

Q-4 Another important purpose of this study is to learn more about what different communities have decided to include in their curriculum. Would you please indicate the special curriculum areas or programs which have been designed to meet local needs. (For each curriculum area, circle one number)

Not Offered	Topic in Course	Separate Course	
1	1	1	PROGRAMS ON YOUR COMMUNITY'S HISTORY AND CULTURAL TRADITIONS
2	2	2	ADVANCED SKILL COURSES TO PREPARE STUDENTS FOR COLLEGE
3	3	3	TRAPPING, SMALL ENGINE REPAIR OR OTHER PROGRAMS THAT PREPARE STUDENTS FOR JOBS IN THE LOCAL ECONOMY.
4	4	4	ARCTIC SURVIVAL, SWIMMING, OR OTHER PROGRAMS THAT TEACH STUDENTS TO ADAPT TO THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT OF YOUR AREA.
5	5	5	SLED MAKING, SKIN SEWING OR OTHER NATIVE ARTS OR CRAFTS
6	6	6	BILINGUAL PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO HELP STUDENTS DO BETTER WORK IN ENGLISH
7	7	7	NATIVE LANGUAGE COURSES DESIGNED TO MAINTAIN COMPETENCE IN THE NATIVE LANGUAGE
8	8	8	OTHER (specify) _____

Q-5 Does your school have any of the following programs? (Please circle all that apply)

- 1 GIFTED AND TALENTED PROGRAM
- 2 AN ACADEMIC HONORS PROGRAM OR HONOR SOCIETY
- 3 COLLEGE ADVISING AND COUNSELING PROGRAM
- 4 STANDARDIZED TESTING PROGRAM
- 5 COMPETENCY BASED CURRICULUM

Q-6 Schools differ in the extent to which they consider homework a useful or realistic activity. In your school, how many teachers regularly assign homework? (Circle one)

- 1 ALMOST ALL THE TEACHERS
- 2 MOST OF THE TEACHERS
- 3 ABOUT HALF OF THE TEACHERS
- 4 SOME OF THE TEACHERS
- 5 ALMOST NONE OF THE TEACHERS

Q-7 How many of the full-time teachers in your school regularly hold formal after-school study sessions with students? (Circle one)

- 1 ALMOST ALL OF THE TEACHERS
- 2 MOST OF THE TEACHERS
- 3 ABOUT HALF OF THE TEACHERS
- 4 SOME OF THE TEACHERS
- 5 ALMOST NONE OF THE TEACHERS

Communities differ in the educational goals and expectations they have for their students. Now we would like to ask you some questions about the expectations in your community compared to schools throughout the nation. (Please answer each of the following questions by circling the number of the choice which most nearly answers the question for you)

Q-8 How many parents of students in this school expect their children to complete high school? (Circle one)

- 1 ALMOST ALL OF THE PARENTS
- 2 MOST OF THE PARENTS
- 3 ABOUT HALF OF THE PARENTS
- 4 SOME OF THE PARENTS
- 5 ALMOST NONE OF THE PARENTS

Q-9 How many of the parents of students in this school expect their children to complete college (4 year degree-granting institution)? (Circle one)

- 1 ALMOST ALL OF THE PARENTS
- 2 MOST OF THE PARENTS
- 3 ABOUT HALF OF THE PARENTS
- 4 SOME OF THE PARENTS
- 5 ALMOST NONE OF THE PARENTS

Q-10 How many of the parents in this school expect their children to complete some other type of post-secondary education (vocational training or a 2-year degree program)? (Circle one)

- 1 ALMOST ALL OF THE PARENTS
- 2 MOST OF THE PARENTS
- 3 ABOUT HALF OF THE PARENTS
- 4 SOME OF THE PARENTS
- 5 ALMOST NONE OF THE PARENTS

Q-11 How many of the parents of students in this school want feedback from the principal and teachers on how their children are doing in school? (Circle one)

- 1 ALMOST ALL OF THE PARENTS
- 2 MOST OF THE PARENTS
- 3 ABOUT HALF OF THE PARENTS
- 4 SOME OF THE PARENTS
- 5 ALMOST NONE OF THE PARENTS

- Q-12** A typical teacher in this school has some contact (such as talking to parents about their children) with: (Circle one)
- 1 ALL OF THE PARENTS
 - 2 MOST OF THE PARENTS
 - 3 SOME OF THE PARENTS
 - 4 A FEW OF THE PARENTS
 - 5 NONE OF THE PARENTS
- Q-13** How much contact does a typical teacher in this school have with most of the parents? (Circle one)
- 1 ABOUT ONCE A MONTH OR MORE
 - 2 ABOUT TWO TIMES A SEMESTER
 - 3 ABOUT ONCE A SEMESTER
 - 4 ONCE A YEAR OR LESS
- Q-14** What proportion of the students' parents do you know when you see them? (Circle one)
- 1 NEARLY ALL
 - 2 ABOUT 75%
 - 3 ABOUT 50%
 - 4 ABOUT 25%
 - 5 ONLY A FEW
- Q-15** What proportion of the students' parents are involved in your local school? (Circle one)
- 1 NEARLY ALL
 - 2 ABOUT 75%
 - 3 ABOUT 50%
 - 4 ABOUT 25%
 - 5 ONLY A FEW
- Q-16** How many teachers in your school are involved in civic affairs that are not related to the school?
- Q-17** In general, how do your students' parents feel about the school achievement and learning of their children? (Circle one)
- 1 NEARLY ALL FEEL THEY ARE DOING WELL
 - 2 MOST THINK STUDENTS ARE ACHIEVING AS WELL AS THEY SHOULD
 - 3 MOST THINK THEIR CHILDREN ARE NOT ACHIEVING HIGH ENOUGH
 - 4 NEARLY ALL THINK THE ARE NOT ACHIEVING HIGH ENOUGH

Q-18 Now we would like to ask your views about these questions. What percent of the students in this school do you expect to complete high school? (Circle one)

- 1 90% OR MORE
- 2 70% - 89%
- 3 50% - 69%
- 4 30% - 49%
- 5 LESS THAN 30%

Q-19 What percent of the students in this school do you expect to attend college (4 year degree-granting institution)? (Circle one)

- 1 90% OR MORE
- 2 70% - 89%
- 3 50% - 69%
- 4 30% - 49%
- 5 10% - 29%
- 6 LESS THAN 10%

Q-20 What percent of the students in this school do you expect to attend some other type of post-secondary education (vocational training or a 2-year degree program)? (Circle one)

- 1 90% OR MORE
- 2 70% - 89%
- 3 50% - 69%
- 4 30% - 49%
- 5 10% - 29%
- 6 LESS THAN 10%

Q-21 What percent of the students in this school do you expect to complete college? (Circle one)

- 1 90% OR MORE
- 2 70% - 89%
- 3 50% - 69%
- 4 30% - 49%
- 5 10% - 29%
- 6 LESS THAN 10%

Q-22 What percent of students in this school do you expect to complete some other type of post-secondary education (vocational training or a 2-year degree program)? (Circle one)

- 1 90% OR MORE
- 2 70% - 89%
- 3 50% - 69%
- 4 30% - 49%
- 5 10% - 29%
- 6 LESS THAN 10%

- Q-23 How many of the students in this school are capable of getting good grades (A's and B's)?
(Circle one)
- 1 90% OR MORE
 - 2 70% - 89%
 - 3 50% - 69%
 - 4 30% - 49%
 - 5 LESS THAN 30%
- Q-24 How would you rate the academic ability of the students in this school compared to other schools in the nation? (Circle one)
- 1 ABILITY HERE IS MUCH HIGHER
 - 2 ABILITY HERE IS SOMEWHAT HIGHER
 - 3 ABILITY HERE IS ABOUT THE SAME
 - 4 ABILITY HERE IS SOMEWHAT LOWER
 - 5 ABILITY HERE IS MUCH LOWER
- Q-25 With regard to student school achievement and learning, how would you rate this school compared to other schools in the nation? (Circle one)
- 1 AMONG THE BEST
 - 2 BETTER THAN AVERAGE
 - 3 ABOUT AVERAGE
 - 4 BELOW AVERAGE
 - 5 INFERIOR
- Q-26 With regard to student school achievement and learning, how good a school do you think this school can be? (Circle one)
- 1 AMONG THE BEST
 - 2 BETTER THAN AVERAGE
 - 3 ABOUT AVERAGE
 - 4 BELOW AVERAGE
 - 5 INFERIOR
- Q-27 On the average, what achievement level can be expected of the students in this school?
(Circle one)
- 1 MUCH ABOVE THE NATIONAL NORM
 - 2 SLIGHTLY ABOVE THE NATIONAL NORM
 - 3 APPROXIMATELY AT NATIONAL NORM
 - 4 SLIGHTLY BELOW NATIONAL NORM
 - 5 MUCH BELOW NATIONAL NORM

Q-28 In general, how do you feel about the achievement of the students in this school? (Circle one)

- 1 NEARLY ALL STUDENTS ARE ACHIEVING AS WELL AS THEY CAN
- 2 MOST STUDENTS ARE ACHIEVING AS WELL AS THEY CAN
- 3 LESS THAN HALF THE STUDENTS ARE ACHIEVING AS WELL AS THEY CAN
- 4 ONLY A FEW OF THE STUDENTS ARE ACHIEVING AS WELL AS THEY CAN

Q-29 What percentage of the students in this school do you feel are capable of learning to read English proficiently by the end of high school? (Circle one)

- 1 100%
- 2 90% - 99%
- 3 80% - 89%
- 4 70% - 79%
- 5 50% - 69%
- 6 20% - 49%
- 7 LESS THAN 20%

Q-30 Now, in your judgment, what is the general reputation of this school among educators in rural and small schools in Alaska? (Circle one)

- 1 AMONG THE BEST
- 2 BETTER THAN AVERAGE
- 3 ABOUT AVERAGE
- 4 BELOW AVERAGE
- 5 INFERIOR

Q-31 Now we would like to ask you how students in your school use their time. What percent of the school day does the average student spend on:

- _____ % ACADEMIC COURSES (E.G., ENGLISH, MATH, SCIENCE, SOCIAL STUDIES)
- _____ % LOCALLY RELEVANT COURSES (E.G., LOCAL HISTORY, SKIN SEWING, TRAPPING)
- _____ % OTHER COURSES (E.G., VOCATIONAL EDUCATION, PHYSICAL EDUCATION)
- _____ % EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES
- _____ % SOCIALIZING WITH FRIENDS
- _____ % TALKING WITH TEACHERS ABOUT ACADEMIC PROGRESS OR PERSONAL CONCERNS
- _____ % OTHER (specify) _____

100% TOTAL

Q-32 What percentage of your time in a typical week is devoted to each of the following activities?

- % CLASSROOM AND SMALL GROUP INSTRUCTION
 % LONG RANGE CURRICULUM PLANNING
 % SUPERVISION OF INSTRUCTIONAL STAFF
 % SUPERVISION OF NON-INSTRUCTIONAL STAFF
 % WORKING WITH LOCAL AND REGIONAL EDUCATIONAL BOARDS AND COMMITTEES
 % PLANNING AND SUPERVISING EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES
 % DISCIPLINE
 % ADMINISTRATIVE DUTIES
 % SCHOOL MAINTENANCE AND CONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS
 % OTHER (specify) _____
 100% TOTAL

A very important part of understanding how and why community schools differ has to do with school governance. So, now we would like to ask some questions about the governance of your school.

Q-33 In addition to your district school board, does your school have a local advisory school board (ASB)? (Circle number of your answer)

- 1 YES
 2 NO → if there is no local ASB, skip from here to Q-38

Q-34 How is the local advisory school board (ASB) selected in your community? (Circle one)

- 1 COMMUNITY-WIDE ELECTION
 2 APPOINTMENT BY DISTRICT SCHOOL BOARD
 3 OTHER (specify) _____

Q-35 How often does the local advisory school board (ASB) meet in regular or work sessions? (Circle one)

- 1 WEEKLY
 2 BI-WEEKLY
 3 MONTHLY
 4 ONCE EVERY FEW MONTHS
 5 AS NEEDED

Q-36 How many members are on the local school board (ASB)? _____

Q-37 How many members of the local advisory school board:

- _____ ARE LONG-TERM RESIDENTS OF THE COMMUNITY?
 _____ ARE ALASKA NATIVES?

Q-38 Could you please tell us if your school has its own local committees (not district-wide) for the following programs? (Circle all that apply)

- 1 JOHNSON O'MALLEY
 2 INDIAN EDUCATION
 3 TITLE I
 4 SPECIAL EDUCATION
 5 AD HOC ADVISORY COUNCIL
 6 OTHER (specify) _____
 7 NO LOCAL PROGRAM COMMITTEES → Skip to Q-40

Q-39 Are these program committees combined with the local school board (ASB)? (Circle one)

- 1 YES
 2 NO

Are these committees combined into a single committee?
(Circle one)
 1 YES
 2 NO

Q-40 Next, could you please tell us how many members of the local community serve on the district or regional school board? (Circle one)

- 1 NONE
 2 ONE
 3 TWO
 4 THREE
 5 FOUR OR MORE

If there are no local members on the district board, skip from here to Q-42

Q-41 Are any of these people also members of the local school board (ASB) or program committees? (Circle one)

- 1 YES
 2 NO

Q-42 Another important part of understanding local school governance has to do with participation in various school processes. So, now we would like to ask some questions about who takes part in hiring school personnel and developing the school curriculum, including giving advice and recommendations.

WHO TAKES PART? (Circle all that apply)								
	PRINCIPAL	TEACHERS	STUDENTS	PARENTS COMMUNITY	LOCAL ASB	DISTRICT SUPT.	DISTRICT BOARD	
1	Hiring principals, teachers	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
2	Hiring other school personnel	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
3	Developing the school calendar	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
4	Selecting textbooks	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
5	Proposing new courses or programs for the school	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
6	Formally evaluating school programs	A	B	C	D	E	F	G

Q-43 Now we would like to ask who takes part in other school activities listed below, including giving advice and recommendations.

WHO TAKES PART? (Circle all that apply)								
	PRINCIPAL	TEACHER	STUDENTS	PARENTS COMMUNITY	LOCAL ASB	DISTRICT SUPT.	DISTRICT BOARD	
1	Planning school budget	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
2	Defining accept- able student behavior	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
3	Defining commu- nity use of facilities	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
4	Determining local construction needs	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
5	Proposing new school facilities	A	B	C	D	E	F	G

Q-44 Which of the school participants (A through H) below is the most influential in making each of the following decisions? (Place the appropriate letter in each box)

- A PRINCIPAL
- B TEACHERS
- C STUDENTS
- D PARENTS OR OTHERS FROM THE COMMUNITY
- E ADVISORY SCHOOL BOARD
- F DISTRICT SUPERINTENDENT
- G DISTRICT SCHOOL BOARD
- H OTHER (specify) _____

- HIRING PRINCIPAL, TEACHERS
- HIRING OTHER SCHOOL PERSONNEL
- DECIDING HOW THE SCHOOL BUDGET WILL BE SPENT
- APPROVING TEXTBOOKS FOR THE SCHOOL
- DECIDING ON SCHOOL CALENDAR
- DECIDING ON NEW COURSES OR PROGRAMS
- DECIDING ON ACCEPTABLE BEHAVIOR FOR STUDENTS
- DECIDING ON COMMUNITY USE OF FACILITIES

Q-45 Which of the school participants (A through H) is most important in the overall governance of your school? (Please put the appropriate letter in the box)

- MOST IMPORTANT IN OVERALL SCHOOL GOVERNANCE
- SECOND MOST IMPORTANT IN OVERALL SCHOOL GOVERNANCE
- THIRD MOST IMPORTANT IN OVERALL SCHOOL GOVERNANCE

Our final set of questions concerns students and school personnel, to help us interpret the results of our survey.

Q-46 How many students were enrolled in your school in October, 1980? _____

Q-47 Of these, would you please indicate how many no longer attend school regularly and are not currently enrolled in another program? _____

Q-48 Please estimate your average daily attendance, in percent _____%

Q-49 How many high school seniors graduated in the last school year? _____

- Q-50 Of last year's graduating seniors, what number
- ENTERED COLLEGE? (4-YEAR PROGRAM)
 - ARE STILL ENROLLED IN COLLEGE?
 - ENTERED ANOTHER POST-SECONDARY PROGRAM?
 - ARE STILL ENROLLED IN ANOTHER POST-SECONDARY PROGRAM?
- Q-51 Next, could you please tell us the number of certified personnel (teachers and principals) in your school? _____
- Q-52 Of the certified personnel, how many
- HAVE WORKED IN RURAL ALASKA BEFORE THIS SCHOOL YEAR?
 - ARE LONG-TERM RESIDENTS OF THE LOCAL COMMUNITY?
 - ARE ALASKA NATIVES?
 - LIVE IN THE COMMUNITY DURING THE SUMMER?
- Q-53 Now, would you please indicate the number of teachers' aides, including CETA aides, there are in your school? _____
- Q-54 Of the teachers' aides, how many
- ARE LONG-TERM RESIDENTS OF THE LOCAL COMMUNITY?
 - ARE ALASKA NATIVES?
- Q-55 Please tell us the number of support staff (such as secretaries, maintenance personnel, school coordinators, and others) in your school _____
- Q-56 Of the support staff, how many
- ARE LONG-TERM RESIDENTS OF THE LOCAL COMMUNITY?
 - ARE ALASKA NATIVES?
- Q-57 During the last year, about how many people would you say have been employed in school remodeling or construction? _____
- Q-58 How many persons employed in remodeling or construction were from the local community _____

Q-59 Have there been any instances of vandalism (over \$100 damage) against the school in the last year? (Circle one)

- 1 YES → How many different instances? _____
 2 NO → Skip to Q-62

Q-60 What would you say is the total dollar value of the damage? _____

Q-61 How much vandalism has been directed against the school as compared to other public buildings in the community? (Circle one)

- 1 MORE
 2 ABOUT THE SAME
 3 LESS

Q-62 Finally, we would like to ask some questions about yourself. How many years have you worked in rural Alaska altogether? _____

Q-63 How many years have you worked at this school? _____

Q-64 How many years have you worked as a principal or principal teacher at this school? _____

Q-65 Do you have a list of courses or a class schedule for your school?

- 1 YES → Please attach a copy to the survey
 2 NO

If you have had experience in working under the SOS or BIA Systems before decentralization took place, we would appreciate any views you have on the similarities and differences between that system and present school operations.

Also, any comments you wish to make that you think may help us in our efforts to understand local school choices in Alaska would be appreciated, either on the back of the survey or in a separate letter.

We appreciate greatly your contribution to this effort. Please indicate the book you would like to receive on the attached list and return it with your survey.

A STATEWIDE SURVEY OF ALASKA SCHOOL TEACHERS

This survey is being done to better understand the way teachers feel about such areas of school life as curriculum, school climate, and school governance. The survey is part of a broad study involving district superintendents, principals, regional and local school board members, and others in Alaska education. It is particularly important that the views of teachers be well represented and understood. The information which you give us is completely confidential. We would appreciate it if you would answer all of the questions. If you wish to comment on any questions or qualify your answers, please feel free to use the space in the margins. We will read and take into account all of your comments.

If you would like a copy of the results, we will send them to you. Please fill out the enclosed page so we can keep your response to this survey confidential. Thank you for your help.



Decentralized Education Project
Center for Cross-Cultural Studies
University of Alaska, Fairbanks
Fairbanks, Alaska 99701

Our first questions are about the instructional practices used in your school and those you use in your own classroom.

Q-1 For your own school, to the best of your knowledge, which of these practices are commonly used? (For each practice area, please check one box)

	Used Often	Used Somewhat	Not Used	Don't Know
ALLOCATING ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONAL TIME FOR LOW-ABILITY, LOW-ACHIEVING STUDENTS (INCLUDING FOR TITLE I, SPECIAL ED. AND OTHER PROGRAMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCHEDULING NON-ACADEMIC ACTIVITIES TO LIMIT DISRUPTION OF INSTRUCTIONAL TIME	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
USING COMPUTER-ASSISTED INSTRUCTION TO SUPPLEMENT REGULAR INSTRUCTION	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
USING STANDARDIZED TEST SCORES TO SET ACADEMIC PRIORITIES AND OBJECTIVES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELD TRIPS IN THE COMMUNITY OR REGION	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
USE OF TEACHER AIDES FROM THE COMMUNITY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Q-2 Now we would like to ask you about your own classroom. Which of the following instructional practices have you used with your students? (For each practice area, please check one box)

	Used Often	Used Somewhat	Not Used
USE OF DIVERSE INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS (E.G., KITS, MOCK-UPS, MODULES, HANDS-ON PROJECTS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
USING LEARNING CENTERS IN THE CLASSROOM	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SELF-PACED INSTRUCTION	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
USE OF COOPERATIVE STUDENT LEARNING SITUATIONS (GROUP ASSIGNMENTS, GROUP PROJECTS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LOCAL CURRICULUM MATERIALS SUCH AS LEGENDS, LOCAL TECHNOLOGY, LOCAL BIOLOGICAL SPECIMENS, ETC. IN TEACHING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
USING LOCAL EXAMPLES TO ILLUSTRATE CONCEPTS IN ACADEMIC COURSES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
INVOLVING PARENTS AND OTHER COMMUNITY MEMBERS IN THE CLASSROOM AS RESOURCE PERSONS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Q-3 What instructional practices (either those mentioned above or others) have you found particularly effective in your community? _____

Q-4 What subjects are you now teaching and at what grade levels?

Subjects	Grade Levels
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

Please answer the following questions for the grades and subjects you spend most of your time teaching.

Q-5 Teachers differ in the extent to which they consider homework a useful activity. Do you regularly assign homework to your students? (circle one)

- 1 YES
- 2 NO

Q-6 How often do you hold formal after- or before-school study sessions with students? (circle one)

- 1 TWO OR MORE TIMES EACH WEEK
- 2 ABOUT ONCE A WEEK
- 3 A FEW TIMES A SEMESTER
- 4 NEVER

Next, we have some questions about your contacts with the parents of your students.

Q-7 What proportion of your students' parents do you know when you see them? (circle one)

- 1 NEARLY ALL
- 2 ABOUT 75%
- 3 ABOUT 50%
- 4 ABOUT 25%
- 5 ONLY A FEW

Q-8 Usually, how often are you invited into the homes of parents or community members? (circle one)

- 1 SEVERAL TIMES A WEEK
- 2 ABOUT ONCE A WEEK
- 3 ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH
- 4 ONCE OR TWICE A SEMESTER
- 5 ONCE A YEAR OR LESS

Q-9 Typically, how often do you invite parents or community members into your home? (circle one)

- 1 SEVERAL TIMES A WEEK
- 2 ABOUT ONCE A WEEK
- 3 ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH
- 4 ONCE OR TWICE A SEMESTER
- 5 ONCE A YEAR OR LESS

Q-10 In what proportion of the homes of parents or community members (who are not school personnel) do you feel welcome? (circle one)

- 1 ALL HOMES
- 2 MOST HOMES
- 3 ABOUT HALF OF THE HOMES
- 4 SOME HOMES
- 5 NONE OF THE HOMES

Q-11 What proportion of the parents of your students come to scheduled teacher-parent conferences? (circle one)

- 1 NEARLY ALL
- 2 ABOUT 75%
- 3 ABOUT 50%
- 4 ABOUT 25%
- 5 ONLY A FEW

Q-12 How many times have parents of students, at their initiative, visited you to discuss grades, homework? (circle one)

- 1 SEVERAL TIMES A WEEK
- 2 ABOUT ONCE A WEEK
- 3 ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH
- 4 ONCE OR TWICE A SEMESTER
- 5 ONCE A YEAR OR LESS

Communities differ in the educational goals and expectations they have for their students. Now we would like to ask you some questions about the expectations in your community. (Please answer each of the following questions by circling the number of the choice which most nearly answers the questions for you)

Q-13 How many parents of students in this school expect their children to complete high school? (circle one)

- 1 ALMOST ALL OF THE PARENTS
- 2 MOST OF THE PARENTS
- 3 ABOUT HALF OF THE PARENTS
- 4 SOME OF THE PARENTS
- 5 ALMOST NONE OF THE PARENTS

Q-14 How many of the parents of students in this school expect their children to complete college (4 year degree-granting institution)? (circle one)

- 1 ALMOST ALL OF THE PARENTS
- 2 MOST OF THE PARENTS
- 3 ABOUT HALF OF THE PARENTS
- 4 SOME OF THE PARENTS
- 5 ALMOST NONE OF THE PARENTS

Q-15 How many of the parents in this school expect their children to complete some other type of post-secondary education (vocational training or a 2-year degree program)? (circle one)

- 1 ALMOST ALL OF THE PARENTS
- 2 MOST OF THE PARENTS
- 3 ABOUT HALF OF THE PARENTS
- 4 SOME OF THE PARENTS
- 5 ALMOST NONE OF THE PARENTS

Now we would like to ask you about the expectations you have for the students in your school.

Q-16 What percent of the students in this school do you expect to complete high school? (circle one)

- 1 90% OR MORE
- 2 70% - 89%
- 3 50% - 69%
- 4 30% - 49%
- 5 LESS THAN 30%

Q-17 What percent of the students in this school do you expect to attend college (4 year degree-granting institution)? (circle one)

- 1 90% OR MORE
- 2 70% - 89%
- 3 50% - 69%
- 4 30% - 49%
- 5 10% - 29%
- 6 LESS THAN 10%

Q-18 What percent of the students in this school do you expect to attend some other type of post-secondary education (vocational training or a 2-year degree program)? (circle one)

- 1 90% OR MORE
- 2 70% - 89%
- 3 50% - 69%
- 4 30% - 49%
- 5 10% - 29%
- 6 LESS THAN 10%

Q-19 What percent of the students in this school do you expect to complete college? (circle one)

- 1 90% OR MORE
- 2 70% - 89%
- 3 50% - 69%
- 4 30% - 49%
- 5 10% - 29%
- 6 LESS THAN 10%

Q-20 What percent of students in this school do you expect to complete some other type of post-secondary education? (circle one)

- 1 90% OR MORE
- 2 70% - 89%
- 3 50% - 69%
- 4 30% - 49%
- 5 10% - 29%
- 6 LESS THAN 10%

Q-21 How many of the students in this school are capable of getting good grades (A's and B's)? (circle one)

- 1 90% OR MORE
- 2 70% - 89%
- 3 50% - 69%
- 4 30% - 49%
- 5 LESS THAN 30%

Q-22 How would you rate the academic ability of the students in this school compared to other schools in the nation? (circle one)

- 1 ABILITY HERE IS MUCH HIGHER
- 2 ABILITY HERE IS SOMEWHAT HIGHER
- 3 ABILITY HERE IS ABOUT THE SAME
- 4 ABILITY HERE IS SOMEWHAT LOWER
- 5 ABILITY HERE IS MUCH LOWER

Q-23 With regard to student school achievement and learning, how would you rate this school compared to other schools in the nation? (circle one)

- 1 AMONG THE BEST
- 2 BETTER THAN AVERAGE
- 3 ABOUT AVERAGE
- 4 BELOW AVERAGE
- 5 INFERIOR

Q-24 With regard to student school achievement and learning, how good a school do you think this school can be? (circle one)

- 1 AMONG THE BEST
- 2 BETTER THAN AVERAGE
- 3 ABOUT AVERAGE
- 4 BELOW AVERAGE
- 5 INFERIOR

Q-25 On the average, what achievement level can be expected of the students in this school? (circle one)

- 1 MUCH ABOVE THE NATIONAL NORM
- 2 SLIGHTLY ABOVE THE NATIONAL NORM
- 3 APPROXIMATELY AT NATIONAL NORM
- 4 SLIGHTLY BELOW NATIONAL NORM
- 5 MUCH BELOW NATIONAL NORM

Q-26 What percentage of the students in this school do you feel are capable of learning to read English proficiently by the end of high school? (circle one)

- 1 100%
- 2 90% - 99%
- 3 80% - 89%
- 4 70% - 79%
- 5 50% - 69%
- 6 20% - 49%
- 7 LESS THAN 20%

Q-27 Now, in your judgment, what is the general reputation of this school among educators in rural and small schools in Alaska? (circle one)

- 1 AMONG THE BEST
- 2 BETTER THAN AVERAGE
- 3 ABOUT AVERAGE
- 4 BELOW AVERAGE
- 5 INFERIOR

We are also interested in knowing how you feel about what you have accomplished in your school.

Q-28 Given the situation in this community and your personal strengths, how would you rate your teaching success this year, compared to other teachers in rural schools? (circle one)

- 1 VERY SUCCESSFUL
- 2 SUCCESSFUL
- 3 SOMEWHAT SUCCESSFUL
- 4 UNSUCCESSFUL
- 5 VERY UNSUCCESSFUL

Q-29 How many hours in a typical week (in school and out of school) do you devote to each of the following activities?

- ____hrs CLASSROOM AND SMALL GROUP INSTRUCTION
- ____hrs PLANNING, PREPARATION, AND KEEPING STUDENT RECORDS
- ____hrs PLANNING AND SUPERVISING EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES
- ____hrs MEETING WITH PARENTS
- ____hrs OTHER (specify) _____

Q-30 How often does your principal or principal teacher engage in the following activities? (For each activity area, circle one number)

	Often	Sometimes	Never
OBSERVES OR PARTICIPATES IN CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES	1	1	1
COMMUNICATES CLEARLY WHAT IS EXPECTED FROM STAFF	2	2	2
COORDINATES INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAM	3	3	3
PLANS INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAM	4	4	4
EVALUATES INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAM	5	5	5

Q-31 Now, we would like to ask you to compare the effectiveness of personnel in your school and district to those in other rural and small schools in Alaska. (For each individual or group, please circle one number)

	OVERALL PERFORMANCE					
	Among the Best	Better than Average	About Average	Below Average	Inferior	Don't Know
TEACHERS	1	1	1	1	1	1
PRINCIPAL	2	2	2	2	2	2
LOCAL (ADVISORY) SCHOOL BOARD	3	3	3	3	3	3
SUPERINTENDENT	4	4	4	4	4	4
DISTRICT SCHOOL BOARD	5	5	5	5	5	5
DISTRICT STAFF	6	6	6	6	6	6

A very important influence on the climate of schooling is school governance. So, now we would like to ask some questions about the participation of different groups and individuals in governance.

Q-32 Who takes part in hiring school personnel and developing the school curriculum, including giving advice and recommendations?

		WHO TAKES PART? (Circle all that apply)						
		PRINCIPAL	TEACHERS	STUDENTS	PARENTS/ COMMUNITY	LOCAL ASB	DISTRICT SUPT.	DISTRICT BOARD
1	Hiring principals, teachers	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
2	Hiring other school personnel	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
3	Developing the school calendar	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
4	Selecting textbooks	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
5	Proposing new courses or programs for the school	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
6	Formally evaluating school programs	A	B	C	D	E	F	G

Q-33 Now we would like to ask who takes part in other school activities listed below, including giving advice and recommendations.

		WHO TAKES PART? (Circle all that apply)						
		PRINCIPAL	TEACHERS	STUDENTS	PARENTS/ COMMUNITY	LOCAL ASB	DISTRICT SUPT.	DISTRICT BOARD
1	Planning school budget	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
2	Defining acceptable student behavior	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
3	Defining community use of facilities	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
4	Determining local construction needs	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
5	Proposing new school facilities	A	B	C	D	E	F	G

Q-34 Which of the school participants (A through H) below is the most influential in making each of the following decisions? (Place the appropriate letter in each box)

- A PRINCIPAL
- B TEACHERS
- C STUDENTS
- D PARENTS OR OTHERS FROM THE COMMUNITY
- E ADVISORY SCHOOL BOARD (OR COMMITTEE)
- F DISTRICT SUPERINTENDENT
- G DISTRICT SCHOOL BOARD
- H OTHER (specify) _____

- HIRING PRINCIPAL, TEACHERS
- HIRING OTHER SCHOOL PERSONNEL
- DECIDING HOW THE SCHOOL BUDGET WILL BE SPENT
- APPROVING TEXTBOOKS FOR THE SCHOOL
- DECIDING ON SCHOOL CALENDAR
- DECIDING ON NEW COURSES OR PROGRAMS
- DECIDING ON ACCEPTABLE BEHAVIOR FOR STUDENTS
- DECIDING ON COMMUNITY USE OF FACILITIES

Q-35 Which of the school participants (A through H, from Q-34) is most important in the overall governance of your school? (Please put the appropriate letter in the box)

- MOST IMPORTANT IN OVERALL SCHOOL GOVERNANCE
- SECOND MOST IMPORTANT IN OVERALL SCHOOL GOVERNANCE
- THIRD MOST IMPORTANT IN OVERALL SCHOOL GOVERNANCE

Q-36 Finally, how much influence do you feel that the local school board or committee and the district school board should have on educational policy?

<u>Local (Advisory)</u> <u>Board</u> (circle one)	<u>District</u> <u>Board</u> (circle one)	
1	1	A LOT — MORE THAN ANY OTHER GROUP OR INDIVIDUAL
2	2	A MODERATE AMOUNT — ROUGHLY EQUAL TO THE PRINCIPAL OR SUPERINTENDENT BUT MORE THAN ANYONE ELSE
3	3	SOME — LESS THAN THE PRINCIPAL AND SUPERINTENDENT, BUT THE SAME AS ANYONE ELSE
4	4	VERY LITTLE — LESS THAN ANY OTHER GROUP OR INDIVIDUAL

Our final set of questions is about your background, experience, and feelings about teaching in this community. We ask the questions to better understand teachers in rural schools, and to help us interpret the results of the survey.

- Q-37 Are you (circle one)
1 FEMALE
2 MALE
- Q-38 How old are you? _____
(years)
- Q-39 Where were you born? _____
(city) (state)
- Q-40 What is your race or ethnic group? (circle one)
1 ALASKA NATIVE
2 BLACK
3 CHICANO OR OTHER SPANISH-SPEAKING
4 NATIVE AMERICAN (non-Alaskan)
5 ORIENTAL
6 WHITE
7 OTHER (specify) _____
- Q-41 How many years have you taught school? _____
- Q-42 When did you start teaching in this school? _____
month year
- Q-43 Have you held any other job in the field of education other than classroom teaching, for example a curriculum coordinator or principal? (circle one)
1 YES → Specify _____
2 NO _____
- Q-44 Have you held any job(s) outside the field of education? (circle one)
1 YES → Specify _____
2 NO _____
- Q-45 For how many years (including this year) have you taught or held another job in education in a rural area?

(years in rural Alaska)

(years in rural area outside Alaska)

Q-46 How much formal education have you received, and from which institutions?

Bachelors degree from _____ field _____

Masters degree from _____ field _____

Ph.D. or Ed.D. from _____ field _____

Certificate(s) from _____ field _____

Q-47 Are you married? (circle one)

- 1 NO
- 2 YES



Does your spouse? (circle one)

- 1 WORK IN A SCHOOL IN THE COMMUNITY
- 2 WORK AT A NON-SCHOOL JOB IN THE COMMUNITY
- 3 WISHES TO HAVE A PAYING JOB BUT HAS NO APPROPRIATE JOB OPPORTUNITY IN THIS COMMUNITY
- 4 DOESN'T HAVE A PAYING JOB AND DOESN'T WISH TO HAVE ONE AT THIS TIME

Q-48 Do you have children? (circle all that apply)

- 1 NO
- 2 YES. PRE-SCHOOL AGE
- 3 YES. SCHOOL AGE
- 4 YES. OUT OF SCHOOL

Q-49 Have you previously worked or studied in a culture different from your own?

(circle one)

- 1 NO
- 2 YES



What was the culture in which you lived? _____

What did you do there? _____

Q-50 In your present community, in which of the following activities do you participate, and how frequently? (For each activity, please circle one number)

	Often	Sometimes	Never
HUNTING, FISHING, TRAPPING	1	1	1
SNOW MACHINING, SKIING, BOATING, FLYING AN AIRPLANE	2	2	2
LOCAL ARTS & CRAFTS	3	3	3
VISITING WITH OTHER TEACHERS	4	4	4
VISITING WITH COMMUNITY MEMBERS	5	5	5
ATTENDING LOCAL SCHOOL BOARD/COMMITTEE MEETINGS	6	6	6
ATTENDING AFTER-SCHOOL ACTIVITIES (E.G., BASKETBALL, VOLLEYBALL)	7	7	7
ATTENDING OTHER REGULAR COMMUNITY EVENTS (E.G., BINGO, MOVIES)	8	8	8
OTHER (specify) _____	9	9	9

Q-51 Other than school-affiliated groups, do you regularly participate in any of the following community organizations? (circle all that apply)

- 1 CHURCH GROUPS
- 2 SPORTS TEAMS
- 3 CITY COUNCIL OR OTHER CIVIC BOARDS
- 4 SEARCH AND RESCUE
- 5 SERVICE CLUBS
- 6 NON-SCHOOL YOUTH ACTIVITIES
- 7 OTHER (specify) _____

Q-52 Since you began teaching in this community, how many summers have you spent here? _____

Q-53 During the school year, about how often do you go outside the community, for example, on holidays, or for educational conferences? _____

Q-54 How long do you plan to stay in this community? (circle one)

- 1 FIVE YEARS OR MORE
- 2 2 - 4 MORE YEARS
- 3 ONE MORE YEAR
- 4 PLAN TO LEAVE DURING OR AT END OF CURRENT SCHOOL YEAR

↓

What do you plan to do? (circle one)

- 1 TRANSFER TO ANOTHER RURAL SCHOOL
- 2 LEAVE RURAL TEACHING
- 3 OTHER (specify) _____

WHY ARE YOU PLANNING TO LEAVE THIS SCHOOL? _____

Finally, we would like to ask you your feelings about a range of conditions and individuals in the school and the community. Please be as candid as possible in your answers. If you wish to comment on any items, please use the margins, or the space at the end of the survey.

Q-55 In general, how satisfied are you with the following? (For each item, please circle one number)

SCHOOL CONDITIONS	Very Satisfied	Mostly Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Dissatisfied
PAY AND BENEFITS	1	1	1	1
OPPORTUNITIES FOR PROFESSIONAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT	2	2	2	2
RELATIONS WITH OTHER PROFESSIONAL STAFF	3	3	3	3
PRINCIPAL'S SUPERVISION	4	4	4	4
DISTRICT SUPERINTENDENT'S MANAGEMENT	5	5	5	5
DISTRICT SCHOOL BOARD ACTION	6	6	6	6
SERVICES/SUPPORT FROM THE DISTRICT OFFICE	7	7	7	7
LOCAL SCHOOL BOARD OR COMMITTEE ACTION	8	8	8	8
RELATIONS WITH STUDENTS	9	9	9	9
STUDENT DISCIPLINE	10	10	10	10
STUDENT MOTIVATION	11	11	11	11
STUDENT ACADEMIC PROGRESS	12	12	12	12
QUALITY OF EDUCATION AT THIS SCHOOL	13	13	13	13

COMMUNITY CONDITIONS	Very Satisfied	Mostly Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Dissatisfied
SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS	1	1	1	1
OPPORTUNITIES FOR SOCIAL INTERACTION WITH OTHER SCHOOL STAFF	2	2	2	2
OPPORTUNITIES FOR INTERACTION WITH COMMUNITY MEMBERS	3	3	3	3
AVAILABILITY/QUALITY OF FOOD STUFF	4	4	4	4
HOUSING QUALITY	5	5	5	5
AMOUNT OF MONEY YOU PAY FOR HOUSING	6	6	6	6
AVAILABILITY OF ADEQUATE MAINTENANCE AND REPAIR SERVICES	7	7	7	7
AVAILABILITY OF ADEQUATE MEDICAL SERVICES	8	8	8	8

Q-56 What is your housing situation in this community? (circle one)

- 1 OWN A HOME
- 2 RENT QUARTERS OWNED BY THE SCHOOL DISTRICT
- 3 RENT QUARTERS FROM INDIVIDUAL IN THE COMMUNITY
- 4 OTHER (specify) _____

If you have had experience in working under the SOS or BIA systems before decentralization took place, we would appreciate any views you have on the similarities and differences between that system and present school operations.

Also, any comments you wish to make that you think may help us in our efforts to understand local school operations and environment in Alaska would be appreciated, either below or in a separate letter.

We appreciate greatly your contribution to this effort. If you wish a copy of the results, please fill out the enclosed page. Thanks again!

- A. We are interested in finding out how schools in rural Alaska are run-- who participates in decision-making. The card I'm giving you lists the primary actors in school decision-making. For each of the activities below, first tell me who you think is the primary decision-maker--that is, who has the most influence on the final decision--and, then, tell me which of the remaining actors you feel are involved.
1. Hiring the principal.
 2. Hiring teachers.
 3. Hiring other school personnel--i.e., non-classified employees.
 4. Deciding on the school calendar.
 5. Approving textbooks for the school.
 6. Deciding on new courses or programs.
 7. Deciding on acceptable behavior for students.
 8. Deciding on community use of school facilities.
 9. Planning the school budget.
 10. Which of these actors is more important in the overall governance of your school?
 11. Which is the second most important?
 12. Which is the third most important?
 13. What do you feel about how decision-making power is distributed in the district? Do you feel any actor or group of actors have more influence on decisions than you think is good for the educational process in your school? Are there any actors or groups of actors who you feel have less influence than they should have on decisions?
 14. How much influence do you think that the local community has on educational matters that directly affect their children?

Relations with Local Board

15. Have you attended any ASB meetings? Why did you go? Have you addressed the board? If so, what did you talk about? How much influence do you think the ASB should have on what is taught in the schools and how?
16. Have you talked with ASB members outside of meetings? Did any of your discussions concern school matters? If so, what?

Relations with Community

17. Have non-ASB members of the community approached you about school matters? What did you discuss?
18. What is the most important or controversial issue concerning the school that has arisen since you began teaching here? (Probe for details.)

Relations with Regional Board

19. Have you ever attended a Regional School Board meeting? Why did you go? Did you address the board? Topic? Have you spoken with any RSB members outside of meetings? Did you

discuss school-related matters? How much influence do you think the RSB should have on what is taught in the school and how?

Relations with Central Office

20. Do people from the central office visit your school to check on the progress of federal programs (JOM, Title I, Title IV), state programs, or special district programs?

Relations with Superintendents

21. Have you ever had personal contact with the District Superintendent? What matters have you talked about with him?
22. How do you feel about the support and cooperation you receive from your fellow teachers?

Communication of Decisions

23. When decisions are reached by the RSB which affect you, how are these decisions communicated to you? Is there a way for you to make input into decisions which affect you? (Formal and informal channels--how effective is each?) If you disagree with a decision, do you feel you can make your objections known--and how? Repercussions?

Effects of Major Actors on Teaching

24. As we see, there are numerous actors in the school governing process. I'd like for you to look at the list of these actors again. Now for each, would you tell me if you feel they affect what goes on in your classroom--what and how you teach, your relationships with your students, your students' progress and achievement.

Effective Teaching Practices

25. We are interested in teaching practices that are particularly effective in rural Alaska. On the card I have given you, you will find a list of some practices that have been used. Could you tell me if you use this practice with your classes? (ANSWER) Has the practice been used by other teachers in your school? How effective do you find the practice?
26. Have you found any other instructional practices particularly effective in your school?
27. School effectiveness studies emphasize the importance of the principal's activities. Please look at the card I have given you. For each activity, please rate your principal or head teacher.
28. We are trying to learn more about the kinds of teachers who are especially effective in rural Alaska. Could you suggest a teacher either in this community or other rural villages who you feel does an outstanding job? (Probe for several names.) Could you describe him/her? (Probe for characteristics and behavior in the classroom and community.) What do you see as the major problems for teachers coming to teach in (name of community)? (Probe for as many types or problems as possible, e.g. isolation, community expectations, colleague relationships.)

29. Now, I'd like to ask about your personal satisfaction with your situation. What are the major advantages of living and working in this community? What are the major disadvantages of living and working in this community?
30. Are teachers in the community evaluated in any formal way? How? Aside from this process, what criteria does the principal use in judging teachers' effectiveness? (Criteria used by district office, students, parents, ASB, and RSB.)

BACKGROUND, TEACHERS

We ask these questions to better understand teachers in rural schools, and to help us interpret the results of our interviews.

- Q-1 How old are you? _____
(years)
- Q-2 Where were you born? _____
(city) (state)
- Q-3 What is your race or ethnic group? (circle one)
- 1 ALASKA NATIVE
 - 2 BLACK
 - 3 CHICANO OR OTHER SPANISH-SPEAKING
 - 4 NATIVE AMERICAN (non-Alaskan)
 - 5 ORIENTAL
 - 6 WHITE
 - 7 OTHER (specify) _____
- Q-4 How many years have you taught school? _____
- Q-5 When did you start teaching in this school? _____
(month) (year)
- Q-6 Have you held any other job in the field of education other than classroom teaching, for example a curriculum coordinator or principal? (circle one)
- 1 YES → Specify _____
 - 2 NO _____
- Q-7 Have you held any job(s) outside the field of education? (circle one)
- 1 YES → Specify _____
 - 2 NO _____
- Q-8 For how many years (including this year) have you taught or held another job in education in a rural area? _____
(years in rural Alaska)
- _____ (years in rural area outside Alaska)
- Q-9 How much formal education have you received, and from which institutions?
- Bachelors degree from _____ field _____
- Masters degree from _____ field _____
- Ph.D. or Ed.D. from _____ field _____
- Certificate(s) from _____ field _____
- _____
- Q-10 Are you married? (circle one)
- 1 No
 - 2 Yes
- ↓
- Does your spouse? (circle one)

 - 1 WORK IN A SCHOOL IN THE COMMUNITY
 - 2 WORK AT A NON-SCHOOL JOB IN THE COMMUNITY
 - 3 WISHES TO HAVE A PAYING JOB BUT HAS NO APPROPRIATE JOB OPPORTUNITY IN THIS COMMUNITY
 - 4 DOESN'T HAVE A PAYING JOB AND DOESN'T WISH TO HAVE ONE AT THIS TIME
- Q-11 Do you have children? (circle all that apply)
- 1 NO
 - 2 YES, PRE-SCHOOL AGE
 - 3 YES, SCHOOL AGE
 - 4 YES, OUT OF SCHOOL

Q-12 Have you previously worked or studied in a culture different from your own?

(circle one)

1 NO

2 YES

What was the culture in which you lived? _____

What did you do there? _____

Q-13 In your present community, in which of the following activities do you participate, and how frequently? (For each activity, please circle one number)

Frequently | **Sometimes** | **Never**

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1 | 1 | HUNTING, FISHING, TRAPPING |
| 2 | 2 | 2 | SNOW MACHINING, SKIING, BOATING, FLYING AN AIRPLANE |
| 3 | 3 | 3 | LOCAL ARTS & CRAFTS |
| 4 | 4 | 4 | VISITING WITH OTHER TEACHERS |
| 5 | 5 | 5 | VISITING WITH COMMUNITY MEMBERS |
| 6 | 6 | 6 | ATTENDING AFTER-SCHOOL ACTIVITIES
(E.G., BASKETBALL, VOLLEYBALL) |
| 7 | 7 | 7 | ATTENDING OTHER REGULAR COMMUNITY EVENTS
(E.G., BINGO, MOVIES) |
| 8 | 8 | 8 | OTHER (specify) _____ |

Q-14 Other than school-affiliated groups, do you regularly participate in any of the following community organizations? (circle all that apply)

- 1 CHURCH GROUPS
- 2 SPORTS TEAMS
- 3 CITY COUNCIL OR OTHER CIVIC BOARDS
- 4 SEARCH AND RESCUE
- 5 SERVICE CLUBS
- 6 NON-SCHOOL YOUTH ACTIVITIES
- 7 OTHER (specify) _____

Q-15 Since you began teaching in this community, how many summers have you spent here? _____

Q-16 During the school year, about how often do you go outside the community, for example, on holidays, or for educational conferences? _____

Q-17 How long do you plan to stay in this community? (circle one)

- 1 FIVE YEARS OR MORE
- 2 2 - 4 MORE YEARS
- 3 ONE MORE YEAR
- 4 PLAN TO LEAVE DURING OR AT END OF CURRENT SHCOOL YEAR

WHY ARE YOU PLANNING TO LEAVE? _____

Finally, we would like to ask you your feelings about a range of conditions and individuals in the school and the community. Please be as candid as possible in your answers. If you wish to comment on any items, please use the margins, or the space at the end of the survey.

Q-18 In general, how satisfied are you with the following? (For each item, please circle one number)

Very Satisfied	Mostly Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Dissatisfied
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<u>SCHOOL CONDITIONS</u>				
1	1	1	1	PAY AND BENEFITS
2	2	2	2	OPPORTUNITIES FOR PROFESSIONAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT
3	3	3	3	RELATIONS WITH OTHER PROFESSIONAL STAFF
4	4	4	4	PRINCIPAL'S SUPERVISION
5	5	5	5	DISTRICT SUPERINTENDENT
6	6	6	6	DISTRICT SCHOOL BOARD
7	7	7	7	LOCAL SCHOOL BOARD OR COMMITTEE
8	8	8	8	RELATIONS WITH STUDENTS
9	9	9	9	STUDENT DISCIPLINE
10	10	10	10	STUDENT MOTIVATION
11	11	11	11	STUDENT ACADEMIC PROGRESS
12	12	12	12	QUALITY OF EDUCATION AT THIS SCHOOL

Very Satisfied	Mostly Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Dissatisfied
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<u>COMMUNITY CONDITIONS</u>				
1	1	1	1	SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS
2	2	2	2	OPPORTUNITIES FOR SOCIAL INTERACTION WITH OTHER SCHOOL STAFF
3	3	3	3	OPPORTUNITIES FOR INTERACTION WITH COMMUNITY MEMBERS
4	4	4	4	AVAILABILITY AND QUALITY OF FOOD STUFF
5	5	5	5	HOUSING SITUATION
6	6	6	6	AVAILABILITY OF ADEQUATE MAINTENANCE AND REPAIR SERVICES
7	7	7	7	AVAILABILITY OF ADEQUATE MEDICAL SERVICES

If you have had experience in working under the SOS or BIA systems before decentralization took place, we would appreciate any views you have on the similarities and differences between that system and present school operations.

Also, any comments you wish to make that you think may help us in our efforts to understand local school operations and climate in Alaska would be appreciated, either on the back of the survey or in a separate letter.