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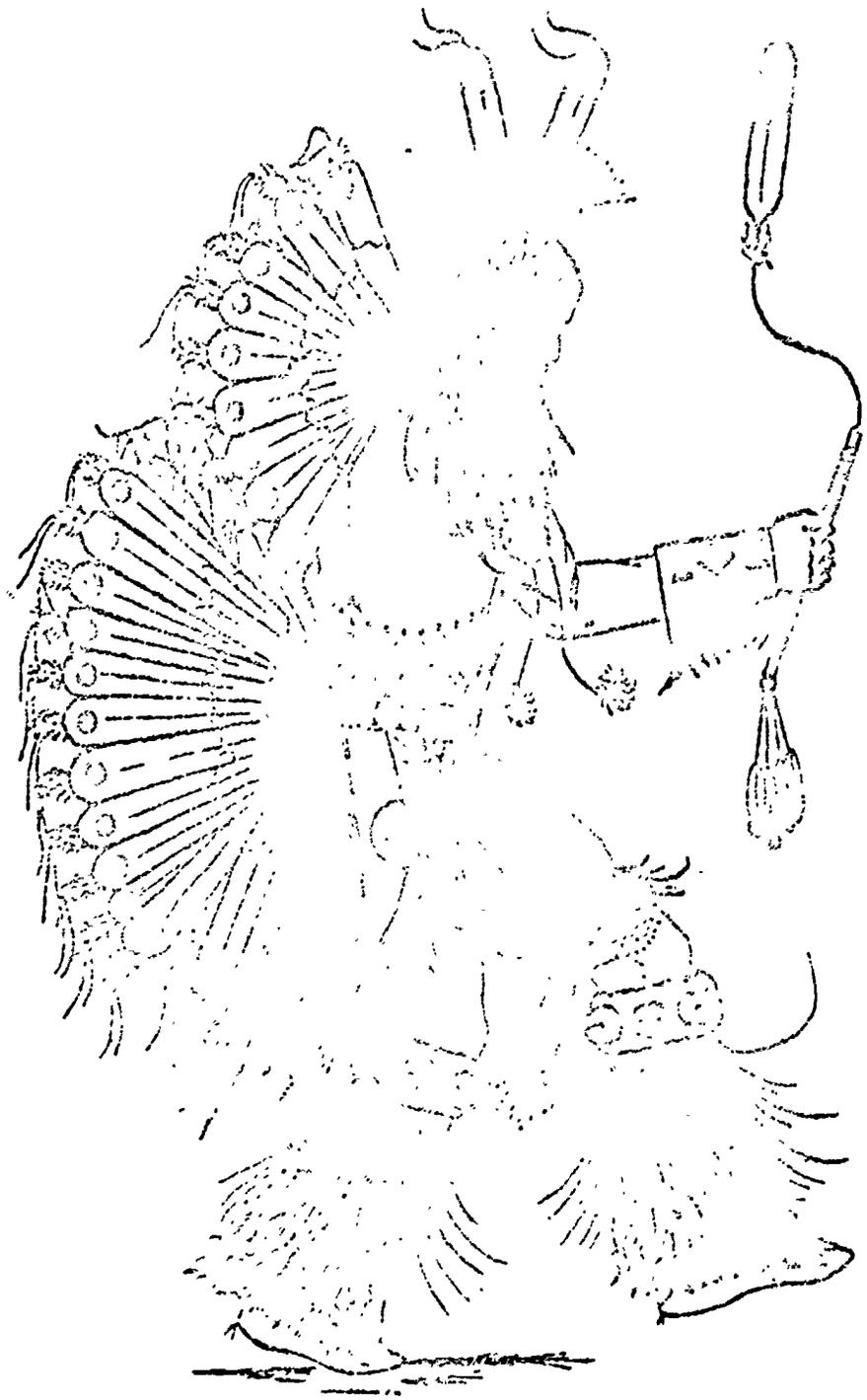
ABSTRACT

The second of 2 volumes of position papers presented at the first Native American Teacher Corps Conference (Denver, Colorado; April 26-29, 1973), is composed of 8 position papers. These include: Indian education: the rights of a people; education and politics; school as it relates to present and future societies; multi-cultural teacher education center at Rough Rock; the visual achievements of the 19th century Plains Indians; crisis in red and white; early childhood in Indian communities; and HEW and state responsibilities to Indian education. (KM)



NATIVE AMERICAN TEACHER CORPS CONFERENCE

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Volume II

INDIAN EDUCATION: THE RIGHTS OF A PEOPLE

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It is an educational system imposed on a people by a dominant group. It is a system that is not a part of, does not come from, nor is controlled by the parents of the children it serves (except in a few instances). It is a failure by a great many indices.

The extent of the failure has been documented by numerous investigators. The investigators at times, had the blessing of the United States Government. Two studies were sanctioned by the United States Congress. One occurred in 1928 and is commonly called "The Miriam Report". The other occurred more recently and is referred as the Indian Education Sub-committee Report published in 1969(1) the conclusions of both studies are strikingly similar. The findings can be summed up in one word: failure.

This documented failure of an educational system is called "Indian Education."

The beginning of the Indian educational system can be traced to the beginning of white-Indian relationship. The attempt by the federal government to educate the Indian has caused a deterioration of the Indian's life style and economic position. An Indian elder noted this phenomenon in Benjamin Franklin's time when he described tribal members who returned to tribal life from the schools of the white man. They were unfit for tribal life, did not speak the tribal language well; hence were unfit to be counselors and were unable to make a worthwhile contribution to the tribe. The conclusions of this Indian man in the 17th century appear to be relevant today when one considers the state of Indian education.(2)

This paper will attempt to show that legal and historical evidence exists whereby tribes could control the educational processes of their children. The evidence is morally and legally strong. The notion that

tribal autonomy exists, and that the autonomy extends to all aspects of tribal life, including education leads to the conclusion that native Americans have the legal right to control their education. Control means that Indian control their school systems through a variety of methods including elected school boards. Indians would wield complete authority over administration, personnel, finances and curriculum. The option of choosing separate and equal schools or regular public schools is open to Indian people. The federal government is legally responsible for full and direct funding for school construction and operational expense.

The first part of the paper will define Indian autonomy with evidence to support the concept. A discussion of the implications of the autonomy concept on the main issue of Indian control of education will follow. An analysis of community control, the option of separate or public schools, autonomous school boards, federal funding, and curriculum will be discussed as it affects the position of this paper. Finally, recommendations will be made for the future of Indian education.

Indian Autonomy

The federal government and the courts view Indian autonomy as existing only as long as it is supported by these institutions. Indians, however, view Indian autonomy as an immutable right.

Tribal autonomy, meaning independent self-determination has always existed. From the famous, well-organized League of the Iroquois to other loosly aligned Indian tribes, Indians have controlled their own affairs without major interference until the advent of the white man.

The federal government in the beginning of the government - Indian relationship recognizing Indian tribes as sovereign powers to be treated with respect and wooded as allies, conducted business with them by signing treaties.(3) The federal government did not continue to treat Indian tribes

in this way. Indian tribes are not today treated as if they have autonomy. However, tribes continue to claim jurisdiction over many of their own affairs. These claims have frequently in the past been upheld by the courts of the United States. One of the most famous cases, Worchester v. Georgia, recognized that tribes "...had always been considered as distinct, independent, political communities, retaining their original natural rights.."(4) Therefore, tribes continue to have jurisdiction over large fields of criminal and civil law, and particularly over questions of tribal membership, inheritance, tribal taxation, tribal property, domestic relations, and the form of tribal government, the laws, customs, and decisions of the proper tribal governing have the force of law.(5) Autonomy with jurisdiction over internal affairs cannot be changed while the United States recognizes Indians as Indians with special Indian-federal relationships. The relationship ceases only if Indians themselves give up their special rights voluntarily. Cohen in his well-reasoned argument on the subject said, "The important point seems to me to be that all the peculiar legal relationships that seem to encumber the Indian are in the final analysis really obligations of the federal government to the Indian which only the Indian can waive."(6) Treaties, court cases and congressional actions as well as various state actions have reinforced the notion of tribal autonomy. A selection is included in appendix 1.(7)

Tribal autonomy, tribal controls over its affairs must lead to the recognization of the right of the tribal group to control education of Indian children. Indians ought to explore several areas that may be fruitful to this end. One of the most promising approaches is customs and tradition. Indian people have different values, customs and life styles than the dominant groups in the United States. The study of Indian values, customs, and life-styles have sparked books, media materials, research projects and other avenues of communication. Anthropologists, sociologists and other scholars have enriched their own lifestyle by collecting data on these differences.

It could be said they earned a good living in this way.

Respected educators such as Jerome Bruner and B. F. Skinner teach the concept that the culture of a people are reflected in and passed on in the educational system.(8) The way a people choose to educate their children is very important. Serious attention paid to the methods of education as well as the content of it, insure that special customs, values and life style of the culture are passed on to the children. Witness how successful the dominant system has been in educating children regarding the "discovery of America". Books, including history books continue to teach that Columbus discovered America. The system has taught this fact so well that even Indian children can quote the old saw, "in 1492, Columbus sailed the ocean blue". Contemporary Indian children have been known to come home with pictures to be colored depicting this historic event.(9)

The importance of rights of passage of culture can be illustrated by the recent Amish victory over the state of Wisconsin.(10) The Amish of Wisconsin took their case to the Supreme Court, because they believed that to continue in schools outside of their control would result in loss of Amish values. The decision rendered on May 15, 1972, exempts the Amish from state laws "compelling Amish children to continue their schooling beyond the eighth grade. In essence, the court indicated that compulsory formal education beyond the eighth grade would greatly endanger, if not destroy free exercise of the Amish religious beliefs." (11) The Supreme Court ruling affirmed a Wisconsin supreme court decision. Joe Wittmer, himself Amish, in his article, "The Amish and the Supreme Court" makes a pertinent statement, "it has always been clear to me that the American high school could in no way transmit the values needed by an Amish youth to remain Amish."(12) Further in the article, Wittmer quotes Amish child-rearing practices in his footnote to Justice Douglas's statement that the Amish child must be allowed to attend high school if he wishes. Additionally, Wittmer, to allay fears

that many little groups will come out of the woodwork to ask for similar rights asserts that the Amish have earned this right by "living their beliefs."(13) Judge Hallows of the Wisconsin Supreme Court stated "to the Amish, secondary schools not only teach an unacceptable value system, but they also seek to integrate ethnic groups into a homogenized society, resulting in a psychological alienation of Amish children from their parents and great harm to the child."(14)

The Amish decision is discussed at length because it is relevant to the basic argument of this paper. Indians have a different lifestyle, customs and values. Inorder to insure the continuance of these cultural differences, Indian people must control the educational system wherein their children attend. A strong argument can be made for Indian people using the Amish decision as a precedent. Indian people have and continue to claim that schools have not taught or attempted to teach or neglect the Indian values or life style.(15) The psychological damage to Indian children resulting in part from value alienation has been spotlighted in the literature for many years. Indices, such as the high suicide rate among Indian young people, the dropout rate and the total overall failure of Indian education emphasizes the culture conflict.(16) Additionally, Indian people have attempted to "live their beliefs" as Wittmer claims for the Amish. The tenacious clinging to traditional practices and beliefs in a variety of tribal groups can be ascertained by random selection through the literature. Too, the reservation system whereby Indians were separated from non-Indian society (first by force and later by choice) can be voiced as an argument for "living the beliefs". Actually, no one group has so lived their beliefs as the American Indian. History affirms this fact.

Many ways have been tried to educate the Indian child. Indian control of Indian education needs to be given a chance, the customs, life style, and values of the Indian community could be reflected in Indian education through

the actual participation of the people themselves. The Amish case in Wisconsin has set an important legal precedent. In the article entitled, "Indian wins right to take children out of white school." *Wassaja* trumpets the story of Bobby Clay, a *Missosukee* Indian from Florida. Clay had truancy charges dropped against him for keeping his children out of public schools. The decision was based on the Amish case.(17) The Clay case reinforces the importance of the Amish decision to Indian education. Indian people can and should demand separate schools for their children or demand that public schools help build Indian cultural values through the educational experience if the desire to remain Indian is important.

Community Control

Two tribal groups in the past can be used as models for Indian control of Indian education. These tribes, the Choctaw of Mississippi and Oklahoma, and the Cherokees of Oklahoma designed a school system that taught their children to read and write in two languages (English and the tribal language). The system proved even more successful than surrounding white communities. The literacy level of western Oklahoma Cherokees was higher than the white population of either Texas or Arkansas.(18) "From the date of its establishment in 1841, until the very last years of the Cherokee nation, the Cherokee national government ran the school system with complete autonomy." U.S. government agents did not come to visit Cherokee schools until after June 30, 1898.(19) The success of these groups argues strongly for Indian control. The model of failure in Indian education is easily found in most educational systems serving Indian children. The failure of the government in taking over the school systems of the Cherokees and the Choctaws is well documented. It contrasts sharply with the successful efforts of the tribal people. The government took over the educational system for

the Cherokees in 1906. Cherokee education at that time began its downward trend and presently is almost completely alienated from the white-controlled school system.(20)

More recent examples of community control and subsequent Indian competency can be found in the *Navaho* Rough Rock Demonstration School.(21) The *Anishinabe* Pine Point Demonstration School,(22) as well as a number of Indian controlled public schools in the state of Alaska.(23) The recently formed organization, Coalition of Indian-Controlled School Boards, Inc. (CICSB) whose members are Indian - controlled schools boards of control, shows the strong trend toward this model.(24)

Community control is an exciting concept in Indian education. Before communities can implement control however, they must understand the term and its ramifications. As Andy Lawson stated to the National Indian Education Association in its annual conference,(25) the history and meanings of community control must be understood by the Indian people. In further conversations with Lawson, he emphasized how important it is for people to understand the basic model then accept or reject the model. It is possible Indians are attempting to modify the present model of community control, but do not completely understand it. When Indian people are thoroughly familiar with the extant model of community control they may reject it for one better suited to their needs.(26)

The model of community control as it is now practiced in school districts in the United States today (with few major exceptions) is a simple one. School board elected by a majority of the people ostensibly make the decisions in the school district for its educational system. The administration of the school district interacts with the school board to implement board policy. Actual observation of school board activities and reading of the literature on this subject shows the kinks of this model. In actuality, the superintendent

or the school administrator controls information given to the school board. The school board in turn becomes a reacting board to the superintendent. A good superintendent is a good politician. Seldom does a board actually attempt to filter through itself the wishes and needs of the community.(26a) If portions of the community are ethnic-minority people, their wishes and needs are even further regated to the bottom of the "in-basket."

Indian people can react to the above model in several ways. One way would be to work within the system. Attempt through the elective process to elect a school board that is receptive to the needs and wishes of the Indian community. Such a model assumes that Indian people can through the elective process (that depends on the wishes of the majority), gain their educational needs. The school board would reflect the wishes of the community. The culture, biases and goals of the community would be interpreted by school board members to the administration who would in turn implement such policy.

The basic problem with such a model is that Indian people in most areas constitute a minority. How can a minority of the school district population achieve their educational goals when such goals may contradict the wishes of the majority. A recent example of such an occurance is Menominee County in Wisconsin. The Menominee Indian community clustered in Menominee County, is in the attendance area of Shawano School District #8. The Indian population is a scant 30 per cent of the total population. The Menominee have been unable in the past to elect a Menominee person to the school board. Frustration over this situation may have prompted the Menominees to start their own community school outside the realm of the Shawano school district.(27) At least a portion of the Menominee population have opted to withdraw from the regular school system in order to further the education of their children, Menominee style.(28) Situations similar to the Menominee situation are occuring throughout Indian country.

In an ideal situation community control would mean that community wishes

are reflected in the school. The community would be assured that the school is a true reflection of its culture, life style and values. This ideal situation may not be possible within the realm of the present system. Indian people must understand the varied definitions of community control, consider each, then design their own models based on their assessed needs.

Separate Schools: Segregation?

In any discussion of Indian control of Indian education, the question of segregation needs to be explored. Indian control of schools (within or without the system) will expand in several directions. Consider the urban Indian community.

Urban Indian communities could attend public schools extant or attempt a separate system under Indian control financed with government funds.(29) Another option could be an urban community controlling a school inside the system. The regular public school system would certify the graduates and help with funding from tax dollars, but the control would be in the hands of the Indian people.(30) Student population of such schools would be limited to American Indians. Such a choice is possible in large urban communities as Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Chicago and in smaller urban communities as Duluth, Minnesota.

Another direction might be in communities where Indians are not the majority, but they constitute a large minority. These communities could demand that the school reflect their culture, biases, and life style in the same manner that non-Indian people's culture, life style, and values are represented. Representation on a local school board would be a reasonable goal for such a community. However, representation might be difficult if not impossible to achieve under the present system of elections by majority. Other avenues need to be explored in order to exercise this option. Close and sincere cooperation of the non-Indian community is necessary in this

model. Perhaps a valid avenue to approach would be to strive for legal sanction on insisting schools reflect the cultural plurality of its communities.

A third direction to consider is when Indian people constitute a majority in a particular community. Such a situation may occur on or near large reservations.

Whatever the direction community control takes, the issue of segregated schools will occur. Segregation, with the interpretations given it by court decisions will need to be explored and discussed by the Indian community. The most famous court case, Brown v. the Board of Education ought to be seriously considered. The Brown decision can be viewed in at least three ways. One, segregation of identifiable groups by race is inherently unequal. Therefore, any educational process that separates by race or color whether the measure devised for that purpose is deliberate or not, is unequal and therefore unconstitutional. Two, segregation in schools is unequal only if the people it touches define it as unequal. That is, if a minority decides that segregation is unacceptable, undesirable and condusive to feelings of inferority than segregation is unequal and therefore unconstitutional.

Several problems would occur in the second interpretation. The minority in question would have to be unanimous in its decision. If not, one parent could decide he didn't like the segregated system and could ask for redress through the courts. This could mean that many administrative and bureaucratic problems would surface in addition, such cases could tie up the courts and the system in question. We admit and recognize the problematical facet of the second interpretation. It is beyond the scope of this paper to explore it further, other than to say that although it poses difficult problems, it is a possible and therefore probable interpretation.

A third interpretation of the Brown decision would focus importance on the end result of the educational process. That is, whatever the end result of the schooling process is, would have relevance to whether or not segregation

was considered to be unequal. If the achievement scores (or whatever indices one would use) are below average in a segregated school and other things are equal, then segregation itself would need to be examined as a possible reason for the low scores. However, following the wide circulation of the Coleman report findings and the Jencks interpretation of Coleman's data, other items in the schooling process will be closely examined before any decision can be made regarding differences in test scores.(31) If the Coleman finding is accurate as conventional wisdom states it, that nothing seems to make any difference in the school process except pupil interaction on a socio-economic level, then perhaps what needs to be examined is not segregation per se but social or economic segregation. Perhaps poor white kids could go to school with middle-income white and or black kids or black kids could go to school with middle-income black kids, or someother combination, to mix kids by social and economic factors, not necessarily by race. Whatever reading of Brown is reinforced and upheld by courts in the future will give some indication as to whether Indians can expect to be allowed to have all-Indian schools. It is recognized that if the first interpretation is affirmed by the courts, that is that segregation in itself is inherently unequal, than Indian schools may be declared unconstitutional. Legal sanction on this question ought to be explored and include the second interpretation of Brown along with treaties, laws and court cases arguing the Indian's right to autonomy over its affairs including education of Indian children.

In testing the segregation question in the courts "it may be that courts will develop a more sophisticated concept of what constitutes invidious discrimination and decide that only discrimination against a minority group is unconstitutional ..... There is some support for such a distinction in decisions of the Supreme Court which prohibit minority to majority transfers (if you are in the minority in a school, you may not as a matter of right transfer to schools in which you are in the majority) but allow majority

to minority transfers. (The end result of this position is that black students can transfer into predominately white schools, whereas whites may not transfer in order to avoid integregation.)"(32)

Segregation, integregation and the option of separate schools for insuring cultural passage are dimensions of Indian control needing serious discussion.

An aspect of the segregation issue is the Indians attitude toward it. Indians historically have turned a different face toward segregation. Unlike other minorities in this country Indians have not raised a hue and cry against segregation. Indians have been segregated by the federal government in federal boarding schools since 1882. Federal BIA boarding schools are limited to Indian people and are therefore segregated. One must be at least one-fourth Indian before one is accepted into federal boarding schools.(33) In scanning the Senate subcommittee hearing reports one notes with interest the problem most Indian people discuss and complain about regarding federal boarding schools is that children have been mistreated, were taught in the English language only, were punished for speaking their native tongue, and were taught only American history. Teachers were in-sensitive to Indian children in many cases, and the staff not large enough to give children the necessary attention. It is apparent from the testimony given that much was considered wrong with federal boarding schools, by Indian people. Indians therefore, recommended federal boarding schools be updated, reorganized, add specialized staff, add Indian relevant curriculum and phase out certain personnel. Not one person complains that federal boarding schools are bad or need change because they are segregated. The testimony of Indian people regarding federal schools or other Indian children attend emphasize lack of control over curriculum and staff, not segregation. Another aspect of segregation is the reservation. As long as reservations exist, Indian will be segregated. There is no collected consensus of Indian opinion regarding reservations. Some Indians might favor termination of reservations. But, many Indians

including those living on the reservation favor the reservation system as it is, recogni:ing it as the last Indian land that remains from original holdings. Regardless of personal choice, Indians can and will segregate as long as Indian land remains. The Indian attitude toward segregation can be expressed by Lloyd New Kiva, director of the Santa Fe Indian Art Institute, "...strangely enough, Indian people tend to cling to their tradition.l ways, living apart from the main stream of America, and in this sense they have chosen to live in a self-imposed ghetto."(34) Indians segregate in order to preserve tribal traditions. Virgil J. Vogel wrote in a letter to Integregated Education the following comment, "...I would argue against integrated education for most Indians, because most of them look upon it, correctly, I believe, as one more move toward the destruction of the Indians as an identifiable ethnic group..."(35) The face Indians turn toward segregation is a janus face. Segregation is not viewed with alarm, tied up with feelings of inferiority and it is seen as a necessary part of maintaining cultural identity, pride and traditions.

To summarize the Indian attitude toward segregation, one attitude sifts out as a negative conclusion. Indians have not raised a great cry against segregation and have not rejected segregation in federal boarding schools and on reservations, segregation is not one of the Indian's major grievances.

The case for control of Indian education based on cultural differences and the right of passing these differences on to the next generation appeared to be bolstered by the Amish decision. Additionally, Indian communities need to study the Brown decision, its relevance to a segregated school system, be aware of possible precedents in boarding school structure, be cognizant of school system structure as it now exists, study treaties and court decisions that emphasize autonomy and thus fully armed seek court sanctions on Indian - controlled schools. Legally and morally Indian communities must take the issue to court. It is necessary for Indian people to set precedents

in court. Indian rights built on treaty rights, congressional acts and continuous legal precedents will give these rights a living legal reality.

Morally, Indian people must force the dominant non-Indian majority to realize the melting pot theory is one that is unnecessary, unreal and wrong for tribal people. Indians must help non-Indians see the need for tribal values and customs. If non-tribal people wish to survive they must adopt some of the values of tribal people. It is a truism to say that this country is rapidly destroying itself with the values of competition, conquest over nature and material wealth at any cost.

The Elected School Board: One Model of Control

The Indian community must look at the school board and its function as a model of control. Other models could be considered - some way different from the school board model of control - but this model must be understood by Indian people in order to accept or reject it as an alternative of control. An elected school board of community people has a responsibility to learn and understand the mechanics of the school system. An election procedure may need to be established if one does not already exist; learning about the electorial process, learning about campaigns, voting procedures and candidates' records must be accomplished. Indians must familiarize themselves with elementary parliamentary procedures as Robert's rules of order. Indian people often look foolish because they do not know these procedures. When preliminary necessities are taken care of and a school board duly representative of the community is ensconced, the real work of the school district is begun. The school board must hire a chief administrator who will not only become knowledgeable regarding the philosophy of the community (by philosophy we mean an all encompassing notion of the community's values, life style, cultural heritage) but will implement that philosophy in all aspects of the school process. Thus, the curriculum, the staffing patterns,

the training of all staff (including janitors, nurses, cooks and secretaries) in fact, the entire school day will reflect that philosophy. Approving the teaching and support staff selected by an administrator is an important part of school board duty. A staff must be found that will learn or know about the community and its people. They must know how to teach, which implies special training when the teachers are non-Indian, and unknowledgeable regarding Indian life style and behavior patterns. They must respect the people they are teaching and they must be willing to become a part of the community. This may sound very elementary to white people who take this for granted in their teachers, but not many schools (with an Indian population) exist where such could be said of the teachers. The support staff, such as the janitors, secretaries, and cooks must be knowledgeable of and sensitive to the Indian constituency. These people are important to any school day, and their impact although fully felt by the students is frequently overlooked in any training sessions held for the staff of a school. Sometimes the unnecessary and unknowing cruelty of a support staff member may make the difference in whether a child stays in school or drops out.

Another important aspect of an autonomous school board is that of fiscal control. He who controls the purse strings truly controls the operation. A complete understanding of the school's budget, both income and expenditures is necessary for a sound system. The school board's ability to develop in time if involvement of and experience with this facet of control becomes a reality for a board.

The total process of operating a school system must become an actual experience for a school board. Indian school boards must demand the right to have that experience. It is only through experiencing the actual process that Indian people will learn to control their own lives in a responsible fashion. Indian people have the right to learn while making mistakes. This right has too long been denied to Indian people under the guise of paternalism.

This model of control can only be modified or rejected if it is completed understood. The Coalition of Indian - Controlled School Boards Inc. (CICSB) recognizes this fact by assisting members in all facets of school board knowledge.

Funds - Where will they come from?

As citizens of the United States, Indians are entitled to service guaranteed other citizens.

As aboriginal natives, Indian give up land and other natural resources to the federal government, usually under duress and usually with little understanding of the process involved. Indians expected to receive just compensation for these concessions. The native American is therefore entitled to funds for construction and operating expenses for his education system. Many people believe that Indian people are getting something for nothing when they receive various services from the government. This is false. The Indian payed in advance for services. Many treaties with the small sums called for, attest that Indian people were not interested in money for land ceded to the government. The Indians wanted services "as long as the grass shall grow" in exchange for title to the land. One of the services most treaties mentioned was education. Although the words are in the symbolic, beautiful language of our early elders still the words, "as long as the grasses grow and the rivers flow" meant forever. Indians expected services from the government in exchange for the land; services are what the Indian can expect and has the right to now. Indians no longer have the land base they once had; they cannot pay taxes, but they paid in advance —in blood and land — for the service of education.

Appendix two contains some of the written material available for use in documenting the rights of Indian people in this regard.

Curriculum: Its Role

A final area of concern for any community interested in controlling the education of their children is in the matter of school curriculum. Indian control of the educational process makes sense only if control of the curriculum is a fact. State requirements need to be considered but it should be the decision of the local Indian community how the curriculum is processed. Indian people need to assess what it is they wish their children to learn. How the children learn, the methodology used by the teachers must reflect the life style, culture, and values of the Indian community.

An example: most Indians would agree that non-Indians have an odd way of valuing land. Indians revere the land in a religious sense. Such an attitude may give him a different approach to the whole buying-selling competitive routine that most non-Indians see as necessary for a good existence. The Indian approach ought to be reflected in the curriculum. Reading material, film, displays and whatever else the schools use in the teaching process might need to be examined and re-interpreted. Consider that Indians may not be as competitive as non-Indians. That is, Indians may compete in a different way. Indians may relish competition between groups but not between individuals. Such differing attitudes stemming from different child-rearing practices may mean that the Indian child in the classroom has different reinforcement patterns. The community through the school board should demand that school personnel be aware of and use the reinforcement patterns the child is accustomed to from home. As a matter of course, non-Indian children have this right. Non-Indian children are usually taught by teachers using incentives and punishments familiar to them. These reinforcers and punishments are the same or similar to what their parents use at home. An example: the Anglo-Protestant ethic holds that -- spare the rod and spoil the child -- is a good custom. Many parents spank their children. It is an accepted folk

custom reflected in the schools of this country. Teachers in the past had the right to physically punish children, and although this custom is fading, still in schools today, teachers inflict physical punishment on children. The courts and tradition uphold it. Consider then, the Indian child, coming from a home where it is thought unfair, barbaric, and unwise to hit a child. Such a tradition existed in the roots of American Indian culture, and is still practiced by many American Indian parents today.

Other examples similar to the two above, could be given showing how American Indian customs and life style differ from the American non-Indian. Indian custom and life style has always been different. Contrary to the immigrant groups coming to this country Indians held on to their differences, asking only that these differences be recognized and respected by other Americans. Although some Indian people have assimilated into dominant society, there is a sizeable goodly number of Indian people who wish to continue to live in the life style of their people, and more important teach their children in the Indian way.

Only with Indian control, however, will the nuances of values-culture-lifestyle differences be made an integral part of the curriculum. The foregoing discussion has only touched the surface of the inherent differences between Indian and non-Indian. The curriculum of a school must not only reflect Indian culture in the subject matter, i.e. history, language, but the process of teaching must reflect the Indian's values, culture, life style, and behavior patterns. This is not to imply or suggest that the curriculum would contain only Indian-related items. Equally important, the curriculum would contain subject matter needed for the child to live and succeed in dominant society if he chooses that road. Basic subjects such as math, English, reading and science would need to be an important part of the school day. The difference in an Indian controlled school would be that the community would decide the process, the method of teaching the subject

matter, and in addition would have the option of adding subject matter that would be purely Indian in nature. This delineation is important for a good reason. Perhaps the only statement that can be made in an absolute sense regarding Indian people is that one person, or one group does not speak for another person or group. Such a tradition existed in the tribal groups before the European came to this country. Indian tribes, on the whole, were democratic; each individual's opinion was important, and one person did not decide for the group. It remains so for many Indian people today. Although one's personal opinion may hold it very important for an Indian controlled school to reflect Indian values, style and culture, still there are other groups that may wish to assimilate as rapidly as possible. Some may wish to emphasize the tribal language in school, while in other groups English may be the only language allowed. Each group should have the right and the where-with-all to control their own schools. If they wish to insure that the school reflects the community's behavior pattern, language, or if they wish to emphasize the non-Indian's language or behavior patterns, that is each community's right. Presently few Indian communities have the right to decide in what direction the educational process should go. The administration - Bureau of Indian Affairs, white-controlled school boards, government personnel superintendents, and others, have made the decisions in the past.

Finally, a study by Stodolsky and Lesser described in An Introduction to the Sociology of Learning by Sarane S. Boocock(36) carried a good argument for a special curriculum process. The Stodolsky-Lesser study had the premise that "social class and ethnic influences differ not only in degree but in kind, with the consequence that different kinds of intellectual skills are fostered or hindered in different environments."(37) Boocock emphasizes the following statement, conclusion of the study: "...*once the pattern specific to the ethnic group emerges, social-class variations within the ethnic group do not alter this basic organization.*"(38)

The authors of the study go on to say "the failure of social-class conditions to transcend patterns of mental ability associated with ethnic influences was unexpected. Social-class influences have been described as superceding ethnic group effects for such diverse phenomena as child-rearing practices, educational and occupational aspirations, achievement motivation, and anomie... Ethnicity has the primary effect upon the organization of mental abilities, and the organization is not modified further by social-class influences."(39) Boocock states that the important implication to this study (which was replicated with almost exact test results) is that certain cultural sub-groups in our society may nurture special attributes and skills, and that pursuit of the goal of equal educational opportunity should not lead us to impose uniform modes of learning upon all children. The authors of the study concluded that "while both social class and ethnical-racial group membership affect the level of intellectual performance, it is ethnicity which fosters the development of unique ability patterns, with children from higher social classes simply reflecting the same ability patterns at higher levels of performance than their lower-SES racial-ethnic peers."(40)

Conclusion
Recommendations

In conclusion the pivotal point in this paper is repeated - Indians have autonomy within the context of treaties signed in good faith between tribes and the federal government. Further, court cases and congressional actions reinforce this doctrine. Indians, regardless of geographic location, have this right unless they voluntarily chose to negate it. Indians are entitled to federal financing based on land wealth ceded to the government, an exchange for services for which the Indian paid in advance. The right to control education of Indian children as an inherent part of this doctrine. The state and federal financing of education as a right of the Indian, the

implications of autonomy in the areas of school board responsibility, curricula control, separate schools, the Indian position in regard to segregation v. integregation culminates in a description of a total process called community control. In order to implement Indian community control the following actions are recommended:

1. Indian communities must organize experimental Indian schools in reservations rural communities, and urban Indian communities.
2. Indians must become familiar with tribal, as well as individual rights as citizens of the U.S.
3. Indian law ought to be a part of Indian education.
4. Indians must accept the responsibility of the education of their children - either thru Indian control of schools or by making a reasonable contribution to existing systems of dominant society.
5. The right to federal and state funding must be firmly established. The moral and legal responsibility of the federal government must be fully met.
6. The federal government must begin meeting its responsibility through a program designed to meet the total needs of Indians not just a piece-meal approach.
7. A cabinet post position must be set up to deal with the question of Indian federal relationships.
8. A national board on Indian education must be established with both fiscal and coordinating powers.
9. Indians must make the opportunities of an education available for its total population.
10. A clearing house for literature and studies on Indians and Indian education must to be established so available materials can be put to practical use.
11. Scholarship funds should be established by Indians and non-Indian friends on a matching basis with federal funds.
12. Indians need to work together on educational items that require national attention as well as work to solve the problems of geographic areas.
13. Indian leaders need to be supported by Indian people.
14. Indian leaders need to be aware of and sensitive to local needs.
15. Indians must run their own affairs while recognizing the need to hire experts for advice when necessary.
16. Indians need actual political strength by putting Indians into national, state, and local politics.
17. Indian rights need to be protected through expert lobbyists working in all levels of government.

Footnotes:

1. Lewis Meriam and Associates, The Problem of Indian Administration. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1928. and 1969 Report of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, Indian Education: A National Tragedy - A National Challenge. U.S. Government Printing Office. Washington, 1969

2. Indian Education: A National Tragedy, A National Challenge, p. 140.... cited in Benjamin Franklin's remarks concerning the savages of North America. In 1744, after the treaty of Lancaster in Pennsylvania between the government of Virginia and the six nations the Virginia commissioners offered to the chiefs to educate six of their sons at a college in Williamsburg, Virginia. The Chiefs replied - "Several of our young people were formerly brought up at the colleges of the northern provences, they were instructed in all your sciences; but when they came back to us, they were bad runners; ignorant of every means of living in the woods; unable to bear either cold or hunger; spoke our language imperfectly; were therefore neither fit for hunters, warriors, or counselors; they were totally good for nothing. We are however, not the less obliged by your kind offer, though we decline accepting it; and to show our grateful sense of it, if the gentlemen of Virginia will send a dozen of their sons, we will take great care of their education, instruct them in all we know and make men of them" (Benjamin Franklin, Two Tracts, etc., 2nd ed., 1794, pp. 28-29)

3. James Officer, "The American Indian and Federal Policy," p. 9-13 in The American Indian in Urban Society, Jack O. Waddell and O. Michael Watson (eds.), Little, Brown and Company, Boston (1971) and William Brandon "American Indians and American History" in The American Indian: Past and Present, Roger L. Nichols and George R. Adams (eds.) Xerox College Publishing, Ginn and Company (1971) and McNickle, D'Arcy, The Indian Tribes of the United States, Oxford University Press, London (1962) p. 19

4. Cohen, Felix S. Handbook of Federal Indian Law. U.S. Dept of Interior, Off Solicitor, Supt. of Doc., Washington, D.C. (1941). pp. x

5. Ibid., Page X

6. Schusky, E. The Right to be Indian. The Indian Historian Press, Inc. 1970, San Francisco, California Page 24

7. Appendix 1 is on page 26.

8. Bruner, Jerome The Process of Education Harvard University Press. Cambridge (1962) and Skinner, B. F. Science and Human Behavior The Free Press, New York (1953) (Macmillan) p. 430-434

9. The authors' children have come home with such pictures.

10. Wittmer, Joe "The Amish and the Supreme Court" in Phi Delta Kappan Sept. 1972 P. 50

11. Ibid., Page 50

12. Ibid., Page 51

13. Ibid., Page 52

14. Boston Sunday Globe, January 10, 1971, "Wisconsin Court Exempts Amish From School, Due to Belief" Page 31

15. Indian testimony in Hearingso before the special subcommittee on Indian education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare United States Senate, United States Gov. Printing Office, Washington, 1969, Vol. 6, 5 parts.

16. For example see discussion by John F. Bryde, S.H., Ph.d. The Sioux Indian Student: A Study of Scholastic Failure and Personality Conflict, J. Bryde 1966, or see Robert Havighurst, "Education Among American Indians: Individual and Cultural Aspects" The Annals of the American Academy of Pol. and Soc. Science May 1957
or Miles V. Zintz in Education Across Cultures W. McBrown Co., Dubuque, Iowa 1963

17. Wassaja Vol. 1, No. 1, Jan. 1973, p.6. "Indian Wins Right to Take Children out of White School."

18. "A National Tragedy, A National Challenge" 1969 report of the Comm. on Labor and Public Welfare U.S. Gov Printing Off., 1969, p. 19

19. Indian Education Part 2. Hearings before the special subcommittee on Indian Education of the Committee on labor and public welfare. U.S. Gov. printing office, Washington 1969. p. 918

20. Op cit., A National Tragedy, A National Challenge p. 19

21. Rough Rock Demonstration School, Dine Inc., Chinle, Arizona.

22. Pine Point Demonstration School, Ponsford, Minnesota

23. For example, Klawock Public Schools, controlled and administered by the native community in Klawock, Alaska.

24. CICSB, Suite 4, 811 Lincoln, Denver, Colorado 80203, (303) 573-9016. Newsletter is available citing their activities.

25. N.I.E.A. Fourth Annual Indian Education Conference, Nov. 1972, Seattle, Washington

26. Lawson, Andy "Indian Education: Some Alternatives" in Focus: Indian Education Vol. 3, No. 9 Nov. 1972, pp. 14-22 (550 Cedar, Capitol Square Building, St. Paul, Minnesota 55101)

26a. See Alan Rosenthal Governing Education: A reader on Politics, Power, and Public School Policy, Doubleday and Company, Garden City, New York (1969) and based on personal observations and notes of school board meetings. Christensen attended 1 per week in different municipalities for a period of 6 months.

27. Personal conversation with Shawano Administration on school visit Dec. 11-15, 1972.

28. Personal conversation (Christensen) with meeting of Menominee parents in Visitor Destination Center Dec. 12, 1972, Keshena, Wisconsin

29. An example are the A.I.M. Survival schools in Minneapolis and St. Paul under Indian control funded with O.E.O. funds. Chuck Robertson, Principal. St. Paul Red School House. St. Paul, Minnesota.

30. Such a trend is observable at Duluth, Minnesota. The Duluth Indian Action Council sponsers a school which is within the system as far as crediting is concerned, lunches are provided by the system but control is under D.I.A.C. Personal conversation with Ruth Myers, D.I.A.C., 217 North 4th Avenue West, Duluth, Minnesota 55802.

31. Christopher Jencks, et al Inequality a Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America. Basic Books, New York (1972)

32. Education Voucher. March 1970, Center for the study of public policy, Cambridge, Mass. 02138, Christopher S. Jencks, et al. page 180.

33. Integrated Education. Issue 39, May, June 1969, vol VII #3, "Art and Indian Identity", p. 50. "I was ... wondering. If the idea of appealing to cultural difference isn't something that we, for some reason or other, shy away from in this country. We seem to have a feeling that there is a standard American way of life for all. If you're really different the best thing to do is to wipe you out, and make you like everyone else. I don't know how the federal government which pays our bills justifies the nature of the school we run, which is for sure a 100 percent segregated school. If you're not at least one-fourth Indian, you can't get in."

34. Op cit., page 44

35. Integrated Education. Issue 44, Mar-April 1970, Vol VII #2, page 3.

36. Sarane S. Boocock An Introduction to the Sociology of Learning Houghton Mifflin Company Boston, 1972 p. 48-49

37. Ibid., p. 48

38. Ibid., p. 50

39. Ibid., p. 50

40. Ibid., p. 50

NOTE: Bibliography will be attached later.

APPENDIX I & II

Appendix I

1. Congressional power over Indians is subject to constitutional limitations, such as the Bill of Rights.

2. As long as Indian Tribes exist as such, or until the constitution is amended Congress is under Article I, Section 8, Clause 3 of the Constitution in regards to Indian activities.

3. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 stated the "The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their land and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall from time to time be made, for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them."

4. In United States v. Kagama the Supreme Court found the protection of the Indians a National responsibility and with held such powers from the States.

5. Choate v. Trapp, 224 U.S. 665, 671 (1912), found that as long as Indian tribes exist tribal property cannot be taken away.

6. Case of the Kansas Indians, 5 Wall. 737 (1866), found that the government has a superintending care over Indian interests, continues to treat them as nation, stating their rights and privileges can only be changed by treaty stipulation or a voluntary abandonment of their tribal organization.

7. In the Chinese Exclusion Case (1899), the courts found an amendment or abrogation of a treaty provision, like a repeal of a law, operated in the future. This leaves executed transactions or vested rights unaffected.

8. The Indian Appropriation Act of March 3, 1871 provided that nothing contained in it would be construed to invalidate or impair obligations of any treaty made up to that time and ratified by the government.

9. In general rules applicable to a treaty with a foreign power have been held applicable to Indian treaties.
   —Turner v. American Baptist Missionary Union Supra
   —Worchester v. Georgia
   —Cherokee Nation v. Georgia
   —United States v. Forty-three Gallons of Whiskey

10. Section II Appropriation Act August 15, 1894, prohibited sending children to schools outside the state or territory of their residence without the consent of their parents or natural guardians and forbid the withholding of rations as a technique for securing consent.

11. Appropriation Act of March 2, 1895, and June 10, 1896, both provided that Indians could not be taken from any school in any state or territory to a school in any state against its will or written consent of parents.

12. The right to U.S. Citizenship was provided for in the Act of June 2, 1924; Nationality Act of October 14, 1940, and the Act of June 27, 1952.

13. The Acts of March 1, 1907, and March 3, 1909 provided for certain conditions under which non-Indian children have the right to attend Indian schools.

14. Appropriation Act of May 25, 1918 placed a restriction of not less than ¼ Indian blood on students using federal appropriation for schooling except where provided for otherwise in treaties. (1-14)
(Federal Indian Law)

15. Yamima Joe v. To-Is-Lap. 191 Fed 516 (C.C. Cre. 1910), Cherokee Nation v. Hitchcock. 187 U.S. 294, 308 (1902), indicate citizenship does not impair or affect rights of Indians to tribal or other property.
(Cohen: Handbook of Federal Indian Law)

16. The cases listed below indicate a strong precedence for an autonomous school system.
    a. Ballinger v. United States - The Secretary of the Interior is described as a guardian of all Indian Interests, and acts on behalf of the President in the administration of Indian affairs. Although his acts are presumed to be the acts of the President dealings with Indians are not supreme, but are subject to legislative restrictions. The Secretary can not abdicate or unlawfully transfer his authority.

    b. Federal administrative power over Indian Affairs vested in a Secretary of the Interior is virtually all-inclusive R.S. Sec 437; 5 U.S.C. 481, Derived from the Act of March 3, 1849, Ch 108, Sec 1, 9 Stat. 395.
    R.S. Sec 161; 5 U.S.C. 22.
    R.S. Sec 463; 25 U.S.C. 2.

    c. The Act of July 9, 1832, established the post of Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The BIA had been established since 1824 and under the Secretary of War subject to Presidential direction.

    d. The Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of June 30, 1834 provided for the organization of the Department of Indian Affairs.

    e. The Indian Delegation Act provided for the Secretary of the Interior to delegate his powers and duties, pertaining to Indian Affairs, to the Commissioner of Indian affairs.
(Federal Indian Law)

    f. The Bureau of Indian Affairs began its own educational system in the 1870's based on the Carlisle Indian School established by General R.H. Pratt at an abandoned army barracks.

    g. In 1842 there were 37 Indian schools run by the U.S. Government. This number increased to 106 in 1881, and 226 in 1968.

    h. The BIA operates 77 boarding schools, 147 day schools with 35,309 students and 16,139 students in each respectively. Nearly 9,000 boarding school children are under 9 years of age.

    i. On July 10, 1967, Senator Paul Fannin urged the establishment of a Special Subcommittee on Indian Education in a letter to the chairman of the educational subcommittee, Senator Wayne Morse. This was eventually set up by S. Res 165.
(1969 Report)

j. The Act of July 31, 1882, provided that abandoned military posts might be turned over to the Interior Department for Indian schools.

k. The Appropriation Act of July 13, 1892, authorized the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to make and enforce regulations pertaining to attendance of Indian children at schools established and maintained for them.

(Federal Indian Law)

APPENDIX II

1. On March 24, 1617, King James I of England, called for the collection of money to erect churches and schools for the Indians of Virginia. The following year 10,000 acres of land was set aside for a college but not until 1691 was the College of William and Mary Charted.

2. Rev. Wheelock founded a training school in his home in Lebanon, Conn., later moving it to Hanover, N. H. named it Moor's Charity School. It became Dartmouth College.

(1969 Report)

3. In a treaty with the Oneida, Tuscarora, and Stockbridge Indians, provisions for education were included. December 2, 1794.

4. March 30, 1802 - congress provided money for educating Indians.

5. In the Treaty of August 13, 1803, with the Kaskaskin Indians provisions for an annual contribution was included for instructional aid.

6. The Act of March 13, 1819, which stands as the legal basis for most of the educational work of the Indian service gave the President authority to provide teachers and money for Indian education.

7. In 1855 total expenditures for Indian education during a ten year period exceeded $2,150,000.00

8. The treaty of September 24, 1857, indicated the purpose of educating Indians is apparent in the choice of goods and services the tribe would receive.

9. $100,000.00 was set aside for Indian education in 1870 and the years following, the sum was increased enough to allow for expansion of activities.

10. Under a policy adopted in 1890 public schools were reimbursed for the actual increased cost of educating Indian children it admitted.

11. The Johnson O'Malley Act of April 16, 1934, authorized the Secretary of the Interior to enter into contracts with States, Territories, political sub-divisions, schools or any appropriate private corporation, agency or institution for the purpose of providing educational facilities for Indian students.

12. Section II of the Act of June 18, 1934, authorized loans to Indians for payment of tuition and other expenses in recognized vocational and trade schools and loans to Indian students in high school and colleges.

(Federal Indian Law)

13. Proceeds from the Federal Government for land under the Dawes Act were set aside for educational expenses of Indians.

14. Congress passed the Navajo-Hope Rehab: ation Act in 1950 in an effort to provide schools.

15. Congress passed a relocation program in 1952.

(1969 Report)

16. The Act of June 4, 1953, authorized the Secretary of the Interior to convey (transfer) federal Indian schools to Indians and non-Indians.

17. The Act of August 3, 1956, expanded the vocational education program of adult Indians residing on or near reservations.

(Federal Indian Law)

18. The Act of August 3, 1956, Public Law 84-959, provided for an expansion of adult vocational education programs for the unemployed. It was designed to strengthen the relocation program.

19. The Economic Opportunity Act provided for new programs which Indian Children could participate in:
---Headstart
---Upward Bound
---Job Corps
---Vista
---Indian Community Action Program
---Rough Rock Demonstration School

20. In 1965 the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was designed to benefit all disadvantaged youth in this country. In 1966 Title I of this act was amended to include the BIA. Title III also was to include the BIA.

21. Title IV provided for regional educational laboratories for development of new and more effective programs for Indian students, public and federal.

22. Public Law 89-10 added provisions for programs in drop-out prevention and bilingual education.

(1969 Report)

23. Congress has recommitted itself to helping Indian education through the impact - aid formulas under PL 874 & 815 and the proposed Indian Education Act to be submitted to Congress (S. 4388 in 1970)

24. From September 17, 1778, when the first treaty between the United States and an Indian Nation was signed with the Delawares, until 1871, treaties established the main legal basis for the federal policies with respect to Indian education. Quote from page 143 - 1969 Report.

25. The Indian Appropriation Act of March 3, 1871, ended Indian Treaty making with the United States. However treaty obligations assumed by the United States and Indian Tribes still constitute one of the sources for present day action.

26. The following list of treaties dealing with education for Indians was taken from Federal Indian Law.

Treaty of August 18, 1804, with Delaware Tribe, 7 Stat. 81; treaty of August 29, 1821, with Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pottawatamie, 7 Stat. 218: treaty of February 12, 1825, with Creek Nation, 7 Stat. 237; treaty of February 8, 1831, with the Menominee Indians, 7 Stat. 342; treaty of September 21, 1833, with the Otoes and Missourias, 7 Stat. 429; treaty of March 2, 1836, with the Ottawa and Chippewa, 7 Stat. 491; treaty of September 17, 1836, with the Sacs and Foxes, etc.. 7 Stat. 511; treaty of October 15, 1836, with the Otoes, etc., 7 Stat. 524; treaty of January 4, 1845, with the Creeks and Seminoles, 9 Stat. 821, 822; treaty of October 13, 1846, with the Winnebago Indians, 9 Stat. 878; treaty of August 2, 1847, with the Chippewas, 9 Stat. 904; treaty of October 18, 1848, with the Menominee Tribe, 9 Stat. 952; treaty of July 23, 1851, with the Sioux, 10 Stat. 949; treaty of August 5, 1851, with the Sioux Indians, 10 Stat. 954; treaty of May 12, 1854, with the Menominee, 10 Stat. 1064; treaty of December 26, 1854, with the Nisqually, etc., Indians, 10 Stat. 1132; treaty of October 17, 1855, with the Blackfoot Indians, 11 Stat. 657; treaty of September 24, 1857, with the Pawnees, 11 Stat. 729; treaty of January 22, 1855, withThe Dwamish, etc., 12 Stat. 927; treaty of January 26, 1855, with the S'Klallams, 12 Stat. 933; treaty of January 31, 1855, with Makah Tribe, 12 Stat. 939; treaty of July 1, 1855, with the Qui-nai-elt, etc., Indians, 12 Stat. 971; treaty of July 16, 1855, with the Flathead, etc., Indians, 12 Stat. 975; treaty of December 21, 1855, with the Molels, 12 Stat. 981; treaty of October 18, 1864, with the Chippewa Indians, 14 Stat. 657; treaty of June 14, 1866, with the Creek Nation, 14 Stat. 785; treaty of February 18, 1867, with the Sac and Fox Indians, 15 Stat. 495; treaty of February 19, 1867, with the Sissiton, etc., Sioux, 15 Stat. 505.

Treaty of May 6, 1828, with the Cherokee Nation, 7 Stat. 311; treaty of New Echota, December 29, 1835, with the Cherokee, 7 Stat. 478 (provides for common schools and "* a literacy institution of a higher order ***"); treaty of June 5 and 17, 1846, with the Pottowautomie Nation,.9 Stat. 853; treaty of September 30, 1854, with the Chippewa Indians, 10 Stat. 1109; treaty of November 18, 1854, with the Chastas, etc., Indians, 10 Stat. 1122; treaty of April 19, 1858, with the Yancton Sioux, 11 Stat. 743; treaty of June 9, 1855, with the Walla-Wallas, etc., tribes, 12 Stat. 945; treaty of June 11, 1855, with the Nez Perces, 12 Stat. 957; treaty of March 12, 1858, with the Poncas, 12 Stat. 997; treaty of October 14, 1865, with the Lower Brule Sioux, 14 Stat. 699; treaty of February 23, 1867, with the Senecas, etc., 15 Stat. 513; treaty of October 21, 1867, with the Kiowa and Comanche Indians, 15 Stat. 581; treaty of October 21, 1867, with the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians, 15 Stat. 589; treaty of October 28, 1867, with the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians, 15 Stat. 593; treaty of March 2, 1868, with the Ute Indians, 15 Stat. 619; treaty of April 29 et seq., 1868, with the Sioux Nation, 15 Stat. 635; treaty of May 7, 1868, with the Crow Indians, 15 Stat. 649; treaty of May 10, 1868, with the Northern Cheyenne and Northern Arapahoe Indians, 15 Stat. 655; treaty of June 1, 1868, with the Navajo Tribe, 15 Stat. 667; treaty of July 3, 1868 with the Eastern Band Shoshones and Bannock Tribe of Indians, 15 Stat. 673.

An unusual educational provision appears in the treaty of May 6, 1828, with the Cherokee Nation, supra. Art 5 reads in part:

*** It is further agreed by the United States, to pay two thousand dollars, the President of the United States in the education of their children, in their own country, in letters and the mechanic arts; also, one thousand dollars towards the purchase of a Printing Press and Types to aid the Cherokees in the progress of education, and to benefit and enlighten them as a poeple, in their own, and our languag.

Treaty of November 15, 1827, with the Creek Nation, 7 Stat. 307; treaty of September 15, 1832, with the Winnebago Nation, 7 Stat. 370; treaty of May 24, 1834, with the Chickasaw Indians, 7 Stat. 450; treaty of June 9, 1863, with the Nez Perce Tribe, 14 Stat. 647; treaty of March 19, 1867, with the Chippewa of Mississippi, 16 Stat. 719.

Treaty of October 18, 1820, with the Choctaw Nation, 7 Stat. 210; treaty of June 3, 1825, with the Kansas Nation, 7 Stat. 244; treaty of August 5, 1826, with the Chippewa Tribe, 7 Stat. 290; treaty of October 21, 1837, with the Sac and Fox Indians, 7 Stat. 543; treaty of March 17, 1842, with the Wyandott Nation, 11 Stat. 581; treaty of May 15, 1846, with the Comanche, etc., Indians, 9 Stat. 844; treaty of June 5, 1854, with the Miami Indians, 10 Stat. 1093; treaty of November 15, 1854, with the Rogue Rivers, 10 Stat. 1119; treaty of November 29, 1854, with the Umpqua, etc., Indians, 10 Stat. 1125; treaty of July 31, 1855, with the Ottowas and Chippewas, 11 Stat. 621; treaty of February 5, 1856, with the Stockbridge and Munsee Tribes, 11 Stat. 663; treaty of June 9, 1855 with the Yakima Indians, 12 Stat. 951; treaty of June 25, 1855, with the Oregon Indians, 12 Stat. 963; treaty of June 19, 1858, with the Sioux bands, 12 Stat. 1031; treaty of July 16, 1859, with the Chippewa bands, 12 Stat. 1105; treaty of February 18, 1861, with the Arapahoes and Cheyenne Indians, 12 Stat. 1163; treaty of March 6, 1861, with the Sacs, Foxes and Iowas, 12 Stat. 1171; treaty of June 24, 1862, with the Ottawa Indians, 12 Stat. 1237; treaty of May 7, 1864, with the Chippewas, 13 Stat. 693; treaty of August 12, 1865, with the Snake Indians, 14 Stat. 683; treaty of March 21, 1866, with the Seminole Indians, 14 Stat. 755; treaty of April 28, 1866, with the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nation, 14 Stat. 769; treaty of August 13, 1868, withthe Nez Perce Tribe, 15 Stat. 693.

Treaty of October 16, 1826, with the Potawatomie Tribe, 7 Stat. 295; treaty of September 20, 1828, Potawatamie Indians, 7 Stat, 317; treaty of July 15, 1830, with the Sacs and Foxes, etc., 7 Stat. 328; treaty of September 27, 1830, with the Choctaw Nation, 7 Stat. 333; treaty ofMarch 24, 1832, with the Creek Tribe, 7 Stat. 366; treaty of February 14, 1833, with the Creek Nation, 7 Stat. 417; treaty of January 14, 1846, with the Kansas Indians, 9 Stat. 842; treaty of April 1, 1850, with the Wyandot Tribe, 9 Stat. 987; treaty of March 15, 1854, with the Delaware Tribe, 10 Stat. 1048; treaty of May 10, 1854, with the Shawnees, 10 Stat. 1053; treaty of May 17, 1854, with the Ioway Tribe, 10 Stat. 1069; treaty of May 30, 1854, with the Kaskaskia, etc., Indians, 10 Stat. 1082; treaty of January 22, 1855, with the Willamette BAnds, 10 Stat. 1143; treaty of February 22, 1855, with the Chippewa Indians of Mississippi, 10 Stat. 1165; treaty of June 22, 1855, with the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians, 11 Stat. 611; treaty of August 2, 1855, with the Chippewa Indians of Saginaw, 11 Stat. 633; treaty of August 7, 1856, with the Creeks and Seminoles, 11 Stat. 699; treaty of June 28, 1862, with the Kickapoo Tribe, 13 Stat. 623; treaty of October 2, 1863, with the Chippewa Indians (Red Lake and Pembina Bands), 13 Stat. 667; treaty of September 29, 1865, with the Osage Indians, 14 Stat. 687. (6) p. 271-272

EDUCATION and POLITICS:

A SHOTGUN WEDDING

I. Introduction

II. History of Pine Point Community School

III. Tribe as Political Entity

IV. Recognizing Politics in Alternative Schools

I N T R O D U C T I O N

In a day when man is supposedly more educated than he has ever been before, he seems to be finding it more difficult to live in harmony with his fellow man. Maybe this paradoxical situation suggests that there are segments of his education which have been neglected. Man's inability to perceive his fellow man as a person who has similar feelings, inclinations, hopes, and responsibilities, has created a society that is faced with segmentation and confrontation.

As education has functioned in the past, much time has been devoted to the school's role in assisting the child to reach his own individual potential, specifically in the cognitive areas. There exists substantial literature that speaks about individualization. At the same time there are assumptions about the school's role in the socialization of the child. Yet, there is considerable evidence to suggest that education, including the school and the teachers, has been responsible for a dysfunctional socialization. During the latter 1960's, this statement was made relevant to Indian country. Basically, Indian communities said, the non-Indian education system was at fault for the failure of Indian students to make it through that system.

In many Indian communities, Indian people were

demanding "Indian community control" or "Indian control of Indian education". There was substantial ground for this exigency. In 1969, the Special Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education recommended that the United States set as a national goal the achievement of:

> Maximum Indian participation in the development of exemplary education programs for (a) Federal Indian schools; (b) public schools with Indian populations; and (c) model schools, to meet both social and educational goals....[1]

The following year, President Nixon declared:

> "We believe every Indian community wishing to do so should be able to control its Indian schools."[2]

The movement for Indian control in education has taken many different forms. Some communities have entered into contracts with the Bureau of Indian Affairs by which the community operates a school or school programs. Other communities have worked through the state school system to gain control of their schools or school programs. And still other communities are weighing the advantages and disadvantages of alternative courses of action.

The purpose of this article is to discuss the political realities which face Indian communities as they begin to move toward transforming the rhetoric of "Indian control"

[1] Indian Education: A National Tragedy--A National Challenge; Document number 91-501, 91st Congress, First Session, p. 106.

[2] Message of the President of the United States, July 8, 1970, House Document No. 91-363, 91st Congress, Second Session, p. 6.

into the reality of quality education.

I know it's popular to say that the education of children should be above politics. I also know that other papers at this symposium are directly devoted to legal and political issues at the national level.

Despite knowing this, I feel confident about the direction of this paper. The education of Indian children has never been above politics. Schools have been and usually still are one of the chief instruments of domination used by the society-at-large. More and more I have come to believe that schools are not removed from politics for any child in this country. But so far a- Indian children are concerned, there is just no question remaining about this point.

More and more I have come to believe that people who argue that schools are not political institutions do not follow school board elections, attend meetings, and probably have never tried to bring substantial changes to a school.

And the politization is a local as well as a national matter. Concern for the national issues is important and necessary. The national issues, however, affect local communities and the individual human beings in them. We cannot forget this fact--for either education or politics.

If you believed literally in what most educational theorists say and write, you might end up thinking that

the problem in running a demonstration program for Indian students is a matter of getting together a coherent set of ideas about schooling and operating on the basis of those ideas. If you believe in the current ways in which most schools seem to be administered, you might end up thinking that it makes no difference whatever which set of ideas about schooling apply so long as the bills are paid and no one influential is offended by the demonstration program.

Both of these perspectives are limited and limited to the extent that they do not serve the development of a demonstration program. The experiences with the Pine Point School suggest to me that a demonstration program has at least two major functions: first, to demonstrate ideas in operation for improving schooling, and second, demonstrating how to put together the resources to establish and nourish a school program. The first function demands educational resourcefulness; the second demands political resourcefulness.

My argument in this paper is that both kinds of resourcefulness are necessary, <u>but that the political dimension is the one which is usually unrecognized and underestimated</u>. As one reads the discussion of this demonstration project, note the number of times reference is made to some aspect of the political dimension. I will draw from the Pine Point School for my examples, but

will try to extend those examples into other settings, too.

Basic to this argument are two other points: first, that Indian communities are badly served by schools almost all the time. Secondly, Indian communities are politically dispossesed and therefore relatively powerless. I assume that no special pleading of these points are required here.

The present program at Pine Point started in July of 1970. The initiative for a new program came when a state-wide plan for the consolidation of school districts affected the community. Provisions of this law included closing so-called common school districts--those not operating a high school--and consolidating them with an existing district which did operate a high school.

To my knowledge the issues of the special political status of reservations and the special needs of Indian students were never raised during the development of this legislation and the enforcement policies for the bill. That may have been a critical political failure in itself, but that is another large story.

Pine Point had operated as a common school district for many years before the consolidation issue surfaced. Thus, the claim that reservation communities have no experience with running their own school affairs is simply wrong--certainly so far as Pine Point is concerned.

Accordingly, the organization of the following discussion is:

First, a history and developmental chronicle of the Pine Point Experimental Community School and the variety of problems encountered;

Second, the legal argument for a tribe to be recognized as an entity; and,

Third, re-emphasis on the political dimensions in attempting to carry on an alternative program for Indian students with generalized reactions on what organizers for demonstration programs need to consider.

HISTORY AND CHRONICLE

The Pine Point Elementary School is located in the village of Ponsford, Minnesota, in the southeast corner of the White Earth Indian Reservation. Trade centers for the area are Park Rapids, 20 miles southeast, and Detroit Lakes, 30 miles southwest.

This area of the state is well known for its natural beauty. The magnificent Itasca State Park is located immediately to the east of the reservation. Both Park Rapids and Detroit Lakes are renowned as tourism centers. In fact, a large part of the economic base of the area is tourist-oriented.

In the midst of the natural beauty many residents suffer greatly. Of all persons who suffer from economic deprivation, the Indian people suffer most deeply since their plight is compounded by racial attitudes and a history of social and educational programs that have failed to meet the needs to which they were presumably addressed.

Becker County, within which the Pine Point sector of the reservation is located, usually ranks at or near the bottom of Minnesota counties listed by per capita income. Conversely it ranks near the top in percentage of residents dependent upon forms of public welfare. An estimated 70% of persons living in the Pine Point area

have annual family incomes below $3,600; 90% of heads of households have incomes below $3,000. Pine Point has an average yearly income of $614 per person.

Unemployment and underemployment are chronic among heads of households; opportunities for employment of youth are non-existent.

Pine Point exists in geographical, economic, and social isolation. The community is dominated by problems of poverty; the problems of poverty are inextricably linked to and compounded by problems of race. An inference may be drawn, which is, these problems may well produce a culture in which healthy "identity" is almost impossible to attain. Further, the results produce a scene in which too many human beings at best waste themselves, and, at worst, destroy themselves.

The objectives drawn for this project were designed to fit the needs of the community, the initial phase of the project being the school, for the community of Pine Point is in existence because of one thing...the school.

The community of Pine Point decided that changes in the school program were in order, beginning in the year of 1968. One of the earliest steps taken was to hire a Chippewa from Pine Point as the principal of the school. Throughout the school year of 1968-69 several meetings were held to generate community involvement in the school and participation in similar activities. Many of the

activities which were carried out were, perhaps, simple in comparison to other school districts. These activities included staff meetings with parents, discussions, and movies about the culture of the Indian people of the United States. More than any other thing, what was occurring was that the Indian parents of the community were becoming actively involved in the various facets of the school program, a rare thing among Indian communities. The response from the residents was encouraging to the school administration and even more encouraging to the parents themselves. This was a new experience for them and they continued their attendance at meetings and programs.

In October of 1969 meetings were initiated with the neighboring school district, Park Rapids. At that time Districts 25 (Pine Point) and 309 (Park Rapids) were independent of each other with District 25 purchasing high school services for its children from District 309. Present were staff members of the Park Rapids school and parents of the Pine Point community. The intent of the meetings was to establish a dialogue between the community and the Park Rapids staff, and suggest guidelines for the issues of school attendance, school performance, and dropouts in particular, since the dropout rate was 78% over a ten-year period. A representative number of Park Rapids teachers was in attendance and it was an excellent oppor-

tunity for developing further group meetings. It was suggested that the staff of Park Rapids take the initiative in organizing future meetings; however, nothing ever materialized.

At this same point in time, the Minnesota Indian Education Committee was in the process of discussing possible alternative solutions for problems facing Indian students in the state; i.e., dropouts, low achievement, absenteeism. At an earlier date, the Minnesota Indian Education Committee had met at Pine Point and had gone over some of the same issues with the parents of the community. The Committee had cautioned the community residents against making any radical moves concerning the educational systems serving the Pine Point students. The chairman of the committee stated, "Asking the children to stay in a reservation or Indian populated school (Pine Point) might place an additional burden on the children by lengthening the period of time that it takes to learn to function in modern society." Additionally, the Director of Indian Education in Minnesota was concerned that any alternatives Pine Point might consider be thoroughly examined.

The alternative the community was considering was to establish a school program similar in nature to the Rough Rock Demonstration School. The Board of Education of Pine Point was convinced this was the direction to take and instructed the school principal to conduct a

study of the concepts of experimental educational programs.

In retrospect, in May of 1969, Reuben Rock, an elder in the community and a member of the Pine Point School Board, stated that Pine Point was moving towards community status with the development of the new housing project and was concerned that the Pine Point School was to be abandoned just when improvements were developing in the local community.

On November 5, 1969, an article appeared in the "Detroit Lakes Tribune" entitled, "Giant Mill Levy Seen for Pine Point; Consolidation Probable." (The 1967 State Legislature passed a law that common school districts, e.g., Pine Point, must consolidate with graded secondary school districts by 1971.) It was the opinion of many that the state was encouraging the consolidation of the Pine Point School district, which, in effect, would shut down the school at a date earlier than the actual legal deadline. The Pine Point officials were urged to begin discussions with District 309, Park Rapids, regarding consolidation. It is of importance to note that the Department of Education felt that this common school district of Pine Point was not providing quality education. It appeared that the answer to the educational ills of this Indian community was to shut down existing educational facilities and move the children to other loca-

tions--white public schools--in order that they receive "quality education." The instrument the state used was the increased tax levy, and this in a school district already noted for the lack of taxable resources. All parties concerned realized the district of Pine Point could not meet the mill levy being proposed.

Later that month new impetus was added. At the First National Indian Education Conference held November 20-22, 1969 in Minneapolis, Senator Walter F. Mondale, in the keynote address, stated that:

> "There is little to be proud of about a system in which 25 per cent of the teachers of Indian students admit they prefer not to teach Indians.
>
> "There is little to be proud of about a system which ignores the Indian half the time and demeans him the rest."

At this same conference the call was made for Indians to become involved in their own destiny. The conclusions drawn were unanimous; Indian education is as bad as it can be, and even at its best, white dominated education insults and frustrates Indians; Indian control has never been tried in recent times; therefore, Indians should be given meaningful involvement and/or control over the education of their children.

The proposed closing of the District 25 school involved a basic contradiction. On the one hand, considerable rhetorical energy had been devoted to the need for

involving Indian parents in the education of their children; on the other hand, the Indian-controlled Pine Point School was being forced into consolidation with a non-Indian school system. The theory of Indian responsibility was contradicted by the realities of school policies.

Since it appeared that little if anything was going to be done by the state officials about the possible shutdown of the Pine Point School, the community had to step up its proposed alternatives. On December 5, 1969, a project overview, entitled, "An Experimental Community School", was submitted to the Minnesota Indian Affairs Commission for their review and support. The presentation was made by the Indian principal at a meeting held in the village of Pine Point. It was the first documented article to appear regarding the possible alternatives discussed by the Pine Point community members. The Minnesota Indian Affairs Commission supported the proposal.

On the final day of Congress, Senator Walter Mondale renewed his call for a prompt change in Indian educational systems to recognize the special needs of Indian students. He told of recent events at the Pine Point School in Ponsford:

> "Two teenage suicides and seven attempted suicides in the last ten months: 18 local Indian youths incarcerated in state correctional institutions; another 27 on probation; a high school dropout

> rate of 78 per cent and an average daily attendance rate of only 51 per cent.
>
> "These statistics can be interpreted a number of ways, but of one thing I am convinced: The educational system must bear a major responsibility for these tragic situations. These statistics will not change until the educational system changes to recognize the special needs of Indian students."

A news release covering this Congressional matter (December, 1969) went on to say that:

> "He called attention to the recent Senate Indian Education Subcommittee report which pointed out ways in which the educational system should change. The report called for, among other things, increased participation by Indians in the operation of schools attended by Indians and development of implementation of curriculum materials which recognized language and cultural differences."

With the support of Senator Mondale and the Indian Affairs Commission, the next move was to meet with the Department of Education officials to discuss in detail the legality of a possible demonstration project and ramifications of the legislative mandate (that of 1967 regarding consolidation). It appeared to be a touchy matter because of the suggestions by Indian organizations and tribes that Indians be given the opportunity to run their own affairs. Again, the contradiction between a law and the desire of a group was readily apparent. The Director of the Indian Education Section of the State Department of Education decided it would be worth a try to explore the possibilities and draw up detailed plans and proposals.

The Minnesota Indian Education Committee named an ad-hoc subcommittee to assist in the drawing up of a proposal. While yet in rough draft, the proposal received support from Indian organizations throughout the state (Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, Minneapolis Urban Indian Federation, American Indian Movement) and advanced rapidly. The plans for establishing a demonstration project in Indian education for the state of Minnesota were set in order and a deadline for completion of the proposal was June 1, 1970. The action date for Minnesota Department of Education was July 1, 1970, and the proposed implementation date was September, 1970.

There remained to be answered the questions of the law, research, funding, and detailed facets of the project. At this point, the major area to be put in order was detailing the project methods, features, and objectives, so that a justifiable argument could be made for the project.

In late February, 1970, a thesis entitled "Behaviorally Engineered Elementary Schools" was presented. In the thesis, there were three fundamentals outlined:

1) The premise of defined instructional objectives.
2) Application of defensible laws of human behavior.
3) Accountability of all involved persons for the contribution of their behavior to the learning of children.

In addition, it was strongly suggested that the teachers must make a commitment to learn and apply the principles of immediate reinforcement of behavior.

In mid-April of 1970 a draft of the proposal, "An Experimental Community School: A Child Centered Program", was finished and considered the end product of several months research and developments. The basics of the proposal were:

> A proposal to establish, in an elementary school serving Indian children in a rural area of Minnesota, a program of instruction that will:
>
> 1) Produce upgraded achievement in mathematics, reading, and other standard curricular subjects;
> 2) Incorporate into the content of the curriculum the history, music, art, and traditions of Chippewa Indian people;
> 3) Employ the defensible laws of human behavior to guide children to behaviorally stated instructional objectives.

Throughout the month of May negotiations were held between the school boards of Pine Point and Park Rapids. and the Director of Indian Education to discuss the possible merger of the two schools. In order to comply with the state mandate of consolidation, the tentative solution offered by the Indian community was to become a part of the Park Rapids district but maintain Pine Point as an attendance unit of the district. There were many questions from both sides, mainly concerning funding and control. The Park Rapids board hesitated due to concern that they might have to spend some of their own money to operate the Pine Point School. On the other hand, the Pine Point board was concerned that the local people would have little to say about the school operations in the school they felt was theirs. The Director of Indian Education assured the

Park Rapids board that additional funds would be made available so that there would be no cost to the local taxpayer, contingent on the establishment of an advisory board from the local community from Pine Point.

In early June, 1970, the two school boards met at Pine Point to make a final decision. The Park Rapids school board resolved to maintain the Pine Point School as an attendance unit of District 309 and to maintain it as an Experimental Educational Unit, for a period of one year, at which time the program would be subject to review.

On June 8, 1970, the combined school boards of Pine Point and Park Rapids met with the State Board of Education and Commissioner of Education, Howard Casmey. The State Board went on record as endorsing the experimental project and resolved that it be carried on for a period of three years.

On June 30, 1970, District 25 ceased to exist as a corporate body. The Pine Point School became the responsibility of the Park Rapids district on July 1, 1970, being known as "The Pine Point Experimental Community School."

In the beginning of the program, it was hoped that the administration of the Pine Point School would be shared by the local Indian school board and the Park Rapids board. However, the Pine Point board was dissolved

and replaced with an Indian Advisory Board. The administration lay totally with the Park Rapids School Board, with the Indian Advisory Board having input in an advisory capacity only. The fact that the Pine Point community lost a considerable amount of local autonomy is a clear example of a large school system dominating a local community. It should be noted that the Park Rapids School Board was never in favor of merging with the Pine Point School, for reasons unclear.

The merger of the administrations was an unhappy one for most of the people involved. The eventual consequence will indicate this clearly.

After the program began there were indications that the district officials were going to operate from a position of indifference while posing as grantors of independence. One example of this indifference was an outgrowth of allegations made in a local newspaper that Pine Point was a center for developing racial hatred. The article appeared November 12, 1970, in the "Becker County Record", entitled, "County Residents Request Stronger Law Enforcement." Reference was made to the Pine Point School, stating that the theme of the school was to teach hate and racism. The staff of Pine Point drafted a letter requesting the Park Rapids Board of Education to meet and prepare a rebuttal to the allegations. The request was made November 17, 1970. The Board of Education read the request

January 19, 1971. The matter was brought up to the Pine Point staff and community in March, 1971. Support--immediate support--could have reinforced the staff and community. But the school board did not respond until it was too late and it did not matter any longer.

The same attitudes were reflected in the reactions to proposals from Pine Point to provide some service to a group of over twenty-five high school dropouts who started spending their time at the Pine Point School. Eventually this group was told that we could not provide resources to assist them, after having made several requests to the Superintendent and District 309 board. As a coup de grace, one of the district board members stated to the Pine Point principal, "You certainly do have a problem here." This, from a board member whose schools were those these students had forsaken--some as long ago as five years. Yet, he had the audacity to say that the problem was that of the Pine Point principal, when reality testifies that this man and the staff of District 309 were dismal failures.

These incidents reflect the attitude of the school board of District 309. It is assumed that they are primarily concerned about funds and fiscal responsibility, a difficult enough task. However, the Pine Point project is their responsibility as well and they should provide strong leadership for the program. For the first year they did not exercise their strengths.

The second year saw a change in leadership of the position of Pine Point director. Apparently things went well administratively, but the students, teachers, and community were not included in many activities. The parents' excitement at being involved deteriorated, and that of the staff as well. The new director made no substantial changes but rather attempted to maintain an existing program, which he did, without creating discordance with the administration. Evidently the Park Rapids officials were pleased by this, and complimented him on being a fine administrator. The Indian community was paying for the consequences, but as long as backs were being patted and no political dissension was evident among administrators, there was no necessity for concern for the consumers, in this case Indian students and parents.

More recently another example of the political powerlessness of the local Indian community was made manifest. The Indian Advisory Board Unanimously passed a resolution creating a new position at the school. It was a part-time position which an Indian was to fill as a co-director of the program with special responsibilities spelled out. (It should be noted that another director had succeeded to that position, a non-Indian, selected over an Indian in the spring of 1972.)

The Director and the Superintendent of District 309 met and verified for the record that there would be no additional funds required for the position. The cost would be approximately $2,600. The Superintendent then met with the Indian community and was told of their wishes and desire to have an Indian, the person who founded the program, as project co-director. He said he would take this request back to his board for their consideration.

This resolution of the Indian Advisory Board was unanimously rejected by the district board. There were two district meetings at which the issue was discussed. At the first of these two meetings, according to the "Park Rapids Enterprise", the board first discussed another request--for school cooperation in an evangelism program sponsored by several local churches. In response to a question about the legal ramifications of the request, the Superintendent was quoted as saying, "There are some laws you can ignore if nobody makes a fuss." Keep this in mind as this discussion proceeds.

The district board then listened to representatives of the Indian Advisory Board, the Pine Point faculty, the community, and the director all speak in favor of the resolution. The issue was tabled. At that point the Indian representatives walked out of the meeting. A week later the issue was discussed further and the board voted to reject the proposal.

The comparison of the evangelism and Indian issues is instructive. In the first case, an issue of doubtful legality was favorably treated because the direction of the political breezes was sensed. In the second case, a modest and financially sound request was rejected, because the board and superintendent felt it was not a politically wise move.

At this point the reservation tribal council passed a resolution banning the district superintendent and the board members--prohibiting them from setting foot on Indian land, in which Pine Point is located. The tribal council also stated that any person from the district staff desiring to come to Pine Point would be allowed to do so only if the council provided him with a pass.

A final example of Park Rapids' attitudes involved a most recent action taken by the district school board to close down the Pine Point Experimental Community School by June 30, 1973. There are a number of facts and some interpretations of this move. First, the action was unilateral on the part of the district board. The Indian Advisory Board was not consulted or informed of it. The State Department of Education was not told of it; neither were the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the White Earth tribal council, nor the Pine Point School director.

Secondly, the district board took the action with no consideration of the fact that the State Board of Education had sanctioned a three-year operation, and the

program had not yet completed its third year. Additionally, there was no consideration of any evaluation of the school program. In fact, the action was taken the evening that a team of evaluators from the State Department of Education left for their office to begin writing a short evaluation which had been requested by the State Board of Education. The issues mentioned by the district board were per pupil costs and the inefficiency of the school building.

Third, school officials have been quoted as saying that the "real reason" behind the action is to bring the question of local autonomy to a head. The board resolution does mention the desire of the Pine Point community to run its own school affairs and with the most patronizing kind of noblesse oblige the district board announced its endorsement of the Pine Point community's wish.

But significantly, none of this was done in cooperation with Pine Point people. The issue was probably a matter of affront (Pine Point apparently embarrasses Park Rapids) and fear of the issue of school segregation. But these are just surmises.

The most recent development occurred April 3 and 4, 1973. The State Board of Education, Commissioner of Education, governor's representatives, and other politically responsible persons attended a hearing on the closing of the Pine Point School. The seven members of the State Board and the Commissioner of Education for the

for the state were visibly impressed by a four-hour meeting, at which they heard testimony from Indian parents, Indian teachers, and other supporters. The Commissioner and State Board members later admitted that they had previously been supporting the Park Rapids' intention of closing the Pine Point School.

After hearing the testimony given, the Commissioner called for immediate negotiations in order that the Pine Point Advisory Board could assume full fiscan and educational control. At this point negotiations have not been held, but a political and educational victory was won.

It is doubtful that this could have come about if the local residents and community leaders did not have political know-how.

An aspect of all this is that the political dimension of the experiences at Pine Point has become dominant. The very existence of a program, any program at all, was in some doubt. This doubt was not the result of any documented failure of the school to work toward or meet objectives. It is not even the result of any stated dissatisfaction with the program. It is a set of complicated political issues revolving around the question, "Who is going to have decision-making power?"

It is critical that Indian people living in Indian communities have that power. It is critical because of

two very different points from very different sources. First, the self-determination drive is quite real among tribal people. This is simply another way of saying that Indian people themselves want control and responsibility for education and other affairs. Second, the dominant society wants some kind of settlement of Indian issues and will become more demanding of this as time goes on. In other words, there will be more consideration of termination, although that will probably not be the term used. There will be more interest in Indian self-sufficiency, at least on reservations. This is and will be especially true of the current administration in Washington.

In these terms, education, and other forms of community development, amount to a kind of race between self-sufficiency and the necessary conditions for self-sufficiency. Well known are the disastrous results of termination without adequate preparation.

Thus, education and Indian politics are inter-related in two obvious ways: 1) control of education is an important current issue in the politics within Indian communities and between those communities and the dominant society, and 2) strengthening of schools is an important part of preparing for self-sufficiency.

THE TRIBE AS A POLITICAL ENTITY

Many Indian communities, including Pine Point, are faced with this issue of segregation. The issue lurks in the motives of the district boards; it sometimes surfaces in the questions of state board members or politicians. The key point is this: states assume Indians are a "race" and have defined them as minorities. Yet, very few states and/or Indian tribes have sought other solutions to the issue of integration of Indian students.

While I do not pretend to offer the following statements as the answer, I would consider it a start. As Indian educators, historians, politicians, or concerned Indians, it is incumbent upon us to provide leadership regarding segregation and integration.

More importantly we must recognize tribes are political entities, not merely racial groups. This will be the central point in my argument in this section.

The direction and development of the national Indian education policy is inextricably related to overall federal Indian policy. The civilization policy designed to bring about assimilation of Indians into white society has not succeeded, at least so far. Through the treaties and because Indians were not citizens, there developed a special relationship between Indians and the federal government, which, according to Chief Justice John Marshall, "resembles that of a ward to his guardian".[3] The treaties,

[3] Cherokee Nation v. Georgia, United States 1, 1831.

the judicially evolved theory of guardianship, and the constitutional directive of Article I, Section 8, to regulate commerce with Indian tribes, provided the sources of power for the Congress over the years to pass a series of laws for the special benefit of Indians and established the Bureau of Indian Affairs to carry out those programs.

During the Eisenhower administration, both the executive and legislative branches of government sought to "terminate" the special relationship between Indians and the federal government, and to promote the full integration of Indians into the mainstream of society.

Termination, as Indian tribes know it, is the most threatening word to Indian country. This fear is pervasive and cannot be ignored by anyone attempting to understand contemporary issues.

In education, forms of termination are being carried out by consolidating Indian schools with white public schools. The 1967 consolidation law for the state of Minnesota could be a serious legal question in that it forced several all-Indian schools to integrate. This is contradictory to stoppage of the all-out drive for termination. This ended (unofficially, for termination still remains as a law) on September 18, 1958, when Secretary of the Interior Fred Seaton announced that no tribe would be terminated without its consent.

Yet, if one interprets the consolidation law of 1967, he may see a distinct form of termination.

A more recent concern which tribal, state, and federal governments must consider, is the issue of Indian schools and the constitution, in particular as it relates to the 1954 Supreme Court Brown v. Board of Education decision. The unique status of Indians, treaties, creation of reservations, the notion of a generalized wardship or trust responsibility, must all be kept in mind as well, as they are all interrelated and there seems to be no distinct definitions or answers to them.

In the Brown decision, the Supreme Court, construing the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, declared that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal," and deprive Negro children of equal educational opportunities.

It does not follow, however, that general equal protection and due process standards apply across the board to Indians without modification. Several hundred years of history and substantial body of law (5,000 statutes, 2,000 regulations, 389 treaties, 2,000 federal court decisions, and 500 opinions of the Attorney General) have defined the unique status of Indians and Indian tribes in this society. The Constitution, the judicially evolved theory of guardianship, and the inherent power of the federal government derived from its ownership of the lands

which Indian tribes occupy are the principle sources of law which differentiate Indians from all other groups.

The Constitution empowers the Congress "to regulate commerce with Indian Tribes", and it grants to the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, the power "to make treaties". And while the Commerce and Treaty clauses have been the most important constitutional sources of federal power over Indians, the war power, the power to control property of the United States, and to admit new states, have also been significant.

The enactment of the Trade Act in 1790 enabled Congress to use its constitutional powers to pass laws which affect Indian tribes and tribal members. Congress has regulated the right of Indian tribes to enter contracts, authorized Indian tribes to supervise the employment of federal employees assigned to them, and prescribed procedures for the formal organization of Indian tribal government. These statutes refer to particular groups defined in political or geographical terms.

In the case of Worcester v. Georgia, Chief Justice Marshall, in holding that the State of Georgia could not regulate the internal affairs of the Cherokee Nation, gave the following description of the status of Indians:

> "The Indian nations had always been considered as distinct, independent political communities. The very term 'nation' so generally applied to them, means 'a people distinct from others'. The Constitution, by declaring treaties already made, as well as those to be made, to be the supreme law of the land, admits their rank among those powers who are capable of making treaties.

> "The Cherokee Nation, then, is a distinct community occupying its own territory, with boundaries accurately described, in which the laws of Georgia can have no force...." [4]

In 1958, the Supreme Court in Williams v. Lee held that Arizona state courts had no jurisdiction over a dispute between an Anglo and an Indian arising on the Navajo reservation, because the exercise of state jurisdiction would impinge on "the right of reservation Indians to make their own laws and be ruled by them".[5] The Court relied heavily on Worcester v. Georgia, and observed that despite some modification over the years, "the basic policy of Worcester has remained".

The decisions in Worcester and Williams reflect congressional policy in the exercise of its Commerce Power to recognize and promote Indian tribal autonomy. The Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934, vested tribal government with the power "to prevent the sale, disposition, lease, or encumbrance of tribal lands, interests in lands, or other tribal assets without the consent of the tribe".

More recently, the principle of Indian tribal autonomy received explicit Congressional endorsement in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and 1968. The Indian provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 make tribal consent a conditional precedent to the assumption of state criminal or civil jurisdiction. The Act, moreover, gives express

[4] Worcester v. Georgia, 195 31 United States 15, 1832.

[5] Williams v. Lee, 358 United States 217, 1958.

recognition to tribal ordinances and customs.

The treaty power in Article II provides a second Constitutional basis for the federal government's dealing with Indian tribes. That the government dealt with Indian tribes by treaties underscores the fact that Indian tribes had historically, and still today largely maintain, a separate existence apart from society. Most treaties continued this separation by setting aside designated territory to be inhabited and controlled by particular Indian tribes. This separatism is supported today by a host of federal programs designed to improve the quality of life in Indian reservation communities.

In the exercise of its constitutional and other powers over Indians, Congress has enacted a comprehensive body of statutes which affects almost every aspect of a reservation Indian's life, including education, health, civil liberties, welfare, transfers of land, validity of contracts, testamentary dispositions, and expenditures of tribal funds.

The constitutional propriety of schools for Indians presents an entirely different issue from those decided on the principle that school segregation is unequal, because Indian schools are a direct result of the government's policy of treating Indian tribes as distinct, independent political communities. Through the exercise of the constitutional power to make treaties, wage war,

and regulate commerce with Indian tribes, the federal government has set aside geographically and politically separate areas to be occupied by Indians. Federal policy has been primarily directed to ward support and protection of the integrity of tribal self-government on reservations.

In the 1962 Tennessee reapportionment case[6], the Court reviewed the "political question" doctrine and classified cases involving the status of Indian tribes as ones which the courts treat as "political". The Court stated:

> "Prominent on the surface of any case held to involve a political question is found a textually demonstrable constitutional commitment of the issue to a coordinate political department." 7

The constitutional commitment to the Congress of the power to regulate commerce with Indian tribes is textually demonstrable.[8] That the establishment and operation of schools is a "regulation of commerce" within the meaning of the Constitution seems clear if the schools are viewed as designed to train persons to take part in interstate commerce; if the schools are viewed as founded pursuant to treaties which regulate commerce; or if the establishment of schools themselves is found to stimulate and affect commerce.[9]

Clearly, Indian schools result from the geographic and political separation of Indian nations and are not designed to promote racial segregation.

[6] Baker v. Carr, 369 U. S. 186, 1962

[7] 369 U. S. at 217

[8] Constitution, Article I, Section 8, cl. 3

[9] Compare, Katzenbach v. McClung, 379 U. S., 1964; Heart of Atlanta Motel v. U. S., 379 U. S. 241, 1964.

Indian schools are not segregated de jure, except to the extent that the creation of Indian reservations and continued recognition of tribal society constitutes segregation. No one could seriously argue that the Constitution requires the destruction of tribal society.

The states are confronted by the historical fact that the federal government has created or recognized Indian reservations, where many members of a single political and racial group can and do reside. The constitutions of most states contain specific disclaimers to jurisdiction and control over lands lying within the boundaries of the reservations. The creation and maintenance of Indian reservations may not fairly be denominated "state action" within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment. There were federal policy considerations which led to the creation of Indian reservations, and federal policy today calls for their continuance.

President Nixon, in his message to Congress on Indian policy, spoke directly to the low quality of Indian education which he called "one of the saddest aspects of Indian life". The President declared:

> "By channelling funds to Indian tribes and communities would give Indians the ability to help shape the schools which their children attend and in some instances, to set up new school systems of their own."

In 1972, then, the federal government, on the basis of experience, rejects the policy of forced termination,

reaffirms its "special relationship" to Indian tribes, and encourages reservation Indians to take greater control of the schools their children attend, including the establishment of new public school systems.

Recent Supreme Court decisions (Wright v. City of Emporia, and United States v. Scotland Neck City Board of Education) indicate the courts would allow great leeway in the creation of new school districts for recognized political entities. And since states expressly recognize the existence of Indian reservations as distinct political entities, the reservations could meet the court's prerequisites.

Under the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment, Indian schools can meet a constitutional challenge on the grounds of (1) plenary power of Congress over Indian affairs, (2) specific treaty agreements, (3) guardianship, and (4) regulation of commerce.

The federal government can establish and maintain segregated schools for Indians and it can support Indian community-controlled schools consistent with contemporary constitutional standards. A state may deliberately create a racially-imbalanced school district at the request of Indians in order to achieve valid educational objectives. Clearly, the movement for Indian control of Indian education can live comfortably with the United States Constitution.

RECOGNITION OF POLITICS IN ALTERNATIVE SCHOOLS

In a demonstration school there are at least two things to be demonstrated:

1) Reforming the educational practices, that is, doing things differently for educational reasons,

2) Reforming the power system so that innovative school programs have a chance to operate, that is, political survival.

The first, educational reform, where most of the experience and interest of school people live. People who think at all about education tend to think first of what they want schools to be. Often, they go ahead as if the problem were a matter of getting together a set of promising ideas about schools. Such thinking ignores the problem of having the resources--financial, organizational politics--to start and develop a program of educational ideas.

School people, especially those with ideals about education are often politically naive. This is not meant as a put-down--it is meant as a statement of fact. The ordinary experience of persons with well-formulated ideas about education does not include experience in getting, holding, and building political power.

Persons in the position of school political power--school superintendents and school board members, for instance--are often educationally naive. They tend to

be selected (in the case of superintendents) or elected (in the case of school boards) on the grounds of how well they manage the affairs of a school system. Management usually means taking care of the political pressures from the community. Most of the current pressures are economics, of which many can be summed up as the "taxpayer revolt" we seem to be currently experiencing. How often, for example, does a school board election center around issues of educational approach and effectiveness compared to centering around issues of local levies, state aids, or participation in federal programs which bring money? For example, the innovative program at Pine Point was accepted by the district board after it became clear the program would bring in substantial Johnson-O'-Malley money and would not require <u>any</u> local investment.

This is <u>not</u> saying that political growth must come before educational reform. In fact, the experience at Pine Point has been that school issues have been the focal point of political growth.

This <u>is</u> saying that school reform and political effectiveness are inevitably related. Anyone who believes that schools are outside of politics simply has not tried to change anything about schools. For example, our Johnson-O'Malley Advisory Board is like others in Minnesota in some ways. They do not, for instance, control

budgets. They are merely advisory boards. In many cases they are appointed by the district superintendent or board, not elected by Indian people.

A board cannot have any real power to affect a program if it does not have fiscal authority. A board cannot represent a community if the community does not participate in the selection of the board. Getting these things to happen is political action.

In summary, I believe that school political issues comparable to these occur in other Indian communities. To that extent I'm willing to offer the following generalizations about what organizers of demonstration programs should be prepared to face and to do.

1) Recognize that demonstration programs demonstrate both educational reforms and reform of the power system which is necessary to start and build a program.

2) Recognize that many people with ideas about education are politically naive and sometimes downright hostile to political action. The ordinary training and much of the early experience of educators does nothing to help with the political issues--at least their training and experience is no better suited to it than that of others.

3) Recognize that many politicians are not suited to thinking very deeply about educational issues. Most politicians are necessarily concerned with getting and

holding power to do things. But they need good resources to assist them in deciding what to do with their power.

The worst kind of situation which can develop is when the school people think that the politicians are hopelessly corrupt and the politicians think the school people are hopelessly idealistic. This is just another form of the divide and conquer technique which works against Indian communities so often.

4) Leadership is needed in both education and political action. Getting the leadership together for both realms may mean having one person or group emerge to lead on both fronts. Or it may mean coordinating the special talents of more than one person or organization. In the second case, someone or some group will have to take the responsibility for getting things coordinated anyway.

Having just one person who is both educationally and politically aware is unusual, I think. The interests are in some ways incompatible. But sometimes such people can be found or do emerge. If they do, great news for the project.

5) Regardless of the leadership source there is going to have to be a wide range of talent to make a demonstration program work well. Roughly, there needs to be both educational and political talent. And within both of those areas there will have to be another wide

range of skill and interest: from idea-producers through public relations specialists to clerical experts.

6) Communication is a requirement in any kind of institution but particularly critical for new programs. At least four lines of communication will have to be in good shape: the political action and school people will need good communication within their own staffs, these two groups will need communication with each other, both will need good communication with the community, and both will need good lines to agencies and persons outside the community.

7) Cooperative attitudes will have to be encouraged and maintained. Educational thinking without political action can degenerate into a romantic ego trip; political action without goals (such as education reform) can degenerate into a power ego trip.

SCHOOL

AS IT RELATES TO EDUCATION

FOR A SOCIETY

PRESENT & FUTURE

Position Paper
Native American Teacher Corps National Conference
Denver, Colorado
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Introduction

From time to time a conversation climaxes with someone stating, "Schools have done a fine job. Let's not knock them. We are the wealthest nation in the world. Our technology exceedes any nation in history. We have been able to harness our resources and provide luxurious living for the masses. Look at the advances in medicine. Look at life expectancy today. We have even put men on the moon. People have received a good education in our schools." Assessing many previous encounters, this is where I usually take refuge in my wife and say, "Honey, it is getting late and we must go."

Reared in a small town in Oklahoma, I recall the good fortune of being able to participate fully in life as it existed. Not for a number of years did I realize that money - that status - that the color of your skin or the clothes you wore made you more capable or less capable, opened or closed more doors of opportunity, affected your emotions or projected your future. I believe it was as I reached Jr. High age when I first realized that the one bath per week in the wash tub was the practice of the lower socio-economic group. It was a real educational breakthrough when I discovered talcum powder might create a facade supreme. I began to realize that sleeping at the foot of the bed on a cold winter night or standing to eat due to the lack of sufficient chairs wasn't quite acceptable to my school friends whom I asked to spend a night with me.

It was about this age I fully realized that I was in a trap. I must escape my family. They were not acceptable. Why would they do such a thing to me? Why couldn't we have a house with

running water and a bath? Why did I have to change my school clothes each afternoon so I could wear them all week to school? Yes, it was about this time I made the mistake of my life. It was then I became bitter toward those by whom I was most loved.

It was also about this time I became the machine in the "system". I first learned to know my status, the parameters within which I could function. I learned quickly when to be passive, aggressive, resentful, agreeable and when to say yes and when and how to cheat. I was becoming conditioned. Work was a commendable attribute for a kid coming from a poor Indian family. This became my "thing". At the age of 12 I shined shoes in the local barber shop. My industrious attributes led to future employment on the farms, in the grocery store and finally to the school as a custodian. To say the least, classes were a drag. Salutatorian of the eighth grade slumped to barely a "C" average in high school. Hard work did begin to pay off in physical fitness. A potential dropout at 9th grade, athletics became my salvation for the last three years of high school. For the first time in my life accomplishments were at hand on the high school ball teams.

The story certainly doesn't end there; however, I shall save the remainder for anyone interested, for an after dinner conversation.

I have many reasons for being concerned about education. I carried my facade through some tough years of college and out into the public school as a teacher. I agreed and possibly even aspired to play the game of education for the early years of my career. Later, frustrated with little success and more failure in meeting the needs of students, I have attempted to look at the public school system in an honest and sincere effort over the past 10 years.

But, to do this, one must be willing to honestly look at himself. I will steal John Holt's words when he states: "To answer, What makes a good education? We must ask, What makes a good life?" I am firmly convinced a good life cannot be attained when one is ashamed, when one hides from himself, when one is threatened, frustrated, and unable to cope! I cannot believe I was an isolated case. America is showing today, the faces of those the public school and/or society's educational process has failed. My experience tells me we can no longer live with an apathetic attitude and position as educators. We must find ways to harness successfully our most precious resource - the human being. Today children need never be trained to be machines; but to invent, to be curious, to understand themselves and their fellow man, and to use judgement. It is imperative that a system be developed to focus on the individual, not an organization for a traditional or stereotype society.

I am honored to be selected to wri this position paper. I made the vow that if selected I would ill all stops". The opinions expressed no doubt will be provocative. Every attempt will be made to develop the paper from needs to solutions. I am dedicated to education. We have problems. We are also victims of circumstance. We have tried. The teaching profession is both good and bad. For sure we have been less than honest. This has magnified our problems. It is time for confrontation. It is time for reform. The first half of this paper will be devoted to needs; therefore, it will seem negative. Critics are plentiful in today's world. I am an optimistic critic. It is pragmatically necessary to endure the section on needs in order to understand my solutions.

SCHOOL ISN'T - HASN'T BEEN

I build a case for school not being for each individual. School (the public school) is only one component of the educational life of an individual. The school is probably not understood by the majority of the public. Until they find out differently, parents feel that the public school, in effect, is set in motion to educate their child. In far too many cases, final rationalization by the teacher and the parents results in the assumptions that the child couldn't learn, wasn't intelligent enough, didn't apply himself or was just a bad person.

We must define what to educate means. It does mean different things to different individuals. The public school, as political as it is, has been inclined to do about anything thrown its way. Far too many times it has had limited success. We, as educators, have also repelled the thrusts of accountability, using as a defense the many "intangibles" associated with school curriculum. Before we define our needs or solutions we must identify to some degree what we want the public school to do. I will label this "Content". I cringe when I see school districts attempt to do a "needs assessment" prior to establishing "Content". In my opinion, there can only be a need when there is an identified discrepancy between "what is" and "what is desired". Again, let me emphasize the desired becomes the content. Content can be tempered by monies available, politics, local circumstances, or many things. Compromises may be ever present: however, we need to become concerned with identifying more specifically what the public school will attempt to do.

Permit me to list just a few areas of content on which we might agree. Be assured there could and should be many more. Obviously, content will necessarily become a local perogative. The public school content should be:

ATMOSPHERE: Conducive to learning, real, honest, understandable by participants, humane, and with boundaries sufficient to accomodate each individual with few exceptions.

CURRICULUM: Adequate range to accomodate clientele. Sophisticated to the highest degree possible.

PERSONNEL: Responsible, competent, acceptable performance level. student-task oriented.

METHODOLOGY: Protean,sophisticated enough to meet the diverse needs of the students.

ORGANIZATION: Sophisticated for the most effective and efficient use of resources - human and non-human.

ATMOSPHERE

The environment in the public school is far too often established with little concern given to the learning process. Schools have been and are still built as indestructable, inpenetrable structures. They are usually cut into cubicles, sometimes antiseptically clean: six rows of five desks with the teacher's desk up front.

Within these confines students are expected to perform, in varying degrees, to a stereotype procedure, regurgitating the facts and figures presented.

Many critics will quickly turn red when such indictments are made toward the school system.

Only last week, I visited with a straight "A" student who had just dropped out of a high school in the state. Confiding in me, she came to tears and stated, "No longer can I stand the regimentation". As I questioned in depth, her responses came as follows:

9:00 - 9:45 "Sat in my desk - listened to lecture for 22 minutes. Step 2 - Answered questions over pages read and discussion (lecture)." I questioned, "What happens on Tuesday or Wednesday? Is it different?". Answer: "On my honor, it is the same each day unless the teacher is absent."

9:50 - 10:35 "Find my desk, sit down." The command comes, "Open your books to page so and so". "Proceed with work together." The young lady did elaborate on how well disciplined this class was. "No one caused any trouble of any kind.""Why?" "The teacher is very tough".

10:40 - 11:25 Proceed to next class. "This one isn't too bad. We practice speaking the foreign language. We write a little sometimes. This teacher is very nice."

11:30 - 12:15 "This one is really a drag. Civics. The teacher tells us why people act the way they do and why we should act a certain way. A lot of kids cause a lot of trouble here."

12:15 - 1:05 "I have lunch. I had a hell of a time getting permission to walk home for lunch."

1:05 - 1:50 "I hate P.E." At this point I asked if she had trouble running, playing ball, etc. The answer came sharply, "No, I am a good athlete. We spend a great deal of time listening to rules and procedures. Also a lot of time waiting our turn. Really we don't get to play hardly at all."

1:55 - 2:40 "I'm mostly late for this class. The teacher doesn't like it either. We have to shower in P.E. or our grade is cut. I can't make it to this class, especially if I need to go to the bathroom. This class is science. I especially like science, but we only read and do work pages. We never get to look at things or see animals, etc."

2:45 - 3:30 "This is my study hall. I try to study sometimes but it is hard. A lot of kids in here. Some talk and get into trouble. I usually wait until I get home to study. I seem to learn better."

So, up the down staircase. This young lady perhaps is an exception - a special case. I become very concerned that there are so many special cases. In my years as principal, I have so often observed the above procedure. So many of the children in elementary school are affected the same way. I believe they drop out. I mean drop out today. They drop out mentally. They daydream, they are inattentive, and they become discipline problems. We take a bundle of energy, a creative soul, a soliciting individual and we confine, we prohibit and we refuse to open the door of opportunity.

I, too, will criticize the rigidity of old school masters and the slothfulness of the liberal. Study habits and persistence are imperative qualities. Indolence and apathy are liabilities. Careful attention must be given to the how, when, and where the desirable attributes can be developed.

Caspar Weinberger recently stated, "At the heart of the philosophy

of education is the individual student". If we are subscribers to such a philosophy, then we must focus our attention on the effect of the atmosphere on the student.

The individual is affected by so many adverse or unnecessary abuses within the environment of the public school. Permit me to elaborate upon my biases.

Graded schools are perhaps anything but a positive influence. To stereotype an individual within a society is like believing all the stars in heaven are alike. The only conclusion is we evidently do not understand. We place kids in boxes because they are the same age, the same sex, or attended school the same number of years. Someone will quickly retaliate by placing students according to what they have achieved. A quick caution - this may be more dangerous than grades. The results of tracking and streaming seem to indicate to me nothing but a perennial injustice to the individual. Grade levels obviously have been established to expedite the curriculum offerings. I wish to speak to this point later. Retention in a grade has a tremendous "batting average". A negative one. It tends to destroy self concept. It produces a failure syndrome. Grade levels restrict the possibilities for an individual. The same is usually true for quality.

It has been said that there probably is nothing so unequal as the equal treatment of unequals. To attempt to define the rate, the how, and perhaps the what in specific terms of how an individual will progress is probably a healthy stab at bastardizing the science of human growth and development.

When I first entered college in 1953, I remember an instructor promoting the concept: "We must teach the child. We do not teach

a subject. We teach the child." Twenty years later I question how much consideration is given to the child in the organization and implementation of many school programs. Are we fooling ourselves and rationalizing that we are offering opportunities for young people? Can we develop a conducive atmosphere for learning? Can it be conducive for each child?

Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner, in their book Teaching as a Subversive Activity, wrote that school, after all, is the one institution in our society that is inflicted on everybody, and what happens in school makes a difference - for good or ill. We use the word "inflicted" because we believe that the way schools, as currently conducted, do very little, and quite probably nothing, to enhance our chances of mutual survival.

If the institution we call "school" is what it is because we made it that way, if it is irrelevant, as Marshall McLuhan says: if it shields children from reality, as Norbert Wiener says; if it educates for obsolencense, as John Gardner says; if it does not develop intelligence, as Jerome Bruner says: if it is based on fear, as John Holt says; if it avoids the promotion of significant learnings, as Carl Rogers says; if it induces alienation, as Paul Goodman says: if it punishes creativity and independence as Edgar Friedenberg says; if in short, it is not doing what needs to be done, if it can be changed, it MUST be changed.

CURRICULUM

As buildings were built in boxes, it seemed a good idea to follow suit with curriculum. It has been decided that chronology

and prerequisites would dictate a student's confrontation with level and field of knowledge. A later decision includes ability to place students on the tracking system. The "Carnegie units" further serve to tell the student not only what he is to learn but precisely how long it should take.

Curriculum has exploded. There seems to be few real priorities. It becomes a race to manipulate the studies and the child in order to expose the client to the necessary ingredients. Granted it takes exposure to learn, but results show exposure in many cases hasn't produced a "product".

Curriculum as used traditionally is an undefinable term. Second grade curriculum is not understood by many teachers to say nothing of students and parents. Relevance has become an often used term today. It poses a real threat - and so should it.

I must refer again to priorities, monies available, cultural restraints and local circumstances. The above certainly all influence curriculum. Over the past few years curriculum has been categorized in three domains - Affective, Cognitive and Psychomotor. An attempt to isolate often becomes an exercise in futility. Hours, months, and years have been spent on curriculum development. The cost effectiveness of such endeavors in terms of the student as a "product" is a subject for great debate.

Pardon the expression, but many times, I am sure the student feels like the dog caught in the forest. He doesn't know upon which leg to stand. Curriculum offerings, a multitude of them, are imposed and coerced upon the student. For example, it is not possible to learn to read now because one must take history courses in the

sequence as designed. Prerequisites are designed around logical steps to curriculum - very seldom commensurate with the individual student's strengths and deficiencies - to say nothing of his interests or aspirations. In the elementary school, I have definitely seen students working at a frustration level on some area of the curriculum. This, many times is done because the student has been exposed to the prerequisite but has not mastered it. Possibly too little attention is given to whether he learned or didn't learn the step before.

Some areas of curriculum probably should be optional. Others should not. Curriculum must be approached in terms of priorities. It must be designed to allow for different abilities and learning characteristics. Little more can I say concerning this very important area until we proceed to the solution area.

PERSONNEL

It is impossible to speak of personnel without including all the other areas. The younger generation refers to the school as the "establishment". This challenges us to consider the role of compensated personnel. Has the school become <u>our</u> place (the educator) rather than the students'?

As we look at the hierarchy in the public school, we see a system of domains. These domains become possessions. They can be perceived as political. Too often they aren't adequately tied to student objectives but to activities and procedures. I cannot blame this totally on educators. It is within this structure, I received my training. I openly admit that I was trained to perform for public relations, for maintaining a level of order, and promoting

the acceptable standards by which schools are judged. If this seems a bit vague, let me illustrate: Our school was evaluated some years back. Two areas were recorded in the evaluation: desired and required. We received a very high rating in the desired. We received a very high rating for the required as well. However, we received a lower level rating than we might have due to the following deficiencies in the required area:

1) School bus insurance didn't quite meet specifications.

2) Exhaust fan wasn't working.

3) No guidance counselor.

4) Secondary major was teaching elementary students.

I make the preceding points to illustrate that possibly the most important job of the school officials (administration and board) might be to correct the deficiencies in the nuts and bolts. It could also be assumed that if a guidance counselor was employed and if the secondary major was replaced with an elementary major, the school would be upgraded. Let us not forget the "desired" area leaned more to the student, his activity, his progress, and involvement.

I sincerely believe the teacher is the most crucial variable in the education process. The most important single item of concern to the teacher should be the student. This is not so. Teachers are trained to implement activities - procedures - usually stereotypes. Sometimes it is stated - to offer the opportunity for students to learn. I am not forming a hypothesis. As an elementary teacher, a junior high teacher and an administrator, I have experienced over and over again the narrow range of training for teachers.

Teacher training programs have failed to even face, in varying degrees, the real problems in teaching - learning. Instead they have established a hypothesis that an organized procedure to purvey

needed information to the learner is appropriate. In my opinion, it is about time we gathered some honest, hard-nosed data to prove or disprove our thesis. We must test the logical and empirical consequences. When the number one health problem in the United States is mental illness and when crime is second, shouldn't we ask ourselves if the school is contributing negatively or if it can contribute more positively.

Because of the nature of the public school system, teachers are classified as those individuals completing certain courses of studies at an institution of higher learning and becoming certified. They are assigned and paid commensurate with their educational level and longevity in a district or state. Little can be said for responsibility, competency, performance, or accountability. This kind of talk serves as a threat and challenge. It has resulted in tenure and negotiating power structures.

School boards are no less excusable. In the past they have judged unfairly, discriminated, and used political power and position to satisfy their subjectively established position on school issues. They too have evaded their responsibilities, level of competency and performance as it relates to the students.

President Nixon recently stated concerning education, "Unless we cut back now on programs which have failed, we will soon run out of money for the programs that succeed". The President, I presume, was referring to programs federally funded. I wish to draw the analogy. Compensating school personnel on salary schedules utilizing college preparation and longevity have continued to raise the cost of education. There is not ample evidence that more pay is producing better products (the student). There is an extreme

need to make sure dollars are producing results. We certainly haven't made enough progress in using our dollars to the best advantage for learning. Neither have we found a method to motivate teachers to be efficient and effective. On a traditional salary schedule, a teacher may work very hard, continue to grow and upgrade the quality of instruction. On the other hand, a teacher need do little to improve, perform at bare minimum standards, produce at a snail's pace and be compensated for living another year within the system and securing 30 college hours above a master's degree.

I am sure college courses can help. I am also convinced that experience can be a wonderful and successful teacher. I am by no means convinced either or both always produce results in the classrooms. On the contrary. I believe persons without qualifications many times can obtain better results from students because of their dedication, obtained competencies and performance. The public school today is not accountable. It will not be until it measures the competency and performance levels of those who will teach.

As a career teacher, I must state I have the utmost empathy for our lot. I am equally convinced some will not believe me and label me as a rebel and a traitor. So be it. If we are to become a profession, if we are to contribute to the society in a positive and productive manner, then we must put our house in order. We, as educators, have not developed the expertise to solve our own problems. We have too often focused our attention on establishing power structures, negotiating units, and other protective devices in lieu of giving attention to finding ways and means to meet the educational needs of our students.

My experience tells me that any attempt made in the public schools to become specific about accountability will result in:

1) Teachers feeling insecure and threatened.

2) Teachers being selfish.

3) Distrust for each other and superiors.

4) Teachers mustering forces and organizing power structures.

I used the word specific because I believe many systems are making vague attempts and rationalizing about accountability. When a system really begins to measure results in specifics, then look out.

It isn't surprising the condition exists. Decades of experience as public servants with misunderstandings, facades and abuse serve as ample reason. Nevertheless, it is very sad. Perhaps somewhere in the future a realization of the handicap this condition presents and the sins of commission and ommission against those needing to learn will jar society to face the issue honestly.

Permit me to explain. Salary schedules for teachers, professors and administrators have conditioned them to live within the established structure. It has promoted a heirarchy of back scratchers. It has fostered a system of hiding any evidence which might hurt educators and balooning any information (positive or downright scandalous) which might improve status, position, or salary. It has perpetuated the practice of hypocrisy under the guise of ethics. In our capitalistic society, perhaps we should be cautious to place blame upon anyone for protecting and maintaining their livelihood. Therefore, I will blame no individual. Let us attempt to look totally at the concept.

Teachers, administrators, professors, organizations, school boards, etc. are both good and bad. If any member or group of these listed is permitted to hide within the system, to function less than up to potential, to neglect to serve students, or to abuse the intent of education THEN we fail to develop our most valuable resource - the student - the human being. Can we afford to let the system destroy the system? I think not. It is very hard to change.

In order not to be considered as an administrator bitter toward teachers, let me again define "teacher" as anyone who would influence the learning process. This includes me - this includes all those in education serving students of any age.

A teacher will feel insecure if any <u>real</u> effort is made toward accountability in the school system. It has been my experience that they react toward insecurity differently. I am almost of the opinion it becomes a lesson in psychiatry to observe the behavior. It is like giving a timed released truth serum. One teacher will accept true and complete evaluation honestly and sincerely. This type will make every effort to help develop accurate and valid means of assessment. Teacher number two (2) will quickly present a veneer. He will continue to agree with the need and use every resource to establish road blocks to prevent any progress. Teacher number three (3) will usually reject any and all directions for change. He will be the leader many times for organizing against change. He will show expertise in using the system itself to prevent change. When "power blocks" are organized by the threes, the twos will join forces when it looks feasible and/or profitable.

This is obvious for many reasons; insecurity, selfishness,

distrust, etc. exist. I believe it is sad that this condition continues to prevail. For the past several years, no doubt, there have been many more type twos and threes than ones. The majority continues to win. Kids continue to lose.

We must ask the question, WHY? Periodicals, books and the news media have been full of indictments. John Q. Public is asking more for its educational dollars. Parents are requesting documentation of the results of activities in the school. Yes, there is still griping and fussing and half-cocked invalid decisions being made. We still can't see the trees for the forest. We continue to actively deal with everything but the real problem.

As an example, I recall a teacher in a school system facing the confrontation of being evaluated on competency and performance. In a general meeting concerning the new system, the teacher questioned, "What is going to happen to the person that isn't certified? Are they going to teach? And get paid for teaching? I went to school four years back 18 years ago to get my degree. Anyone that is going to teach should have to go too. We had better form a union or organization to protect ourselves - our jobs."

The above is in no way atypical. The direction seems to be - protect what we have whether it is right or wrong. Let's evade testing our procedure. I wonder what would really happen if we honestly tested the possibilities. I wonder if we might find that a non-certified, non-college trained mother or father could get equal or better results in teaching some things in our public school. Threatening - you bet - so, down with yours truly and let us go back to playing ostrich.

Most parents will raise an eyebrow when I suggest the preceding. I, too, want my children taught by trained experts; Training, designed and used for the purpose intended, is invaluable. The question becomes, "What is good training? What pays off for my child?". These questions must be answered. I want a competent teacher that will use his/her expertise. I do not wish to acquiesce to a system permitting the employment of "protective devices" for those not desiring to face the test of life itself. I believe we are judged daily, weekly, yearly. The real test of a man is surely his ability to face reality - to be held accountable.

We don't face the issues and we don't change in the public school because we can only see thru the glass dimly. Many things are intangible but some are very tangible and measurable. We neglect to measure and to change, because we are afraid. We acquiesce. We comply rather than "rock the boat". If a power structure threatens, we compromise. Optimistically, I believe time and need will demand we change. Pessimistically, I see great mountains to climb and sometimes, fatalistically, I think it will be too late. Fatal is a bitter word. My suspicion is that it is a <u>real</u> word for many parents who have lost a child to the gutters of society because the educational system could not or did not provide for his/her needs. I reiterate, if this is true because of the lack of effecient and effective use of compensated personnel, we are remiss in our committments and endeavors.

. . . BUT WE HAVE A MACHINE MOVING. . .

METHODOLOGY AND ORGANIZATION

Earlier I alluded to methods of instruction used in our schools. Much progress has been made in recent years in the psychology of learning. "Lip service" is given freely to different learning styles, rate of learning, emotion, motivation, etc. Too little action has been taken.

As indicated earlier, schools have and are operating on obsolete scheduling practices. Too little attention is given to the individual learner. Too little attention has been given to the finding of how learning occurs. Perhaps attention and concern is present, BUT WE HAVE A MACHINE MOVING we can't stop in order to change course.

It has been said that no commercial reading program can be the answer for every child. It must be true that one hour blocks of time or 20 minute blocks of time cannot be appropriate for every student. Neither can groups of 10 or 25 or 50 as stereotyped in our system

be determined as the correct procedure.

Let us question school from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. Let us question the semester or the mini-course. Let us question the group-lecture. Let us question programmed instruction.

John Holt in the January 13, 1970 edition of Look--asked that we throw out the lesson plans, fixed schedules, so many hours a week per subject, prescribed tests, grades, normal curves, censorship, supervisors and the whole deadening, humiliating, regime. He goes on to say, abolish all certification requirements for teachers, abolish required curriculum, abolish all compulsory testing and grading, abolish the required use of so-called intelligence tests and other psychological prying and let the learner direct his own learning.

William P. Faunce stated "We have, in America, the largest public school on earth, the most expensive college buildings, the most extensive curriculum, but nowhere else is education so blind to its objectives, so indifferent to a specific outcome as in America. One trouble has been its negative character. It has aimed at the repression of faults rather than the creation of virtues."

If you are still reading, perhaps, I have your attention. It is with humility, I proceed. I personally dedicate this to those who would be teachers. A teacher is one who will teach - one who will join forces to promote a nation of people with understanding, with empathy, aspirations and concern for themselves and others. I represent only a single person with an idea, a dream and hopefully the intestinal fortitude to pursue a goal energetically and sincerely.

CAN IT BE?

Some years back I became increasingly aware of the seeming inability of our school system to help a large faction of our students. This was profoundly brought to my attention while working with children of migrant farm workers. As I studied the problem more extensively, it became just as great a concern for the child from the wealthy, higher socio-economic home. My views on possible solutions for the educational deficiencies within the frame work of the public school are not only motivated by the great need evident among the poor, the migrant, and the Indian. I propose the affirmative steps as desirable and feasible for all schools.

During the last decade many labels have been placed on efforts to improve the educational system. I shall not come up with a new one. Every attempt will be made to explain in detail so we might at least agree to a greater degree on the definition. It is imperative that the public school <u>individualize instruction</u> if we are to survive. I care not to belabor or debate the terminology - personalize - individualize - instruction or learning. It only becomes important as we apply it. The theme must be <u>focusing attention on the individual</u>.

In the preceding comments, some readers might have labeled me as a cynical, frustrated critic. Perhaps you perceive my efforts directed toward the destruction of our educational institutions. Not so. We have a batting average. It isn't good enough. There is an urgent need for renovation. I do not advocate groping or chaos.

LET'S BUILD A SCHOOL

A school shouldn't consist of buildings and matter. It must be made up of persons. The first person will have to be the one called "student'. Idealistically, a school might be totally successful if every act, every thought, and every dollar was at all times pointed sincerely at the student.

ATMOSPHERE: Focus on the child

Consider the students in relation to where they live, what background of experience, how poor or how wealthy, how they feel about themselves, how they perceive teachers, adults and the school and any other influence which you might think of.

Consider the air-pollution problem, the water pollution problem, the garbage-disposal problem, the radio-activity problem, the megalopolis problem, the supersonic-jet noise problem, the traffic problem, the who-am-I problem and the what-does-it-all-mean problem.

Forget about any threat of your job, your reputation, or the like if you change from what has been.

Vow to yourself that you will be honest, and school will become nothing more than a real life experience - a place where people laugh, and cry and make mistakes, and have successes and failures.

Remember you may be dealing with some unique situations due to economics, culture or history.

Make the school a place where you can sit, stand or lie down. Make it a place where you can be by yourself or with few or many people. Make school a place where you can hide, get into trouble,

smoke, drink, sniff glue and all the other things which will happen. Make it a place where you can feel deflated or inflated, where you can be passive or show initiative or be aggressive.

Sounds like a free, progressive, intolerable and catastrophic condition. Not so! No one will deny all these things happen in the public school. Get ready for them. I don't say condone all of them. Prepare to deal with and make appropriate transitions. Above all don't even give a clue that you expect them never to take place.

More specifically, work at establishing an atmosphere to permit and solicit involvement. Later when I speak of individual diagnoses, the need for many options hopefully will be evident. People need to function in an atmosphere with many options. Persons need the option to deal with individual peers, groups, and adults. Opportunities must be available for debate, to take orders, to give orders, to be correct, to be wrong, to be superior and to be subordinate.

The public school can offer these alternatives. (The components to follow all contribute.)

CURRICULUM: Focus on the Child

Permit me to limit my curriculum to the elementary school. The procedure and development is applicable to the secondary and to higher education.

Build curriculum in terms of priorities. Remember this is "content". Curriculum is what you want to do. In the elementary school, I would give first priority to the "affective domain". I sincerely believe a young person cannot condition himself to learn unless he is motivated, interested, desires to become

involved, feels a part of and possesses a high degree of self confidence.

Priority #1 - Affective

Set as a goal the above mentioned attributes. As individual staff members, and as a faculty, design some general behavioral objectives such as:

1) The student will show evidence of enjoying himself all the time in school. (Don't turn me off because of the word all).
2) The student will show evidence of desiring to do school work all the time in school.
3) The student will show evidence of involvement in chosen activities all the time in school.
4) The student will show a desire to correct failures on mistakes all the time in school.

I could list these to infinity. So can you. Each local setting must establish their own. It is important that they be written. They become the desired. Yes, they can and should be broken down more specifically. Our ambition should be "all the time". Maybe our ambitions can never be reached. If we attempt and if we monitor progress well, then our achievements will be satisfying. As this begins to develop, they will be written for individual students rather than for the total group.

Priority #2 - Communication skills (Listening, Speaking, Reading, Writin

1) The student will master necessary readiness in concept formations.
2) The student will master necessary readiness in vocabulary development.

3) The student will master the sequential skills in reading.

4) The student will master the sequential skills in speaking.

5) The student will master the sequential skills in listening.

6) The student will master the sequential skills in writing.

At this point, priority will have to be left in this general status. In our school we have well over 2000 behavioral objectives for this area. I feel the readers would not care to "wade" through the volume.

I am sure your first reaction will be that establishing such priority is an enormous task. You are correct. This is not reason enough for not doing it or using the approach. The sequence of skills can be broken down into large areas from commercial scope and sequence charts. They can be further developed as they are being used. The teacher can accept the responsibility for a large area. The key becomes defining the concepts and teaching the concept rather than performing a teaching activity outlined in a manual. Please note - a continuous progress plan is indicated.

Priority #3 - Arithmetic - Mathematics.

The student will master the sequential skills in arithmetic - mathematics. Early operations are arithmetical. Well thought out, continuous progress programs certainly delve into mathematics. The program here, too, is voluminous. The same procedure can be followed as for communication skills. Establish a format. Define specific objectives as the program is taught. In all areas of curriculum, attention must be given to the spiraling effect necessary as well as movement from the concrete to the abstract.

Priority #4 - #5 - #6 (on and on) Science - Social Science - Music - Art - Physical Education

Over the past few years, we have watched these areas become more refined in our school. I will not take the time to speak to each. The important factor in my opinion, is establishing priorities. This must be done on the local level. Once defined for the school then the priorities will actually be established for individual students. For example, one student may spend more time in Art than in Music, in Science than in Physical Education or any other combination. If you really begin to look at each student as an individual with individual needs, then it becomes imperative that the system be flexible.

As an academician, the above are my priorities. They are very interrelated and intertwined. This is especially true with priority #1 (affective) as it relates to all the others. I advocate 80 - 90% of the child's time in communications skills in his early years of school. No, I do not advocate 80 - 90% of the same old "drudge". I will speak to methodology later. I do believe we can teach every child to master communications skills to an acceptable performance during his first four years in the elementary school. I might have to reserve an exception to the "brain damaged child". Many will not agree with my ambitious position. I have been called an idealist on previous occasions. I have been consoled in earlier years by experts in reasearch and evaluation. Some have said it is evident we will always have a certain percentage who do not learn to read. The percentage is and will be higher among the so-called deprived - economically and otherwise. I don't believe it!

Build curriculum - work at implementing in an appropriate school design and watch the results.

ORGANIZATION: Focus on the Child

The school organization must complement the content (the desired outcomes). First it must be flexible, second it must have sophisticated structure. Critics of change, of open concept schools, of individualized instruction and other deviations from tradition would label flexibility and structure as dichotomous. Not so! The school must be flexible to permit structure for the individual. There is a vast difference in structure for the student and structure for an organization, its teachers, buses, lunch program, athletics, recess and on and on and on.

With the priorities I have established, the school would be organized as follows:

The school day will be established from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. (I don't really agree with this but I will compromise for now). From 8 a.m. to 9 a.m. students could flow into the school at their leisure. They could have many options: Breakfast, visiting with peers, visiting with teachers, playing games, working on crafts, reading, any subject area or nothing. In my opinion, this tends to warm up the motor, to get the start.

From 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. three large areas will be in operation:

Area one - Communication skills area.

Area two - Math and science area.

Area three - Fine arts - Includes Arts and Crafts, Music, Physical Education Homemaking, Woodworking and Social Science.

Each of the above areas will be served by a team of staff members. Students will be scheduled for activities by teachers consistent with the individual student's need and priority of content area. For example, the communications team will have first priority over every child. Math will have second priority. The system evolves in such a manner that students have options and may pick the activity of their choice for part of the day. The system can be structured to need and interest. It has great potential for providing incentive for students.

During this large block, students will eat lunch and have breaks through an agreement with staff members.

For the last hour (3-4) the school will operate entirely on an optional activity or lifetime activity program. Staff members may offer anything of their choice from knitting to tennis. Students may opt into any activity of their choice. They could even go home if it is a-walk-in-school.

This type of organization must have the support of the administration. The school board and the administrators must be personally involved and committed to the goals and objectives sought. The direction must be planned and implemented with subsistence from the upper levels of the organization. Too often, teachers or individual schools are left in an "experimental status" in attempting to change procedures. Many attempts fail because top level personnel take a wait and see attitude rather than become involved.

This plan depends upon quality utilization of human resources. Staff members are required to use their strengths and solicit help from others in their weaker areas. The curriculum responsibilities,

and for that matter, the specific responsibilities toward the child, should be divided in such a way as to obtain the highest degree of efficiency and effectiveness. In my opinion, true team teaching is demanded. Staff members must be honest. They must be willing "to place their wares on the table for show". What each member finally does will be determined by what is needed commensurate with the individual student's need. A teacher may be working with a large group, with one student, monitoring programmed materials, building curriculum, using a film-strip projector or other A-V tool. The key, becomes using the staff member to do whatever is needed to fulfill the recognized learning need of an individual child. It requires flexibility. It requires teachers to be decision makers.

The procedure also requires quality utilization of "things". As the atmosphere influences the learning process, so does A-V tools, the written page, oral discussion, involvement with peers and adults, quiet corners for reading, time and many others. Programmed instructional procedures aren't individualized instructional practices. Why? Some children do not progress using these tools. All the innovations, the buildings, the staff, and the weather should be perceived as only tools. Our ability to pick and choose the appropriate tool at the proper time and place will open the gate to success for the student.

The organization will have genuine orderliness. The goal will be achievement and individual progress. The student will understand the system. He too, will monitor his own progress. On the continuous progress pattern, failure and success will come

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in small packages. In all areas, a system of keeping track of progress will become the daily activity of both the student and the teacher. Progress reports in specific terms, rather than subjective letter grades, will be given to parents. Opportunities for parents to confer with instructors and their child will be a necessary ingredient of the plan.

The preceeding organizational plan is not just an "idea". In our school we have followed almost an identical plan. It is practical, logical and possible. It does require team-teaching, continuous progress curriculum and methodology, flexible scheduling and a lot of hard work. It further requires the teams to operate in differentiated roles within the team. This author will be happy to furnish additional information concerning the mechanics of such a plan to interested parties. One last note to the critic who might say it will take more money and more staff to organize thus. No doubt, the more the better; however, no matter what the personnel or dollar limitation, I believe the "pay off" of this plan exceeds significantly any others known to me.

PERSONNEL: Focus on the Child

The teacher is the crucial variable. Ideally, we must have the honest, the dedicated, the competent and energetic teacher for this plan.

First the teacher must consider his/her past training and experience only as tools. The tools must be evaluated. Any teacher in an individualized program will have to guard against organization and implementation procedures designed for the teacher. First consideration has to be given to each child as an individual.

Techniques used must always be under test to see if results with the students are evident.

The teacher needs to be free of the many "hang ups" referred to earlier in the needs section. He/she will be required to show and accept personal strengths and weaknesses, share and communicate with team members.

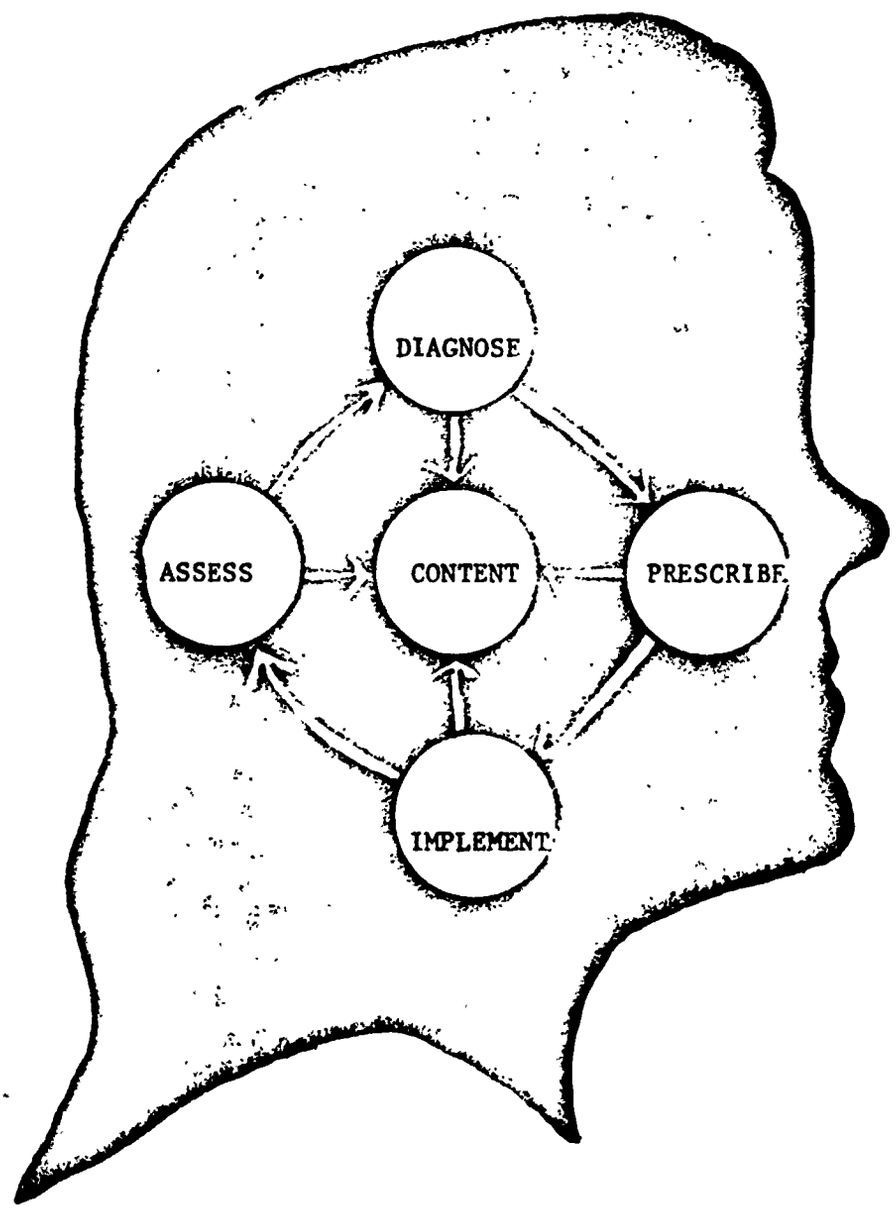
The teacher will have to ambitious [illegible] additional training. Much of this will be on the job. It will include individual research as well as with the team. The teachers in this plan become specialists in an area rather than generalists. Willingness to accept criticism will be a necessary attribute.

Above all, individuals comprising the total staff will have to possess an intrinsic desire to meet the needs of each child to the highest degree possible. The teacher is the crucial variable and the plan will only be successful to the degree to teacher performs.

METHODOLOGY: Focus on the Child

I've purposely saved methodology until last. If I had met my maker before writing this section, the whole exercise would have been a failure.

At the present time, I feel there is only one way to approach individualized instruction. It is a logical sequence. The labels may be changed - the pedagogical terminology enlarged. The result, in my opinion, is the same. I describe it graphically and written as follows:



CONTENT

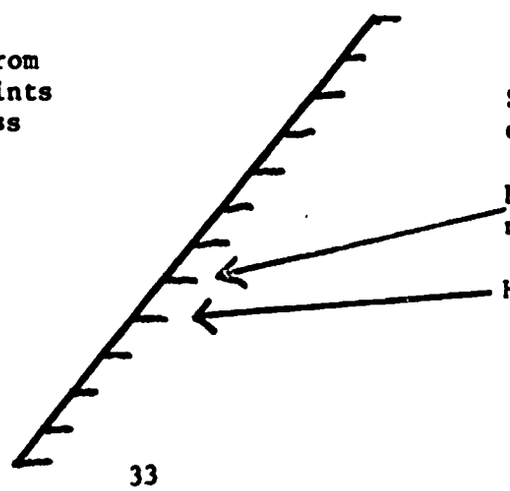
Do you remember this is the desired? Content represents what is needed to be learned and what the student wants to learn. It must be established as specifically as possible. The teacher must possess a thorough understanding of his/her content responsibilities. Content will have to be approached in terms of priority in relation to the student.

DIAGNOSE

The student's status and characteristics as a learner is determined in relation to the content. Examples include: A student may need to master the "pl" blend to progress in word attack skills. He mav need to complete a balanced forward roll in gymnastics. He mav need to use a hand saw. He may need to learn addition combinations to 10. He is in need of five successful attempts at something to build his self-image. Whatever the content decided, a definitive position of the learner must be established. Sometimes it may have to be assumed by the teacher. Success comes often as the teacher can more accurately diagnose.

Over simplified, graphically it looks as follows:

Curriculum developed from beginning to ending points on a continuous progress pattern.



PRESCRIBE

The teacher's next decision is to decide the activity appropriate to promote the learning desired. Options are imperative. The more the better. A student may learn through multitude of media. It is certain different methods for different students will be necessary. The test of performing an activity as a teacher or focusing on a method from which the child will learn will become evident here. The difference is in attempting to teach a concept.

IMPLEMENT

This is the action stage. It may take two minutes or several sessions running over a number of days. Diversification and options as well as perseverance are desirable attributes.

ASSESS

This stage completes the cycle. Some have referred to it as criterion-referenced evaluation. In simple terms, you check or measure to see if the student learned what was desired. I do not wish to oversimplify this area. It serves as a catalyst. One may find the concept was learned, and it then serves as the diagnoses for the next step. It may be the concept was not learned. Then the question is why.

The assessment procedure explodes. Is the diagnoses wrong? Was the prescription appropriate? What about the process of implementation? We should maybe give thougnt to the content. Great!!! Isn't this what we are after?? We know something about the child, in specifics.

We have concerns over procedures. We are beginning to define pedagogy. We are taking a serious look at accountability.

I refer to the above as "the learning loop approach". It is simple. It is abstract. It is logical. I urge individuals to use it in everyday living.

When we speak of methodology we are forced to consider student-teacher ratio, teacher training and competency and all resources. Sometimes we are forced to compromise. Ideally, I advocate the "learning loop" for every phase of education. Realistically I'm sure it cannot be employed on every occasion. I recommend schools compromise - teach to large groups - use lecture method - stereotype and use traditional practices when they are forced because of influential factors. Influencing factors include time, training of staff, curriculum and organization. I further recommend that schools do not "cop out". It is easy to find excuses for not attempting to meet individual needs. We can blame it on everything from the janitor to the weather.

SUMMARY

My position is one of promoting the reformation of the public school system. I could have bored you with statistics. If you are interested, you have a good idea of what they are. We have drop outs. We have discontented parents and students. We have protest groups. I personally have had the bad and good fortune of gathering some statistics from schools where I have served, from the school where 40% of our third grade students could not rank above first grade achievement on standardized tests to a school where all our five year olds achieved a 1.5 or above. Percentages are probably irrelevant. If we can identify that we are only failing to serve one student in a school and can find a method to meet his need, then I'm sure we should.

I propose the more successful school. Decide to individualize instruction. Focus on the child. To do this, we must non-grade the school. Curriculum must be written on some type of continuous progress pattern. The range for curriculum should begin with the earliest skills and proceed to the extent of our potential to develop them. The school will have to promote flexibility in its organizational design.

The "sacred pie" will have to be cut differently. Instead of 45 minute class periods, the time and space will be utilized in direct relation to the needs of the student. Learning will be permitted, fast and slow, and in diverse patterns. No fads will be employed in this school. Programmed instruction, open space, team teaching or fancy named curriculums will not become band wagons to ride. Instead our real school will progressively utilize

the open concept - open mind - open entry - open exit - programmed material - multi-method - multi-media tools to focus and serve the student. Teachers will make decisions objectively and subjectively as they develop expertise in helping students solve their individual problems.

Staff members must think individualized learning. Their approach will have to be logical and real. I recommend the "learning loop". It has no mystical qualities. It is a legitimate reasoning process. It is of paramount importance that teachers catch the "spirit" of the procedure, effect utilization of the process and enhance the potential for the future.

I doubt if letter grades will survive in the successful school. Smaller packages of failure and success and a more realistic method of monitoring growth and achievement will overshadow the techniques of the past. This will not be a school of disinterested, passive and weak individuals. On the contrary, it will promote strength, integrity and an understanding of mankind in its truest form.

Man has influenced and modified his environment most radically. Man must modify himself to exist in the new and ever-changing environment. We cannot accept the "status quo".

Any school can only be as good or as bad, serve or deny, contribute or inhibit to the extent those challenged produce results. To obtain positive results, it will take the acceptance of the challenge, study, endurance and a burning desire.

My earnest hope is that I've provoked your thoughts concerning the present and the future.

POSITION PAPER FOR NATIVE AMERICAN EDUCATION CONFERENCE

MULTICULTURAL TEACHER EDUCATION CENTER AT ROUGH ROCK

Presented by

Dillon Platero

Director of Rough Rock Demonstration School

Chinle, Arizona 86503

April 16, 1973

Position Paper for Native American Education Conference

Multicultural Teacher Education Center at Rough Rock

In July, 1966 Rough Rock Demonstration School came into being as a project predicated upon the premise that Indian people (in this particular case Navajo Indian people) are the ones who are best able to decide upon, most interested in being involved in, and by all rights the one group of people most vitally affected by, the curriculum content and instructional methods used with Indian children.

After being fully responsible for the operation of their own local school for several years, the people of Rough Rock became more and more impressed with the need for procedures whereby Indian people themselves might aspire to service as professional teachers and paraprofessionals in other capacities.

Admittedly the long and sometimes tortuous route of study at colleges of education is open in theory to Native Americans but the multiple factors often militating against the successful following of such a route, and the demonstrably poor quality of many teachers on reservations who have come to their jobs via that route, made Indian people wonder if perhaps there might not be better ways of preparing Indians to assume their rightful places as teachers and aides with the high degree of professionalism that is the ideal of the education community.

Perhaps the one word epitomizing the feelings of Indians at

Rough Rock is "concern." Concern for their children and youth has led them to assume responsibilities for local education in a fashion unheard of when the school started in 1966. Concern for the well being of the Tribe has provided an impetus to the incorporation of Navajo language and culture teaching in the school's curriculum. Concern for excellence in opportunities for their children (not only academically but excellence in life itself) has motivated Indian people to question the previously sacrosanct premises upon which teacher education has been predicated and to provide for a new approach.

The Multicultural Teacher Education Center at Rough Rock seeks financial support for its work. It is felt that the goals of this segment of the school are amenable to the goals of the Teacher Corps and could be a working part of the National Teacher Corps program without compromising either groups integrity.

Bearing this in mind, Rough Rock Demonstration School does address itself to the six areas of concern before this conference with the hope that by so doing, its compatibility to Teacher Corps/Demonstration School cooperation will become evident.

It is axiomatic that Indian people, by an overwhelming majority, wish to retain their "Indianess", their sense of Tribal identity. While this awareness of, and pride in, being

a Native American has been consistently held since the first incursions of the "benevolent" American Government into Tribal affairs; it was at first harshly dealt with by civil servants whose ethnocentricity blinded them to the legitimate aspirations of Indian peoples.

Not until about a third of the way into the twentieth century was there realization on the part of some in the Federal Government of the legitimacy of Indian desires to retain traditional culture and values as well as making use of some of the non-Indian techniques of living.

In the middle of the century a powerful fillip was given to cultural diversity in America with a growing awareness, which soon became endemic (at least to talk about), of the values to be derived in human dignity and fundamental justice from the recognition of ethnic differences.

In Indian affairs everyone jumped on the bandwagon from old line bureaucrats to individuals who had just "found" Indian people and whose abilities often ran a poor second to their ardor.

At Rough Rock the question of: How do we prepare Native Americans with a sound and thorough understanding and knowledge of the history and culture of their people so that they maintain their identity while being educated awary from their homes? becomes not a matter of how do we prepare Native Americans but

how do we Native Americans prepare . . . By This juxtaposition of a few words is the entire situation changed from the traditionally patronizing to one of reasoned self assurance.

The fact of the matter is that Native Americans must cease being looked upon as a manipulable mass and rather become the manipulators, the Directors, of their own destinies. No amorphous "we" is ever going to be able to inculcate understanding of indigenous culture and history into Indian people, the most they can do is provide the opportunity in reasonable settings for Indians to gain understanding of their own culture and history.

The preparation of students for post-high school life must be a matter of concern to, and under the direction of, Indian people. In this regard there is a corallary to the desire to retain "Indianess" in the recognition of value in many non-Indian technical achievements. It thus becomes not a matter of "either-or", not a rejection of either Indian or non-Indian ways of life, for in fact the opportunity for such a choice has long since passed. Instead each Indian student must work out his own modus vivendi in a world that is both Indian and non-Indian in orientation. It is in the role of facilitator that educators can make their most meaningful contribution to Indian education.

The making available of career opportunities to Native

Americans remains a matter of no small importance. In truth, for the aspirant to the professions such opportunities are steadily shrinking as we watch the quantity of scholarship monies not only fail to keep pace with the increasing numbers of Indian students who are capable and willing to undertake professional studies but actually decrease for those who are now engaged in such study.

Again it cannot be too strongly emphasized that knowledge of such opportunities as there are, should be promulgated through Tribal organizations, through Indian people themselves rather than perpetuating the stereotype of non-Indians bringing largesse to Indians. Not until such opportunities become truly seen as Native American opportunities rather than another ill disguised attempt at paternalism will they be optimally utilized.

The reception a post-high school educated Native American receives from his Tribal group upon completion of formal study is a matter of concern between the student and his Tribal group. To imagine that every group will welcome every student back with open arms is fatuous. To imagine that every student will elect to return immediately to his place of origin to practice his newly acquired professional skills is equally unrealistic. There are some matters in the lives of human beings which are not amenable to manipulation by others, no matter how well meaning. The matter of reception by Tribal

groups of post-high school educated Native Americans appears to be such an area of private interpersonal relationships.

In the Multicultural Teacher Education Center at Rough Rock the potential trauma of such out of community education and then readjustment to the native community is minimized by keeping the focus on the community and permitting the student to center his academic work there rather than in extended periods of residency off reservation.

Although brief sessions are held away from Rough Rock e.g. for a week or two at a time at the University of New Mexico campus, the cynosure of student study remains the Rough Rock community with its problems, challenges, and opportunities.

In the early history of the United States one of the most consistently repeated errors made by Governmental officials was the assumption that Indians are Indians i.e. that all Native Americans somehow fit into an "Indian" mold that permits mass characterization. Such never has been the case, and certainly is not now. One thing non-Indians should have learned by now (but really probably haven't) is that the stereotype of anything as typically "Indian" is an exercise in futility.

Thus it becomes pointless to attempt a justification and philosophy to serve as a base for a school to suit diverse Tribal and village needs. Admittedly it would be much more

efficient, much neater, and much more bureaucratically functional to have one justification/philosophy and then bend Native American groups to fit it, but this is exactly what such groups are now, and have been for years, trying to avoid.

It is much more time consuming, much more frought with the potential for human error, to have each Tribal group go through the process of formulating their own justification and philosophy to meet local needs. Even so such is the only way that true Indian direction over the educational opportunities they and their children will have can be achieved.

Inasmuch as our school, and its philosophy, was in operation at Rough Rock before the local Teacher Education Center was formally set up, our group does have the benefit of a school philosophy which has dealt with many of the most pressing concerns. The school's philosophy has endorsed the concept of truly bilingual education opportunities and has implemented it through the use of the Navajo language as the prime medium of instruction in the primary grades.

Obviously in Native American groups where the Tribal language has long since been extinguished, either literally or for all practical purposes, such a course of action would be unreasonable.

In like fashion, the teaching of English as a second

language is not possible in situations where the child's mother tongue is English, no matter whether he is a Native American or not.

As for school organization; such should serve the local populace, not the other way around. At Rough Rock an ungraded system has been instituted and in practice for six years. However, the important thing to remember is that Native Americans should make use of whatever type of organization they feel will best serve their needs. Whether an ungraded, graded, or other type of organization is used is of no importance (except perhaps to some old line bureaucrats). What is important is that the local people be permitted to use what is of benefit to them. Again no one type of organization can by any stretch of the imagination be set forth as the one way most amenable to the local weal.

At Rough Rock the strengthening of one's self image has played a large part in the professional planning and operation of the school. Self denigration has been a curse of Native American peoples practically since the first contact with non-Indians. It is therefore only through a sustained and systematic program of inculcating self confidence that this debilitating trait can be brought into proper prospective.

Because the Navajo Tribe still has a vigorous language which is used in daily commerce, the first line of attack that

Rough Rock made in the matter of self image was to institute the Navajo language as the prime medium of instruction in the early grades. Although slowly at first, the idea that Navajo is indeed equal to English as a means of communication has become ever more widely accepted locally.

The strengthening of the indigenous self image is a gradual process but as much should not be treated as so many gradual process have in the past i.e. where "gradual" becomes synonymous with "never".

The study of heritage and culture will vary from school to school. Much of the success in teaching in this area will depend (as is so often the case in teaching anything) upon the personal verve that individual teachers bring to their work. The subject matter must first fight for a place in the school's curriculum and then once in, must struggle to suddenly acquire the type of organization and sequential development amenable to teaching that other subjects have long since had. During the process of doing so you may reasonably expect more than a little sniping from the sidelines too.

It is with the area of professional preparation that the Multicultural Teacher Education Center at Rough Rock has been most concerned. The program is logically divided into three areas: (1) The pre-service educational module designed to prepare clerical aides, technical aides, bilingual teacher

aides, and personnel to be involved in the Center's program; (2) The in-service educational module which is an integrated sequence in a baccalaureate degree program or a non-credit certificate leading to a special citation; and (3) The graduate or "externship" module which provides an integrated sequence in either a master's degree program or a non-credit certificate leading to a special citation by demonstration of the teacher's ability to raise the academic achievement of his Navajo students and contributions toward the professional growth of his peers.

A plethora of academic studies have indicated a close tie between one's culture and the language one speaks. The very way one thinks is shaped by the medium in which that thinking is done. In this respect the maintenance of indigenous languages where such are still viable is an action which may reasonably be expected to also perpetuate cultural unity.

Let us avoid like the plague the pitfall, however tempting, of attempting to arrive at a composite of Native American cultural values. Such old saws as cooperation versus competition and present time orientation versus future time orientation have been bandied about for so long that they have become as trite as the assumption that all Native Americans have a common culture and heritage.

Cultural values vary from group to group and there is no

way under the sun that these variations can be swept away in the interests of administrative neatness. Let us accept the diversity that exists and let each group capitalize on their own cultural heritage as they see fit.

At Rough Rock's Teacher Education Center particular emphasis is placed on gaining an ever developing understanding of the psychology and learning traits of Indian students.

Areas of exploration include concepts of teaching and learning; characteristics of effective teaching as viewed from a student's perspective, a parent's perspective and a teacher's perspective; factors to consider in selecting methods and approaches to classroom instruction with Indian students; objectives in teaching; and motivation of students.

Recognizing that teaching is both a science and an art, the Teacher Education Center at Rough Rock attempts to provide the opportunity for Native Americans taking this route to becoming educational professionals to acquire a sound grounding in the science of pedagogy.

Instilling that depth of feeling which is the sine qua non to being a truly artist teacher is much more difficult and is best taught by the daily example of teachers now practicing their profession rather than by more formal presentations, however contrived.

The importance of fostering a strong and positive self

image in their students is stressed in all phases of local teacher training. There is probably no other single facet of the school's endeavors which is more crucial to helping a student make optimal use of his educational opportunities.

Supportive counseling at Rough Rock has long been recognized as having a place in the affairs of our students which can be fulfilled most efficiently by the parents from our community. Thus at the beginning of the school's operation dormitory parents were hired to supplement and personalize the care that regular Instructional Aides are able to provide their dormitory charges.

It was found that the mere presence of a Navajo speaking (and the dorm parents operated in that medium at all times), more traditionally oriented, person in a dormitory situation has a markedly comforting effect, especially among the younger students.

The profession of medicine man too is widely respected at Rough Rock, not merely tolerated and paid lip service. In fact the school is now operating a medicine man training program in which traditional ways of healing are taught along with concomitant instruction by Public Health Service physicians in some of the aspects of non-Native medicine.

One of the very first things that people learn about Rough Rock Demonstration School is the fact that subtleties

are not practiced about who the school belongs to and who actually runs it; the local Indian people do. While the Federal Government may have advisory school boards from here to kingdom come, and the public schools may have school boards with ostensible power, the school board at Rough Rock incorporates actual responsibility for the well being of the school with the real authority to make decisions.

The school board has, and has had ever since the school began operating in 1966, complete and absolute authority over hiring practices. All guides to their hiring practices are locally originated and many persons lacking formal academic training in specific areas have proven themselves worthy employees once given the chance to participate and learn on the job. It has been particularly gratifying to see four of our former teacher aides now working full time as classroom teachers in their own right.

How do parents and local people become involved in the power structure? At Rough Rock such people <u>are</u> the power structure. From the experiences in this community it seems evident that to get an educational system that is truly community based and community responsive, one must have the authority and responsibility for the school rest squarely with the local Native American people. The time for playing games of having authority in name only with responsibility

and actual authority continuing to rest with others who, by implication, know better how to operate a school system for Native Americans than do the Native Americans themselves, is long past. Gradualism too has been discredited as merely a delaying tactic designed to keep effective responsibility away from Indian people for a few more years. The time is now, the people are ready, paternalistic foot dragging must cease in the interests of the actual good of Native Americans, their children and youth.

The main purpose of Rough Rock's Teacher Education Center is the preparation of, and in-service training for, teachers of Native American children and youth.

Having reached the conclusion that the teachers we currently get have not been adequately prepared to meet the challenges found in our classrooms, the Native American people of the community have instituted this systematized fashion for "polishing" practicing teachers with the gloss of empathy and special skills needed locally.

Continuing education for teachers as well as the upgrading of skills of potential Native American teachers is the central core of our program. In addition the school provides a setting for student teachers (both Native Americans and others) to participate in a truly locally directed school where indigenous culture and values are paramount.

The Multicultural Teacher Education Center at Rough Rock Demonstration School has shown in its on-site teacher preparation program the value of a systematic plan of action to help Native Americans attack the walls of requirements and the special mystiques of the educational process. The Center has provided a continuing education for teachers as well as upgrading the skills of potential Navajo aides and teachers. The importance of a strong self-image is stressed in all phases of the teacher training program. The Center's realization of the importance of community and parent input provides the opportunity for full participation in the education of their children and youth.

The philosophy, programs and accomplishments of the Multicultural Teacher Education Center thus far in its brief existence can stand the closest scrutiny.

THE ADVANCED VISUAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE 19TH CENTURY PLAINS INDIAN ARTIST

(A Study)

by

Neil Parsons

INTRODUCTION

Visual problem solving, or more specifically, the manipulation of visual tools as a method of proving one's intellect, has yet to be recognized in any broad sense in western culture. It has always been the symbol, either the written word, or the number, that has asserted itself as valid intellectual media.

Native Americans living on the plains of North America during the nineteenth century were not striving for individual intellectual recognition in the western sense of the word. They were striving, however as individual artists, to decorate for one means or another (reverence, competition, etc.) in the most appropriate manner possible.

It is important, therefore, to realize that this paper in no way is meant to explain any symbolic cultural phenomena through the visual arts but rather to have a closer look at that might be determined as a system of universal visual elements, or tools, and how they are used as a means of personal expression, regardless of time or place. In this study a comparison will be made as to the utilization of these elements within two very different cultures, so that such questions as to whether or not they are used consciously, unconsciously, spontaneously, or for the fulfillment of entirely different needs, may be approached with hopefully more insight.

In his book VISUAL THINKING, the foremost visual psychologist, Rudolf Arnheim asserts that our perceptual response to the world is far from being a lower function, but is rather the basic means by which we structure events, and from which we derive ideas and therefore language. Perhaps it is high time that we devote more attention to this field of visual perception.

A REVIEW OF THE MECHANICS OF THE VISUAL ARTS

To fully understand the underlying theories of this study, we must first of all have a basic knowledge of the complexities that arise during the manipulation of the visual elements of art. This complex procedure is best understood through the examination of the three individual elements; color, value, and shape, and how they are most successfully used to achieve the strongest visual occurrences. Quite often people are heard exclaiming their intuitive approval of a specific work of art but are unable to tell why they react as they do, or why they might prefer one work to another. Of course much of their preference is due to personal taste or to that individual's specific reaction to the narrative or subject matter presented. I have observed, however, that usually there are definite mechanical circumstances responsible for this initial reaction, and that a basic knowledge will better enable the viewer to appreciate the work. These mechanical occurrences are even more profound in their influence on the viewer when the work of art involves pure design without subject matter such as we see in the costume and implement decoration of the Native American artists or in contemporary western artistic developments, which have both been reduced to the same levels of abstract analysis.

The most successful visual occurrences come basically as the result of various contrasts being set up. The numerous possibilities for contrast within each of the basic elements shall be discussed at length in the forthcoming section. It would be well to keep in mind that all of these contrasts may be extended so as to be realized as either bold or subtle contrasts, with the impact depending upon whether the piece is meant to be predominately subtle in quality or predominately bold

Furthermore, it should be remembered that additional principles of design such as unity weighed against variety, symmetrical or non-symmetrical composition, or, the repetition of similar elements (visual rhythm) may all play a part in the further strengthening of a work of art or the resulting effectiveness of those elements being discussed. These additional principles will be touched upon in various parts of the study during an overall analysis of those works being used as illustrations.

In the development of the highly sophisticated visual forms among Plains Indian artists a century or so ago, it can probably be said that an analytical study such as this did not take place but rather that the developments occurred over several centuries passed from one generation to the next. Of course the same opportunity for development existed in western civilization. It would seem, however, that a western preoccupation with realism caused a profound delay in their development of purely non-objective visual phenomena until, at least, the beginning of the twentieth century.

COLOR

When seen under a light source, all of the objects in the world around us are perceived as having the visual quality known as color, for color is the result of light being reflected to the eye from the various surfaces of objects, all having different reflective characteristics. For example, red objects absorb all of the color rays except the red ones which are then reflected back to the eye.

It is natural for most people to realize only the colors of those objects transmitting the more basic and popular hues for which we have common names. There are, however, millions of complex colors to be found in the countless numbers of objects seen from day to day. Some of these more complex colors and how they might come about will be explained in more detail in this section.

A formula for identifying color has been devised in which the basic colors are placed in a circular location that is generally referred to as a color wheel. (fig. 1.)

Pure Hue (bright or intense colors)

Theoretically, all of the colors that may be seen are drived from three basic colors known as the primaries; red, yellow, and blue. When spaced alternately equal in distance around the perimeter of the color wheel there is space remaining between each for an additional three colors referred to as the secondaries; green, orange, and violet. Green results from equal mixtures of the primaries blue and yellow, orange results from equal mixtures of the primaries yellow and red and violet results finally from equal mixtures of the primaries red and blue. This mixing of colors laterally around the color wheel could result in a limitless

number of in-between mixtures, all of which are to be realized as pure hue and commonly referred to as intense or bright colors.

Neutral Colors (pure hue altered)

Two basic methods are employed to alter pure hue. The first involves the direct addition of darker or lighter agents (black and white) to change the value of pure hue. In doing this the intensity is also altered to some extent depending how much of the additive is used. Hues made darker are called tones while those made lighter are referred to as tints. (fig. 1 outside shaded area)

The second method of altering pure color is to bring about a neutralizing effect of pure hues by a process known as complimentary mixing or the mixing of colors across the color wheel. Thus the compliment of the primary red would be secondary green found directly across from red on the wheel. An example of the results of mixing this complimentary set would be the neutralizing of green to an olive green by the addition of a little red, or the neutralizing of red in reverse fashion to achieve a rust red or burnt sienna color. The two other basic sets of compliments are comprised of the remaining primary blue and secondary orange opposites, and primary yellow and secondary violet opposites. When mixed equally, the compliments should result in a completely colorless neutral or gray, with direct compliments having the greatest neutralizing effect. Any intermixing across the color wheel in general, however, will result in some neutralizing action.

. It should by now be evident that the limitless examples of what are known as browns are basically the results of various complimentary mixtures. (fig. 1. central shaded area)

In addition to the mixing of compliments, when used next to each other, complimentary colors tend to emphasize each other as a result of warm and cool implications which will be explained next. This is especially evident in the red/green set since those two compliments are quite close in value (lightness and darkness) and tend to set up visual vibrations because of this similarity. This method of achieving visual impact was used to greatest advantage in Plains Indian art (Fig. 5).

Warm and Cool

In addition to the mechanical considerations of color, there is also the matter of how colors may affect us psychologically in terms of warm and cool. This aspect of color is explained by the obvious color associations that we make with those dominant environmental conditions surrounding us in nature. For instance, the blues, violets, and greens that we see in the mountains, waters and forests, are, of course, realized as being cool. The yellows, reds, and other warm colors are associated with the warmth of the sun, the dry seasons, and the colors of the sands and soils of the earth. Certainly, there are additional associations that affect us as individuals. However, these will serve to illustrate the basic psychological principle.

It should be mentioned that the warm and cool factor is compatible with the color wheel system in that the warm hues are found to be located on one side and the cool on the other. (Fig. 1).

VALUE

As was explained briefly in the previous section on color, value refers to the dark and light qualities in art and includes the limitless series of shades that may be realized between black and white. (Fig. 2).

Probably the best method of observing the staggering range of values surrounding us is through black and white photography which enables us to see the motionless reproduction of light reflections minus color, therefore, eliminating the distractions of color. Through black and white photography we are better able to comprehend the important role that value plays in the overall effectiveness of a work of art. For example, the values of the colored shapes and lines in (Fig. 6) are so close that they nearly merge when viewed minus color. (Fig. 7). It is this kind of close value together with broad color relationships, that stimulate the eye to look further. The terrific impact of 19th Century Plains Indian art is due in great part to the uncanny control of such color and value relationships used simultaneously (Figs. 5 and 6). The complete range of color and value afforded by the use of European beads was utilized in the broadest possible manner to achieve maximum visual impact.

SHAPE

Curved and Angular

The complexities of shapes in nature are so vast that a method of formulating them is nearly impossible. It might be said, however, that basically there are two major categories of shape: curved and angular. The most basic examples of these categories might be thought of as the circle and the square. Sometimes they are referred to as rectilinear (having boundaries made up entirely of straight lines) and biomorphic (having irregular boundaries and possessing the freely developed curves found in living organisms).

If one must define shape, it may be called an area of color possessing more or less measurable dimensions. An edge may be thought of as where one area ends and another begins. An attempt to visually formulate the extension of additional shapes from the basic circle and square can be seen in (Fig. 3).

Large and Small

In addition to the possibilities of contrast offered by curved and angular shapes, there is additional potential found in the usage of large and small units. This use of large and small to create visual interest is used most successfully by Plains Indian artists in conjunction with the other design elements. (Fig. 5).

Repetition

Repetition can be thought of as the visual form of rhythm and serves very well to bind the work together as opposed in principle to variety. (See Figs. 10 and 12). Repetition may be the statement of the same unit again and again, or it may repeat similar elements having different size or color characteristics

which add absorbing interest to a pattern that might otherwise be tiring. (Fig. 8).

Abstraction

To complete this section on shape, it is necessary to take a quick look at abstraction and how it is different from pure or non-objective art. The term "non-objective", however misleading, is used to describe those works having no reference to subject matter. Abstraction, on the other hand, indicates the altering to some extent of representational subject matter. (Fig. 8).

It is probably safe to say that the pure non-objective design forms found in 19th Century Plains art evolved over a period of time from an abstraction of forms found in nature. It seems unlikely, however, that this transition was lengthy, but rather was developed in relatively short time to facilitate an intense involvement with color, value, and shape.

SUMMARY

As illustrated, effective visual impact is derived basically from the establishment of various contrasts of COLOR: intense/neutral, warm/cool; VALUE: dark/light, and SHAPE: angular/curved, large/small.

To show the most basic situation possible, a diagram has been devised by the author in which a small, square, cool bright shape is placed against a large, round, warm neutral shape. (Fig. 4). Perhaps an early Plains Indian artist made a similar discovery in terms of concept when precious, hard-to-find, colors were first placed in very discreet manner upon the neutral shapes at hand, namely the tanned hides used for shelter and clothing. Certainly, an angular shape with color would offer the greatest example of contrast, while cool colors would be most desirable in terms of warm and cool impact.

COMPARATIVE STUDIES

To further illustrate the advanced visual developments of 19th Century Plains Indian art, it is fitting to compare a number of those pieces with the works of some outstanding artists making key contributions to the development of 20th Century non-objective art. In doing this, the pieces were chosen to illustrate a close relationship while at the same time making selections which are typical of the individual artist's total concept for which he is afforded historical recognition.

(Fig. 9a): HENRI MATISSE (French) Arbres a Collioure-1905

The Fauves or "Wild Beasts", as they were called, were a movement of artists led by Matisse, who used the spontaneity of color as expression in itself, rather than for representational purposes as in the past. "Expression", he said, "arises from the colored surface which the spectator grasps in its entirety."

(Fig. 9b): YOKE OF WOMAN'S DRESS (Salish) Late 19th Century

Has the same characteristics of color relationship, flowing line quality, and rhythm of the Matisse landscape. Both artists were quite evidently motivated by a "joy" for living.

(Fig. 10a): PIET MONDRIAN (Dutch) Broadway Boogie Woogie-1942

Mondrian eventually limited himself to the usage of only the three primary colors plus black and white, and became intrigued with the balance of the total composition, using only straight vertical and horizontal divisions. This painting made toward the end of his life, reflects his delight for music and is broken into staccato areas, recalling the rhythms of modern jazz.

(Fig. 10b): PAINTED PARFLECHE (Blackfeet) Middle 19th Century

Uses only the primary colors to achieve the utmost visual impact. The repetition of small dot elements tends to give movement to the composition and offers evidence of the importance of rhythm to the artist.

(Fig. 11a): JOSEPH ALBERS (American) Homage to the Square, Amber-1964

Albers has devoted much of his life to the study of pure color and value relationships and has been especially interested in the different appearances a color may take on due to the various intensity and value contexts in which it might be placed. In this particular painting, warm neutrals are played against warm intense hues to achieve the illusion of depth.

(Fig. 11b): WOMAN'S PAINTED ROBE (Arapaho) Middle 19th Century

Utilizes only warm colors in a variety of relationships to further emphasize the warmth of the materials, and relies heavily on very complex yet subtle shape relationships to establish a profound visual statement.

(Fig. 12a): GEORGE SUGARMAN (American) Black X-1964

Exemplifies a typical practice of post-Abstract Expressionism in which a large dark neutral shape is placed in contrast to a smaller concentration of intense colors. Sugarman is recognized additionally for having combined painting and sculpture in a direct way.

(Fig. 12b): BABY CARRIER HOOD (Sioux) late 19th Century

Gives evidence of the artist's knowledge of size relationships when working with a dark neutral in contrast to intense colors. This basic concept of compositional structure did not reach a direct interpretation in Western culture until the Abstract Expressionist periods of the 1950's.

(Fig. 13a): RICHARD ANUSZIEWICZ (American) Untitled Painting-1964

One of the leading figures in the Optical Art movement of the middle 1960's. Op Art, as it became known, deals with the fragmentation of close valued intense colors or high contrasting values of black and white to create optical vibrations of an extreme nature.

(Fig. 13b): BUCKSKIN SHIRT QUILLED (Blackfeet) Middle 19th Century

Employs the same refraction of color and value as the Op Artists, approximately 100 years earlier. This piece is also outstanding in the contrast of close value areas (quill panels) to extreme value areas (feathers and scalps).

(Fig. 14a): KENNETH NOLAND (American) Via Blues-1967

Noland is recognized today as the foremost color painter and sometimes completes works that are as large as 20 feet long. Working with direct color relationships and interval, the artist maintains a value and intensity control which is firmly established through the large scale of his work.

(Fig. 14b): BEADED BUFFALO ROBE (Crow) Late 19th Century

Color and value relationships, interval, and duration are key considerations of the artist as well as overall scale. Measuring nearly 8 feet high, this robe and others like it establish the Plains Indian artist of the 19th Century as being truly ahead of his time in concept.

CONCLUSION

To speak of the artistic achievements of the 19th Century Plains Indian artist as being outstanding would almost certainly be an understatement, for the ability to manipulate the visual elements in such masterful manner seems to suggest a definite quality of genius. It is even more remarkable when we consider the fact that these developments came about over a relatively short period of time and with no previous exposure to pure non-objective art.

It is of further interest to note that so many individual artists within the culture were able to attain such high standards of achievement, indicating the likelihood of an inherent visual sensitivity. Perhaps this must be attributed in part to the motivational factors involved, for it seems quite likely that the wonderful harmony they had with nature certainly afforded unique unobservable powers which will never be fully comprehended in any direct manner.

Crisis in Red and White -

An Educational Dilemma

By

Thomas E. Sawyer

"Pitiless indeed are the processes of Time and Creative Thought and Logic; they respect the convenience of none, nor the love of things held sacred; agony attends their course. Yet their work is the increasing glory of a world - the growth of knowledge - the advancement of understanding - the enlargement of human life - the emancipation of man."

Cassius J. Keyser

(April 1973)

PRELUDE

If you were a Native American, an Indian, I mean, the way you are part of the white dominant value system:

One who had come from another state and had lived in an alien culture;

Whose English, whether spoken or written, was not quite correct or non-existant for you had not been to the "right" schools;

An Indian, I mean, who belonged to an uprooted social system, and whose home was nowhere, yet had been everywhere;

One who had been made as chattel of the government, so that you might be fitted to live in the presence of civilization though you are a descendant of the first Americans;

One who neither arrived voluntarily in search of freedom nor was forcibly brought to these shores;

You represent one of many tribes having a multitude of languages and cultures developed entirely in this nation - thus you do not necessarily share the values of European civilization;

One who knew the blight of the reservation but also the misery of the slums of Los Angeles and Minneapolis;

And the failure of the dominant value system to cope with its own cultural identity;

And a new world order being born:

How would you look at the struggle of the Indian people, their aims, their hopes, their means?

An old Indian saying would advise a person to walk in another's moccasins for a period of time, share his value system - his conscience - before judging him. To do so is difficult, but most enlightening. But don't mistake tolerance for understanding. Native Americans have been tolerated for nearly five hundred years - tolerated almost into oblivion. Tolerance is no longer acceptable to Native Americans, as it should not be to any independent, self-governing member or group of a self-governing community.

INTRODUCTION

One of the most remarkable examples of adaptation and accomplishment by any people in the United States is that of the Cherokee Indian tribe. Their record provides evidence of the type of results which insue when Indians truly have the power of self determination: a constitution which provided for courts, representation, jury trials and the right to vote for all tribal members over eighteen years; a system of taxation which supported such services as education and road construction; an educational system which produced a Cherokee population 90% literate in its native language and used bilingual materials to such an extent that Oklahoma Cherokees had a higher English literature level than the white population of either Texas or Arkansas; a system of higher education which, together with the Choctaw Nation, had more than 200 schools and acadamies, and sent many graduates to eastern colleges; publication of the widely read bilingual newspaper. But that was in the 1800's, before the Federal government took control of Cherokee affairs. The record of the Cherokee today is proof of the tragic results of sixty years of white control over their affairs: 90% of the Cherokee families living in Adair County, Oklahoma, are on welfare; 99% of the Choctaw Indian population in McCurtain County, Oklahoma, live below the poverty level; the median number of school years completed by the adult Cherokee population is only 5.5; 40% of adult Cherokees are functionally illiterate; Cherokee dropout rates in public schools are as high as 75%. The level of Cherokee education is well below the average for the state of Oklahoma and below the average for rural and non-whites in the state. The disparity between these two sets of facts provides dramatic testimony to what might have been accomplished if the policy of the Federal government had been one of Indian self-determination. It also points up the disasterous effects of imposed white values.

Cherokee education was truly a development of the tribe itself. In 1821 Sequoyah, a member of the tribe, presented tribal officials with his invention - a Cherokee alphabet. Within six years of that date Cherokees were publishing their own bilingual newspapers and the Cherokee nation was on its way toward the end of illiteracy and the beginning of a model of self-government and self-education.

The Cherokee education system itself was just as exemplary as its governmental system. Using funds primarily received from the Federal government as a result of ceding large tracts of land, a school system described by many as "the finest school system west of the Mississippi" soon developed. Treaty money was used by Sequoyah to develop the Cherokee alphabet, as well as to purchase a printing press. In a period of several years the Cherokee had established remarkable achievement at

literary levels. But in 1903 the Federal government appointed a superintendent to take control of Cherokee education. When Oklahoma became a state in 1906 and the whole system was abolished, Cherokee educational performance began its decline.

Authorities who have analyzed this decline concur on one point: the Cherokees were alienated from the white man's school. Willard Walker simply stated that "The Cherokees have used the school as a white man's institution over which parents have no control". Dr. Jack Forbes of the Far West Regional Laboratory said that the Federal and State schools operated for the Cherokee have had negative impact because of little, if any, parent-community involvement. Several researchers have also commented upon the lack of bilingual material in the schools, and the ensuing feeling by Cherokees that reading English is associated with coersive instruction.

While I have thus far spoken of statistics related only to the Cherokee nation, I am certain that similar data are available on other tribes and would provide the same indications. In general it can be stated that the coersive assimilation policy that has been practiced by the Federal government towards the American Indian have had disastrous effects on the education of Indian children. It has resulted in: the classroom and the school becoming a type of battleground where the Indian child attempts to protect his integrity and identity as an individual by defeating the purposes of the school; schools which fail to understand or adapt to and in fact often denigrate, cultural differences; schools which blame their failures on the Indian student and reinforce his defensiveness; schools which fail to recognize the importance and validity of the Indian community. The community and child retaliate by treating the schools as an alien institution resulting in a dismal record of absenteeism, dropouts, negative self image, low achievement; and ultimately, academic failure for many Indian children, and a perpetuation of the cycle of poverty which undermines the success of most other Federal programs. This coersive assimilation policy has two primary historical roots: a continuous desire to exploit and expropriate Indian land and resources, and a self rightous intolerance of tribal communities and cultural differences.

At the heart of the matter, educationally at least, is the relationship between the Indian community and the public school, and the general powerlessness the Indian feels in regard to the education of his children. A report by the Carnegie Foundation described the relationship between white people, especially the white power structure, and Indians as "one of the most crucial problems in the education of Inidan children". The report continues: "this relationship frequently demeans Indians, destroys their self respect and self confidence,

developes and encourages apathy and a sense of alienation from the educational process, and deprives them of an opportunity to develop the ability and experience to control their own affairs through participation in effective local governments.

Further definitions of the education related problems among Indians is not justified. Many of you, perhaps all of you, have been involved in this education crisis for some time. I would simply add a quote from Abraham Lincoln, "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present - let us disenthral ourselves."

The goal of my presentation is to present considerations and alternatives for healthy life directions which can be made available through education, to the Native American to enable him to go beyond the present narrow choices of either total assimilation within the white value system or remaining isolated on the reservation. In accomplishing this goal it is necessary to address both Native Americans and the white society. My address will, I hope, offend and anger both groups, for it is impossible to tell the truth about Indian education without offending and angering members of both groups. We are all too accustomed to the veil of half truths which cloak this subject. For hundreds of years white America has clung to the ideal that if everyone would be patient time alone would solve the Indian problem. It hasn't, and it never will. For time, as Martin Luther King points out, is neither good nor bad; it is neutral. What matters is how time is used. Time has been used badly in the United States. We often hear that something must be done and soon about the Indian problem. But do what? The prescription to "do something" appeals to the pragmatic bent of most Americans. But sheer busy-ness is not enough. Solving the problem of Indian education is not only one of the most urgent pieces of public business facing the United States today; it is also one of the most difficult. In approaching it, public officials and leaders would do well to ponder the traditional warning of mathematicians: don't worry so much about getting the right answer; what counts most is setting up the right problem.

PURPOSE OF SCHOOLS

The first object of any Indian school must be to equip the students with the tools of learning. These tools are basically reading, writing, arithmetic, speaking and listening. With these tools at their command the Indian student can learn all his life.

The second object of an Indian school - and this is especially vital to a bicultural democratic community such as the tribe - should be to open new worlds to the young, to get them out of the rut of the place and time in which they were born. Whatever the charms of the tribal culture, whatever the allure of the present, emphasis upon the immediate environment and its current condition must narrow the mind and prevent understanding of the broader community and any meaningful comprehension of the present. Hence those well meaning individuals who would center education on the interests of children and their immediate surroundings, though they may seem up-to-date, are going contrary to the demands contemporary society, both within and around the tribal grouping, is making upon any educational system. Sitting Bull foresaw this when he stated, "I have advised my people this way: when you find something good in the white man's road, pick it up. When you find something that is bad, or turns out bad, drop it and leave it alone!"

The third object of any educational institution for Indians must be to get the young to understand their cultural heritage. This, too, is in the interest of the individual and the community. The individual ought to see himself in the tribal community, a community having a tradition, which can be accepted or rejected, but not unless it is first understood. Comprehension of the educational heritage is the means by which the bonds uniting the tribal community are strengthened. The school, properly oriented, should then be the agency for discharging this obligation. Its performance cannot be left to chance.

John Stuart Mill once said: "Education makes a man a more intelligent shoemaker, if that be his occupation, but not by teaching him how to make shoes; it does so by the mental exercise it gives and the habits it impresses." The advance of technology makes this observation even more pertinent than it was a hundred years ago, and in two ways. In the first place, technology remorselessly simplifies or eliminates skill requirements. No doubt in a cybernated society the need for technical training and retraining will exist, but it will exist for a declining proportion of the work force, and the work force will be a declining proportion of the population.

In the second place, as technology decreases the demand for skilled labor, or labor of any kind, it increases the demand for intelligent citizens. It puts constant stress on our democratic society, presenting it with new problems each day. Experience has taught us one thing. Experience alone won't keep a society from bankruptcy. New ideas, flexibility, and a capacity for apprehending principles is vital.

To define a purpose for education we must know what we as a people want in general; we derive our theory of education from our philosophy of life. Education, to be effective, must be intimately related to family and tribal goals and value systems. The medieval concern for certification is not sufficient to sustain education and learning.

An exciting example of this concept is provided by the experimental school at Rough Rock, Arizona. Instruction in Navaho language and culture is part of the curriculum, and the school itself is supervised by an all-Navaho school board. The newly organized Inidan college, the Navaho Junior College at Many Farms, is also gearing its curriculum to the special needs of Indian students. These are among the first tribal-run schools since the Choctaw and Cherokee ran their own school systems during the latter half of the 1800's.

The purpose of the educational process is the crucial question for students, parents, educators and employers. This purpose is not accomplished by making schools free, universal and compulsory. Schools are public because they are dedicated to increasing the growth of knowledge, the advancement of understanding, the enlargement of human life, and the emancipation of man. The rate and method of education may and should vary. But schools are not public unless they provide an understanding of the priority concerns of the community being served.

MENTAL ABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT, AND MENTAL HEALTH

Many researchers, representing a variety of disciplines, i.e., anthropologists, psychologists, and sociologists, have studied and written about the failure of Indian students to achieve in an academic environment. Some contend that a psychological-deficit model or normative approach to Indian students rules educational theory and practice, thus perpetuating destructive institutional policies. Others hold that a cultural-difference model or a relativistic anthropological approach should be fostered because it is scientifically more adequate and will produce more constructive results.

My psychological training and experience, plus more than a passing acquaintance with the anthropological and sociological literature on Indians, convinces me that the deficit theory is undemonstrated. Any theory of ethnic deficits of biological origin is quite untestable in an ethnically plural and structurally discriminatory society, such as we have in the U.S. The necessary separation of biological and socio-cultural factors is impossible in our environment. A simple model of cultural difference is inadequate to explain the cultural dynamics of the heterogeneous Indian community. The notion of a single homogeneous "Indian culture", which is conveyed by the difference model is also pseudo-scientific nonsense. Both the "deficit" and "difference" models neglect and obscure the important concept of "biculturation". Steven Palgar reported in the "American Anthropologist" that Indians living on reservations regularly go through a process which he termed "biculturation". That is, Indians are simultaneously enculturated and socialized in two different ways of life; one being a contemporary form of our traditional life-styles, the other being the mainstream Euro-American culture.

As a key concept for making sense out of ethnicity and related matters, biculturation has strong appeals. The collective behavior and social life of most Indian communities is bicultural in the sense that each tribe adopts some forms of group behavior from the dominant cultural system of the Euro-Americans. Socialization into both systems begins at an early age, continues throughout life, and is generally about equal in most individual Indian lives. This enculturation in dominant culture patterns is brought about by the mass media, the experience of public schooling, exposure to national fashions, holidays and heroes. Other specialized institutional forms of enculturation are experienced by the Indian community including the welfare system, the police-court-prison complex, anti-

poverty programs, and employment in the dominant society's economic structure.

While the present attitudes and policies of the institutions interfacing with the tribes is no longer characterized by subjugation and deliberate attempts to destroy the diverse Indian cultures, at least not by force or missionary zeal, education and employment require the biculturation of students or employees to participate successfully in either endeavor. Most school teachers and other educational specialists working with Indian students have well-established cognitive and affective sets into which the concept of cultural difference fits perfectly. Unfortunately, this perceived consistency reinforces a complex of attitudes and practices which are detrimental to Indian students, regardless of the intentions of such teachers. Highly standardized feelings about reservation children and their families include such explicit beliefs as Indians are culturally different, these cultural differences impede learning, that schools should eliminate these differences, but educators cannot succeed because the students are psychologically deficient as a result of their cultural difference. So the educators rationalize the student failure by circular reasoning blaming the students and parents. Thus if we continue to permit the subtle rationalizations of either the deficit or difference models to continue, they will be applied to the serious detriment of Native-American people both young and old. In this regard I must agree wholeheartedly with Vine Deloria's analysis, "Indians have been cursed above all people. Indians have anthropologists."

The performance of Indian children on intelligence tests has been quite well documented. Mean differences between children of high and low socio-economic status have been found consistently when measures of intelligence are administered - not just among Indian youth. These differences are unequivocally present at age four. With increases in children's ages, such intelligence test differences tend to increase. Thus, there are larger mean differences in intelligence between low and high socio-economic status children, in general, in adolescence than in the early years of school. This effect and the evidence to support it has been carefully determined by a number of researchers (Bloom, Hunt, Silverman, Gordon, Karp and Sigel, and Coleman).

A beneficial side effect of this research should also be mentioned; both the belief in fixed intelligence and the notion of ridding intelligence measurements of cultural contamination have been abandoned. Now, rather than rejecting cultural effects as contaminants, they are taken into account in test construction and prediction. Perhaps the most important outgrowth of this

work has been the changed conception of intelligence. Few qualified researchers will now maintain that intelligence tests measure something innate, fixed, and predetermined. The validity of intelligence tests for predicting school achievement leaves little room for doubt, but the aptitude versus achievement distinction has been diluted significantly. Intelligence tests must now be thought of as samples of learning based on general experiences.

The types of achievement and intelligence tests which are most often used with Indian students can have only limited value in describing their cognitive functioning. In almost all testing, the concern is for an answer, not the ways in which a student arrived at a conclusion. No amount of analysis of scores on such psychometric procedures will reveal cognitive data, unless tests are deliberately constructed to reveal the reasoning processes. Piaget's theories of cognitive development have been incorporated into the testing procedures developed by Smedslund, Laurendeau, and the Educational Testing Service's new series "Let's Look at First Graders". Future testing of Indian students should include cognitive aspects.

As Indian children proceed through school, they continue to perform below the national average at all grade levels on all measures. The relative standing of Indians in relation to the white population remains essentially constant in terms of standard deviations, but the absolute differences in terms of grade-level discrepancies increase. This increase in the number of grade levels behind the normative population is commonly referred to as the "cumulative deficit".

The story of educational disadvantage for Indian students which emerges from examination of achievement data is a clear indication of the failure of the school systems serving them. When intelligence test data and early achievement data are combined, a predictor's paradise is evident, but an abysmal prognosis for most Indian students. At the very least, this ability to predict school failure should be better utilized by the schools in an effort to remedy the situation. Arlene Payne's "Early Prediction of Achievement" demonstrates that by the end of grade one, over one-half of the students who will be failing in arithmetic in grade six can be identified on the basis of socio-economic data, intelligence test scores, and an arithmetic achievement test. By the end of grade two, two-thirds of the failing children could be identified. This provides the schools with individual children for whom the usual curriculum will surely fail. It most importantly provides five years of lead time to remedy the situation.

Most teachers want to teach effectively and to see their students learn. I do not believe the cumulative deficit in the achievement of Indian students reflects any willful or determined attempts on the part of individual teachers to keep their students down. Nor do I think it reflects laziness. The most penurious assumption would be that teachers are not effective and Indian students are not learning at an adequate rate because techniques have not been devised which can produce the desired learning outcomes in many Indian students.

What can be done to change this situation? The two obvious components that must be considered are the curriculum and the students. Then an analysis must be made of the process that goes on in a teacher's mind. The teacher by some mental process must determine the objective of the students achievement and a sequence to accomplish such learning. The teacher concomitantly determines the students' readiness in terms of prior achievement and behavior, and devises an instructional strategy to match student and curricular. It is in this important process that the teacher must not be biased by any internalized feelings of Indian culture deficits.

The suggested program would be tedious. A large-scale curriculum analyses would be necessary. Once such analyses were completed, an even more complex effort would be required for development of diagnostic methods which could be effectively used by teachers. Once this effort is underway, however, it would help provide understanding of the conditions of learning which are appropriate for Indian children who are predicted to fail in the basic communication skills of the white society. Therefore, while the task would be difficult, the results could easily justify the effort.

A great deal has been made of the lack of emotional well being and good self-image among Indian students. This point is emphasized by pointing to the high suicide rate among Indians. The report of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education contains many details of suicide among Indian youth, and a number of comments therein imply that these facts demonstrate a condition of social pathology and poor mental health. Robert J. Havinghurst and Estelle Fuchs, on the other hand, present data which compares Indian and non-Indian suicide rates with practically no total difference indicated, although they do report significant differences with respect to age and sex. The latter data was obtained in years 1959 through 1966 and for Indians revealed average suicide rate of 11 per 100,000 population. Data which I obtained from the National Institute of Mental Health for the three year period 1968, 1969 and

1971 for American and Alaskan Indians revealed a rate of 15.6 per 100,000. The age specific suicide death rate for the age group 10 - 34 for the same Indian population is three times the U.S. all-races rate for the same age group. This latter statement confirms Havinghurst and Fuchs' findings for the period 1959 through 1966.

An analysis of these data provide some interesting points of information: (1) Indian women have less than one-half the suicide rate of white women, (2) Indian males between ages 10 and 44 have a suicide rate at least three times that of white males, and (3) the rate of suicide among Indians appears to be increasing significantly (from less than an average of 11 per 100,000 for years 1959, 1960 and 1961 to an average of 15.6 per 100,000 for years 1968, 1969 and 1971). The continued high rate for school aged Indian males, over three times the white male average for this same age group, over a twenty year period mitigates against Havinghurst and Fuchs' contention that the history of suicide among the young points to a kind of contagious suicide by epidemic.

Another factor which is of concern regarding the mental health of Indian students is reported by the Statistics Division of the Indian Health Section of the National Institute of Mental Health. Anxiety, hostility and aggression levels of boarding school students are reported to be significantly higher than day school students. Dr. H. Saslow, professor of psychology at New Mexico University, reported that the average student at the Albuquerque Boarding School progressed, in terms of achievement, only one-half grade during his entire four years of high school. With an increasing number of students at boarding school being "social referrals" (over 25 percent in 1969), the need for an improved mental health research program is evident.

I do not present this information as a condemnation of our Indian heritage in support of any theory of ethnic deficits of biological origin nor to support the tenants of the difference model. But the relatively high suicide rate among student-age Indian men should be taken as a symptom of a significant problem of societal adjustment. It is clear that many people who are imbued with an especially strong sense of independent responsibility (as Indians we pride ourselves in this character trait) have great difficulty in seeking or accepting support from others outside our immediate group. For some, this is reminiscent of a profoundly unpleasant sense of helplessness from an earlier phase of life; for some it is an unacceptable admission of weakness, of inadequacy; for some it is a contradiction of one's sense of strength and commitment to

help others. Ironically, those whose life leads to increasing responsibility for others must provide increasing support for others at a time when they are themselves more isolated, less able to ask for personal help, and less able to receive it when offered. Greater responsibility generates greater personal need concurrent with greater obstacles to receiving it.

Indians have a tradition of courage to face hardships and deprivation. All too often, though, we are our own worst enemies, in that we have difficulty summoning the courage to look at ourselves honestly and fairly. It is this courage which enables us to face, to articulate, and finally accept our disappointments and losses - one of the most difficult tasks the human psyche faces. This is not so apparent until one stops to realize that life is a succession of losses - the loss of warmth and comfort of the uterus which nurtured us into this life; childhood losses of the infant status, childhood toys; the loss of irresponsible pleasures of youth with the advent of maturity; the loss of jobs, self-esteem, opportunity; and finally the passage to the next life. These experiences have profound effects on our mental health. Even as losses vary in their impact on us, our psyche varies in its capacity to cope with them, and not all do it with equal success.

While there is a statistically significant difference between the suicide rate of Indians and non-Indians, the only reason for reviewing the information is to bring about an answer as to why there should be any suicides at all. The fact that there are does not reflect any inherent weakness in Indian biological origin, culture or development. It does represent a need to determine the cause - the type of chaotic and unstable environment that brings about such total despair.

That Indian mental health is good is evidenced by the shattering of the myths regarding the vanishing and silent Indian image. Active participation and organization by American Indians themselves are growing in such groups as the National Congress of American Indians, National Tribal Chairmen's Association, and the proliferating groups of "Red Power" advocates such as the American Indians for Movement (AIM). Indians are refusing to accept their loss of identity in a common "melting pot". These are not the actions of a group with a collective poor self esteem.

Democracy is the best form of government precisely because it calls upon individual citizens to be self-governing and to take part in the self-governing political community. The individual cannot become a meaningful human being

without a democratic political community; and the democratic political community cannot be maintained without independent citizens and groups of citizens who are qualified to govern themselves and others through the democratic political process. Indians have now accepted the challenge to confront those institutions which affect the interests of their people, their culture, and their environment. This, to me, represents good mental health.

TRIBAL CONTROL OF INDIAN EDUCATION

Political scientists and sociologists study those who have power, but tend to ignore the powerless. Decision making is examined, but decision inability is not exposed. An elite power structure is rationalized as pluralism, and the relevance of community participation by Indian groups in the political (democratic) process is depreciated.

The Indian communities have recently exposed the coersive political system and challenged its denial of their demands for a "piece of the action". In struggling with the state and Federal political structures which combine two oppresive elements - bureaucratic centralization and specialization, and professionalism - tribal leaders are necessarily concerned with building a restructured participatory system. If suitable channels for tribal participation are not found, the bureaucratic school system may be in increasing difficulty. The school system in many ways reflects the larger tribal problems in microcosm. There are those who suggest that educational institutions cannot correct difficulties that reflect larger social problems. When educators rejected George Counts pleas in the 1930's for utilizing education as a vehicle for social change, they separated the school system from social needs for 30 years. It should by now be evident that educational systems must be a vital component to constructive adjustment of democratic institutions if we are to meet the changing needs of the tribal societies.

The education systems serving on or near reservations are failing. Their failure is political as well as educational. The educational failure is relatively easy to document. Hard data in test scores, dropout rates, and the number of academic diplomas produced have demonstrated the character of that failure. Rationales developed to relate the causes to the problems of a reservation community, while they may be in part valid, do not in any way negate the responsibility of the school system to educate. The inability of the school professionals to cope with this problem must still be labeled an educational failure. The political failure of the school system cannot be measured quantitatively except in the sense that educational failings can be traced to the environment of the total system. The political failure is fundamental. It is characterized by the development of a political subsystem whose policy process is wholly controlled by a small professional group in Washington headquarters. The policies which emerge support an educational

establishment that maintains acceptance of a status quo orientation in all areas of Indian education policy.

The lack of innovation in Indian school systems, except as periodically stimulated by outside funding, is indicative of such orientation. During the past sixty years, Indian school systems experienced a degree of professionalization combined with extensive centralization of the educational bureaucracy. In the B.I.A. an inbred bureaucratic supervisory staff sits at headquarters holding a rein on educational policy. Their vested interests are clear. Any major shift in educational policy might well challenge their control of the system. How can the Indian communities be assured of quality education and a participatory role in the system?

To be effective, reform must first encourage a meaningful parental and tribal/community role in the schools. Although the immediate impetus toward community control arises from the frustrations of the tribe, it is only the latest stage in the developing concept of education as a governmental responsibility and of public education as essentially a community-governed enterprise - an idea deeply rooted in American traditions. Parental and community participation in the schools declined generally as the professionalization of teaching advanced and public school systems grew in size. Today's movement among communities in general and Indian tribes in particular seeks to renew the role of the "neighborhood" in education.

Those who control the schools have been unable to produce results, they have excluded the Indian community from a role in the policy process. The structure must be adjusted to give the community effective control over educational institutions serving the Indian population. Participation in itself provides an involvement with the system which can reduce alienation and serve to stimulate educational change. This role for the Indian community is not conceived as an abandonment of professionalism, but rather an effort to achieve a balance between professionalism and public participation in the policy process. Community control implies a redistribution and sharing of power within the educational system. It is directed toward achieving a mechanism for participatory democracy and attempts to answer the political failure in educational systems serving reservations. As for educational failure, community control is intended to create an environment in which more meaningful educational policies can be developed and a variety of alternatives and techniques be evaluated. It seems self-evident that a school system attuned

to reservation needs, which serves as an agent of the community interests, will provide a more conducive environment in which students can learn.

Verbal support for tribal participation has come from the educational establishment within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the professionals. The fact is, however, that their idea of tribal/community participation is more of the traditional Parent-Teachers Association concept and has little or nothing to do with tribal control of decision making. Tribal control of the schools must involve local control over key policy decisions in four major areas: personnel, budget, curriculum, and public policy. Local school boards must be locally selected and mechanisms for encouraging broad tribal participation must be thoughtfully developed.

The creation of a locally elected school board with substantial power is not enough to ensure tribal participation and control. Fulfillment of the tribal school ideal also calls for the development of procedures to ensure that parents of school students will be deeply involved in school affairs. Local boards must develop procedures to encourage tribal groups to express their views regularly and to play a meaningful part in the making of policy.

Properly instituted, tribal control can be an instrument of social change. The redistribution of power is in itself an aspect of that change. If adequate provision is made by H.E.W. and the B.I.A. for the technical assistance to the tribes to carry out this new role, tribal control has the potential for providing new insights into the concept of professionalism as well as the general theories of educational expertise. If the tribal school boards, in conjunction with tribal leaders, have the resources to hire a variety of talent in the policy process, many institutional changes can be expected. Although demonstration projects in the past have suffered from an almost total lack of delegated power and technical resources, they have already proven that tribal/community involvement can and does expand the scope of professional and tribal participation. Again, any plan to be successful must meet the test of redistributing power in the system by providing for local selection of the members of tribal school boards, and tribal control of the budget, student policy, curriculum, and personnel. Such tribal control would also allow the utilization of positive factors and rich resources available in the community to motivate Indian children regarding education.

The arguments against tribal control tend to focus on two concerns - the parochialism which might result from reservation control of the schools and the lack of qualifications of community people and their inability to cope with the highly technical problems in education. The concern with the dangers of parochialism usually relates to the fears of the emergence of red racism or separatism. The concern with red racism is more often a misinterpretation of the sense of greater identity or a lack of understanding of the desire to increase the number of Indian teachers and administrators in tribal schools.

Local rivalries and some ethnic conflicts may occur at public (non-B.I.A. schools) schools serving nearby reservations as Indian representation increases, and should be anticipated. However, the ability to deal with and resolve or compromise these conflicts locally will be an important part of the process. Conflict should not necessarily be viewed as dangerous; rather, it may stimulate increased public and group participation in the affairs of the combined communities. The advantages to be gained from encouraging Indian identity and conscientiousness should well outweigh any negative aspects of parochialism. Empirical evidence demonstrates that participation and involvement increase when group identity is stronger. The group-identity factor probably supersedes socioeconomic status and ethnic background as an influence on the kind and extent of community participation.

Participation should be thought of in two general categories: first, an involvement as reflected in attendance at meetings or voting opportunities; and, second, as direct engagement in the policy-making process and the exercise of political power. The latter experience will provide the basis for testing the effect of tribal control as a mechanism for achieving social and institutional change in the educational system. Serious opposition to tribal control can be anticipated due to a lack of confidence in the ability of tribal representatives to make decisions that require some technical competence. A corollary to this position is the concern that tribal/community control negates professionalism. This is obviously not true because the tribal representatives who make decisions must still rely on the professionals to some extent for inputs into the policy process. In fact, technical assistance must be made available to the tribal school boards and must be integral to any plan for tribal control, if local boards are to be successful.

Because almost two-thirds of all Indian students attend public schools near reservations, consideration must be given to obtaining a voice in the decision making processes of these institutions. The Constitution of the

United States contemplates government by discussion, with all citizens participating in it. The motion toward this goal often appears slow and erratic, but it is not trivial or irrelevent. The rule of one-man, one-vote and the extension of the franchise to eighteen-year-olds are steps in this direction; toward an inclusive community based on the equality of all the people in it, all of whom are taking part in the consideration of public affairs.

Nothing in these tendencies excludes such values as "cultural pluralism" has to offer. But cultural segregation is another matter. The principle of subsidiarity, which is a good rule leading to decentralization, holds that small groups should so far as possible have control over their own affairs and have the right to be heard on matters that concern them. This is not to say however that the interests of the larger political community, and in particular the standards established by the Bill of Rights, can be ignored or thought not applicable to sub-community groups such as the tribes.

Integration - living readily and comfortably with differences but keeping one's own values, one's own integrity - is clearly the hallmark of an effective education for our times. But it is not limited to race or class. It has to do with the range of American diversity and the diversity within each of us.

It is not necessary for the members of a political community - a local school district - to agree with one another. The First Amendment assumes Americans in fact will not. But it is necessary that the various members understand one another. The aim is twofold, unity and diversity, an aim reflected in John Stuart Mill's argument for public education in his essay, "On Liberty".

In striving to obtain a voice or control of a local school board, where Indian population would so indicate, Indians must remember that while we should pursue our own interests, decisions which would promote cultural, social, and economic segregation, and lead to the kind of individualism Tocqueville saw as a danger to democracy, must be avoided.

Indians have a concern for more than anything else the pressure toward conformity that has been and, to some extent, is now being exerted on them by the dominant white society. The Indian concerns are justified: the memory of the conscious effort on the part of the Federal government and religious groups to totally assimilate them are fresh in their minds. But the needs of the larger community cannot be ignored without encountering the extremes of individualism that Tocqueville describes. The doctrine of every man for

himself, or every group for itself, loses its viability in an interdependent nation such as ours.

On balance, if we as Indians have to choose between an education that expands our individuality and one that draws out our humanity, we should prefer the latter. Fortunately, we do not have to choose in such a limited manner. We must understand and rely on our humanity if we are to survive in any condition worthy to be called Indian in the tradition of our fathers.

In order to enlist the interest and support of non-Indian members of local school boards providing education to reservation and urban Indian students, an orientation program should be developed. School board members bring to the board varying levels of skills, abilities, and awareness of Indian culture. Any training period involved in the orientation program will, of necessity, be too short to provide lasting "answers" to cross-cultural problems. The orientation can be most effective if it develops a desire on the part of the non-Indian members for culture-bridging, communication, and discovery. The non-Indian board members who develop such an attitude toward our culture will gain perhaps the major asset we can give them, insight.

The training or orientation to be offered should present no lectures and have no large amount of information to be "learned". Rather, it should place the board members in an exciting environment on the reservation in which to gain first hand knowledge of our culture, and require that they become teacher as well as learner. The process should be a combination of training and exposure to real world situations on the reservation. Such a process places the board members in a situation where they are constantly exercising their culture-bridging skills and adapting their personal manner to the situations they encounter.

We cannot coerce non-Indian members of local school boards to accept our Indian culture. The orientation should therefore adapt the familiar scientific method: experiment, hypothesize, test. Experience, discover, formulate, create; these should be the stages recurring in cycles of the orientation. Plan no lectures on Indian philosophy. Rahter let the non-Indians formulate "their" own Indian philosophy. Plan no lectures on Indian culture. Rather they should experience and discover the Indian culture. Plan no lectures on "the non-Indian school board member role". Rather the member should formulate and experiment with a variety of roles in which he feels comfortable. No learned dissertations need be given on "the helping relationship". The non-Indian members will formulate

their own concepts of effective helping relationships. As a result of the creativity this approach may be expected to release, this "orientation" may well enrich the total cultural understanding. In essence, the school board member can serve as a communications-link between the Indian communities and the dominant white society.

There is much to be gained by adding the dimension of tribal nonprofessional experience and expertise to the educational process. In many ways the parents of students, particularly in folk cultures, have insights into needs and values which can contribute significantly to a more viable, relevant educational program. A broader concept of education, one that goes beyond the classroom walls and extends into the reservation community as a whole, can gain particularly from such experience.

MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS FOR EDUCATION

Who at some time has not yearned to possess unlimited wealth? Money enough to satisfy all desires, money to make every fanciful whim a reality. Money, money everywhere. It is the great American fantasy. The national model for the white dominant society, and perhaps the Blacks and Chicanos, for personal success undeniably is based on the acquisition of money.

The Indian culture has not yet reached a point where self-esteem, personal identity, and/or role-images require the constant pursuit of money. Hence, money, per se, does not motivate as in other cultures.

Almost nothing in Indian experience supports the widely held idea that by looking at what a person has done in school you can predict what that person will accomplish outside of school. Yet many, if not most, of today's white dominant society seem to assume that being good in school, being able to remember what a teacher or book says, being able to please the teacher, means that in life you will be good at almost everything. Indians will object that in our culture it takes more than these trivial skills to succeed in life.

Nobody who has attended an American public school will deny that it is afflicted with boredom, authoritarianism, bureaucracy, inefficiency, and ineffectiveness. It always has been. But it is now more expensive and includes a higher proportion of the population than ever before. This is particularly true among Indian populations. Success in school and getting credentials to prove it have been thought to be indispensable to social mobility; and now we have discovered that the school, contrary to our expectations, does not provide it. We have learned that socio-economic status and family attitudes and background impose constraints upon students that the school seems powerless to overcome. Evidence of another, but no less disturbing, kind has been piling up that the whole idea of getting a better job by getting more credentials may be absurd.

If educational credentials turn out to confer no benefit on the individual who acquires them, and none of the firms that employ those who hold them, the question arises whether schooling confers any practical benefits at all, and, if it does not, why the costly and elaborate system should be maintained as it currently exists. If your motivation for going to school was to get ahead, and you did not get ahead, why should you have gone? Why should you expect others to go?

Adam Smith's and John Stuart Mill's concern with the development of the individual as a human being, saved from ignorance and torpor, able to conduct a rational conversation, conceive elevating sentiments, form just judgements, and use his mind has passed through various stages of degredation for the Indian until nothing is left but an exhortation to acquire a piece of paper, however meaningless, the powers of which as a passport to a better future seem to be declining from a doubtful status at best for Indians anyway. Insofar as the schools have fostered the impression that years of schooling confer economic advantage, the schools should now expect to suffer from the rage and disappointment of those who put in the years without reaping the promised advantage.

A large, elaborate, expensive institution on which the Indian students and parents have pinned their hopes cannot hope to escape criticism unless it can prove that it has intelligible purposes and that it is achieving them. The educational system provided for Indians cannot make the required demonstration. This is not altogether the fault of the schools. The failure of the educational philosophy reflects the failure of the Federal government philosophy toward Indians in general. It is not the schools that make their purposes, but the people who control them. For example, credentialism is not the fault of the schools but of parents and employers.

If we turn to our common experiences in search of clues to motivation, we find that the interests of childhood are elusive and evanescent, that many students abandon interests once held very strong and dedicate their talents and indeed their lives to efforts formerly unattractive to them. What students "ought to learn", if we may assume there is a curriculum answering to this description for Indians, cannot be wholly determined by their interests in it at any given time. What they ought to learn should be made as interesting as possible, but teaching would seem to consist in large measure of making this process interesting to learners who bring little interest with them to the task.

Lest I be misunderstood, I must state that we should not continue with our preoccupation of correcting the "deficiencies" of students without regard for the talents and interests they bring with them. Higher education need not mean higher and higher levels of abstraction; it might well mean higher standards of performance. In any event, to increase motivation of Indian students any new educational purpose must be based on beginning with where the student is and helping him move toward the development of his abilities. Quality education for our children in the future must be measured in terms of value added by the educational process.

The old technique of selective admissions to find the most promising young people and to only educate them for roles of leadership in the dominant white society cannot be accepted by today's Indian students. Even if schools could find out which young people were more able than others, more likely to do well at this work or that later in their lives, they ought not to do so. If we turn our schools into a kind of cream separator, if we accept the role of schools as a process of finding and training an elite cadre, if education becomes highly competitive for Indian students, with winners and losers, as in all competition we will have more losers than winners. The main problem is that when you call someone a loser and treat him like a loser, he thinks like a loser and acts like a loser. When this happens, the chance of doing much more learning and developing his full potential are lost - his motivation is gone. The student is likely to put an increasing amount of his energy into protecting himself against an academic world that seems to reject him.

Recognizing that the competitive school system which does exist has been defeating many, if not most, of our Indian students, we need to change our philosophy to preclude losers. Classes and indeed the entire school can be transformed into an environment where the entire class assumes responsibility for each of its members, mastering items in the curriculum as they come up. While a few examples are not a proof, recent books - one originating in Italy, the other in the United States - relate the success of such an approach. The Italian book, "Letter to a Teacher", published by Radnom House in 1972, and the American experience, a report by Riessman, et al., "Children Teach Children", published by Harper and Row in 1972, report a considerable increase in the performance of the tutored and tutoring students. But what is most notable in the information presented by these volumes is the increase in morale, motivation, self-worth and class pride. Schooling appears to take on a new and meaningful significance. In the past - indeed even today it prevails - school years have been a time of great friendship, but there was very little organized cooperative activity about the period. Most joint efforts are "extracurricular", being social, political, or artistic in nature. In fact too strong an effort on behalf of the performance of a fellow student can be and has been interpreted as cheating. There is in fact a built-in anomaly in the conduct of our schools. We require our students to compete in their studies, yet we urge upon them the utmost cooperativeness in other forms of life activities. I would strongly urge, knowing full well the administrative complexities involved, that our Indian schools use the system of student-assisted

learning, that we test achievement outside of the context of school, and that we treat the process of mastering our Indian heritage and culture as a communal effort.

Another motivational problem of educating our young on or off the reservation is that of a rate of change that goes faster than the usual transmission of the culture from one generation to the next. An isolation developes between the young and the older generation when adult role models fail. A gap is created not only between generations but in the needs of the young. Especially among our Indian youth one can make a strong case for attachment, observation and demonstration as a unique triad of processes used in mastering the necessary skills of the adult world. Thus any successful educational process for Indian youth will need to consider these factors.

I have mentioned earlier in this section that the failure of the educational philosophy reflects an overall philosophical failure of these times. In this incredibly complex world, each of us - non-Indian as well as Indian - needs to examine ourselves to identify our goals, our motivations. As a search for a better idea of what we stand for, toward what we are headed, and what we think is truly important to be conveyed to our youth, we must indulge in a critical self-scrutiny to help stabilize the environment for ourselves and our youth in the rapidly changing world. A close look at ourselves can contribute to that much sought-after capacity of autonomy of self and culture for our heritage, and gives us greater ability to make wise and useful choices in adopting the skills of the dominant society, to exert control over our own destiny.

It is never easy for any people to look closely at themselves, particularly when they are surrounded by a foreign culture. Most do so only when forced by crisis, anxiety, or a blunt confrontation with reality. For us who are Indian the time to take a hard look at ourselves and give direction to our "public" image is now. How are we to go about this? How do we ensure that the education system for our children keeps pace with the rate of change and our remaining culture not be lost to succeeding generations? These questions bring others to mind. Are our personal goals in harmony with the tribal goals? To what purposes should we dedicate our efforts and our lives? What are our personal priorities, and how well does our life's work reflect these priorities? Most of us will recognize in a period of serious reflection that the "important things" in our lives are often deferred with some self-assuring but self-deceiving assumption that there will always be time "tomorrow".

It is this procrastination - this lack of motivation - which produces a subtle but corrosive tension within us as our conscience promotes one commitment while our activities express another. At times this dilemma reflects itself in a distorted conception of responsibility, at times an impulsive response to the demands of others, but most often it is the outcome of unthinking behavior, the consequence of a general failure to consider goals, priorities, and plans for reaching them. I have heard it said among thoughtful Indians that "lack of initiative is our genius". Such a statement ignores our responsibility not only to ourselves but to the society in which we live. In its extreme forms, it is easy to find examples of those who will assume no more responsibility for anything than is absolutely necessary; certainly the fragmentation of our own contemporary culture encourages us to restrict our efforts to smaller and smaller sections of our community.

A more difficult but more effective concept of responsibility is an acknowledgement of the importance of continuing to be concerned about problems and dilemmas, neither turning away in frustration nor hurling one's self forward into them under the pressure of guilt. Continuing to think about, and take part in the solution of, problems of delinquency and school drop-outs in one's tribe or community, the need for better school programs, and the hun ds of other things for which responsible concern is needed is a way of remaining open to alternatives and opportunities, and being ready to respond when the occasion permits. We, as Indians, are now in a cycle which does and will permit action to improve our lot and the future for our children. However, it may not always be so.

In more personal terms, the concept of balanced responsibility implies a willingness to accept the responsibility for one's own attitudes, feelings, failures, and prejudices, forsaking the easier and unfortunately more frequent tendency to project or displace these feelings and attitudes onto persons or forces external to one's self - the white dominant society.

After deliberate consideration of these questions and concerns, it becomes necessary to now define our ideal - for ourselves and for the type of school we desire to communicate our expectations to our children. As Werner Jaeger put it in "Paideia", education is the deliberate attempt to form men in terms of an ideal. The Indian ideal should incorporate as part of the aim of the school to form our young people into independent, self-governing members of a self-governing community. The curriculum should include material which will teach the following skills:

- Intellectual skills - the teaching should center on strategies for learning, especially how to use the many available information resources related to our complex social environment.
- Occupational skills - every 18-year old should be prepared for some occupation, whether they continue in school or not. The concept of full-time education to some age or grade level, followed by full-time work, should be examined and probably replaced by a program combining the two beginning at about age 12 and running through adulthood.
- Decision-making skills - techniques of how to make decisions in complex situations where the consequences follow from the decisions. Many new automated "games" have been devised to reveal the entire process of decision making - consequences in complex environments such as economic development, community planning, etc.
- Bureaucratic and organizational skills - the techniques to cope with a bureaucratic organization, as an employee, client, tribal leader, or entrepreneur.
- Verbal communication skills - both written and oral skills are vital to be successful in the democratic processes of debate and discussion or the objective pursuit of confrontation.

A curriculum is simply a way of saving lost motion in learning. It represents an attempt to profit by the more obvious mistakes of the past and to make it unnecessary for a student to commit them all over again. No one supports a curriculum that has no meaning. But we must be careful to avoid the attractive curriculum trap, the ad hoc, that which may be immediately interesting to our students and/or parents, but which is transitory, or that which is thought to have some practical value under the circumstances of the time, but which is likely to be valueless if the circumstances change.

Controversy over goals for Indian education becomes evident in the area of curriculum. Inhumane, forced assimilationist practices are largely a thing of the past, but controversy still remains. Some Indian leaders would like to see the schools emphasize traditional Indian life. Others see the school's role as teaching the Euro-American culture. The growing emphasis among tribal leaders and Indian educators alike is the goal of developing a curricula that are pluralistic in nature - retaining respect for the various Indian traditions and identity while teaching the necessary skills for life in the urban, industrial dominant society as well as on the reservations, where new economic and political developments are occurring.

The complexity of the curricula problems is indicated by the fact that today's students, for the most part, have little or no skill in English at the time they enter school. There are nearly 300 Indian languages in use today. Most Indians agree that schools must teach English. But it must be taught as a second language, rather than relying on exposure to accomplish the task. The first two or three years in school should be conducted in the student's native language. Minimum or no attention is given to the Indian heritage, or to contemporary issues in Indian life. On the whole, concern for the pedagogical complexities of bicultural education has been neglected by Indian educators despite their clear, direct relationship to school success or failure. This condition cannot be permitted to continue.

There is a need in the education curriculum for Indians for tribal history, tribal-Federal government relationships, and tribal institutions. Indian studies programs must address that indefinable area whereby our youth are able to sustain themselves as students and enhance their knowledge of themselves as Indians.

The "communication skills" of reading, writing, speaking, analysis, and listening appear to have permanent relevance to any educational curriculum. These abilities are important to individuals or groups in any society at any time. They are more important in a democratic society where citizens must understand one another. In a post-industrial society such as we have today in the United States, these skills are universally valuable; they are the only training a school can offer that can contribute to vocational success. They are the indispensable means to learning anything throughout life. They must be learned if an individual or group hopes to expand their individuality or if they desire to become a self-governing part of a self-governing community. Learning these skills cannot be left to the choices of Indian students - or their parents. Learning these skills is not a simple matter, or one that seems obviously desirable to all students, and it will not be fun all the time. But it will bring about the growth of knowledge, the advancement of understanding, the enlargement of human life, and ultimately the emancipation of the Indian - with his values intact. The pressure on any curriculum is always to be "related to life". The necessity of gaining public support for the curriculum often suggests the need for making that relationship obvious and direct. This often tempts one to conclude that an out-and-out vocational training program is "best". But technical skills of a trade can be rapidly acquired on the job. And students trained only in technical

skills will be stuck with them and will have no way to get out of their rut if technology changes the need for their skill or if society changes. This is not to say that the acquisition of vocational skills is undesirable - just the opposite is true, but not to the exclusion of "communication skills".

Vocational training has most often been used to accomodate those who could not legally leave school but who did not do well in the regular curriculum. Many, if not most, Indian students were placed in this category. It amounts to saying that they are to be educated to the station to which they were born. It is an abandonment of the school's responsibility to try to draw out their common humanity or to prepare them for participation in the broader community. These students would have been better off if they had been allowed to drop out of school and go to work, because they would have been trained on the job and not deluded into thinking the school had prepared them for the world of work. If any technological change at all is going on, given the time requirements of the educational process, the training for industry in schools must be in some degree obsolete. In a period like the present, every young man must expect to follow three or more careers during his working life, making training in a specific vocation farcical.

Since individual goals are often not in concert with tribal goals, the youth from about age 12 should also be encouraged to carry out responsible activities in service to the tribal community or even the larger community of state or country. The intent of such a school-community orientation would be to make responsible, productive adults who can lead in a task or be a good follower, who are able to live with the consequences of their actions. Such socialization requires deemphasis of the narcissistic goal of self-improvement, and emphasis of joint constructive activities. The process would reintegrate education and the institutions of tribal society - two parts of the Indian way of life that have become more and more separate.

Teachers often ask the question, "What motivates an Indian student?" The answer is the same as for any student: The desire for self acceptance, acceptance by others, and self fulfillment within his value system. The important differences between any groups of people as regards motivation are their value systems. The Blacks, Chicanos, Whites, and Indians as a group have different value systems. In fact there are many differences within these larger groups. However, across all these cultures, you find the basic desire for self acceptance, acceptance by others, and self fulfillment. In short,

an Indian student is motivated by the same, human goal that everyone has, but this goal is achieved in acts that are important to him; it is achieved in the practice of his values. Thus it becomes imperative that an effective teacher of Indian students understand Indian values.

AN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM FOR THE RESERVATION

It may at first appear that the subject of economic programming is misplaced in a discussion of education; but without economic development on reservations, the motivation for education diminishes significantly in the eyes of Indian students.

Reservation poverty has not acquired the political urgency in the United States because of the poor visibility and lack of mass political power. Unlike their urban counterparts, the rural poor in general, and the reservations in particular, are left to fend for themselves. The reservations have many of the same problems as the ghettos. The common problems are lack of skills, lack of capital, and the lack of connections with established groups in the white dominant economy.

The civil rights movement floundered not only on the limited success of legislating against prejudice, but also on the economic disparities between the communities it attempted to help. A tribal community lacking skills and capital finds itself still impoverished even though it acquires the legal right to participate fully in all opportunities available to other sectors of our society.

Reservations contain relatively few jc in relation to the size of their resident working population. Business act. ity is largely confined to providing retail trade and personal services to lo residents. Very little is produced for export. The reservation lives by supplying labor rather than goods to the outside socie.y. About 80 percent of retail trade and service firms are owned by whites, which means that they are mostly absentee-owned and that whatever profits they yield flow out of the community.

The census of 1970 revealed that over two-thirds of reservation families fell below the $3,200 poverty line. Poverty on the reservation results from a combination of unemployment, underemployment, low skills, and wages depressed by job discrimination. It appears from Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that however anyone analyzes the unemployment figures, the rate for reservation families runs at least three times the national average. Although a part of this differential is the result of discrimination, it is also apparent that lack of occupational skills is a serious problem.

A strategy to improve the economic status of reservation families must concentrate on job-creation within the reservation area.

The case against attempting to create more jobs on the reservations is based on considerations of locational inefficiency. It is argued, for example, that

reservations do not have the necessary infrastructure to support industrial development, that they are too far from the consumer markets, that the necessary skills are unavailable. This line of argument leads to the conclusion that Indians should be encouraged to migrate to where the jobs are and leave their culture. Politically a program leading to the dispersal of the Indian community is not likely to find favor with the emergent Indian leadership which rightly feels that a concentrated group can exercise greater power than a widely dispersed group. Socially, a program that concentrates on job creation outside the reservation would inevitably siphon off the most able and motivated members of the tribe, leaving those who remain more discouraged than ever.

Economically, such an exogenous program would neglect the real opportunities for Indian progress which exist on the reservation itself. Such opportunities are of three kinds: existing white businesses could be taken over by Indian entrepreneurs or tribal cooperatives; outside firms could be encouraged to open branches or affiliates within the reservation community; and existing Indian businesses could be expanded or new firms created to utilize the natural advantages of the reservation.

The replacement of "foreign" shopkeepers and other small businessmen with local entrepreneurs would create real psychic income. Such an action would open possibilities of advancement: the Indian who now can only be a clerk could look forward to becoming a manager or owner. Technically, such an action is easy to carry out; given the necessary capital it is much easier to take over an existing concern than to start a new one. Since many white owners are anxious to move their businesses, it should be relatively easy to find willing sellers.

The second alternative is in many respects the opposite of the first. It is to encourage outside white-owned firms to open branches or subsidiaries on the reservation with the intention of employing Indians. Many Indian leaders reject such a policy as just another form of colonialism. They object that Indian-created profits will flow out of the community into white coffers. It is possible, however, that these objections could be overcome if white firms were to start subsidiaries rather than branches, with the proviso that management and ownership of the subsidiaries would be gradually transferred to the tribe. Under this plan, the subsidiaries would become wholly independent operations.

Most promising is the third alternative of upgrading existing Indian businesses and creating new ones. The kind of business most likely to succeed depends on the local tribal circumstances, hence no general statements as to the types of

businesses most likely to succeed are applicable. However, an analysis of the efforts undertaken in Isreal to accomplish its economic development would be most beneficial. The same type of rural environment exists or existed in both cases.

The effects of the three policies for stimulating reservation economies described above can be briefly summarized. A policy of assisting Indians in taking over white retail businesses would increase Indian entrepreneurial income and control of local resources, but would open few jobs for Indians. A policy of bringing in white-owned subsidiaries would create new jobs for Indians on the reservation, but without formal arrangements for transfer of ownership, would not increase Indian entrepreneurial income or control over the local economy. Finally, a policy of creating new Indian firms or expanding existing ones would both open up new jobs and increase Indian profits in addition to providing valuable business experience.

It remains to explain why creating new jobs or new businesses on the reservation has advantages for residents of the reservation which would not accrue if similar jobs or businesses were developed for Indians off the reservations. The reasons can be classified into four groups under the headings of multiplier effects, external economies of agglomeration, demonstration effects, and leadership effects.

Multiplier effects - Every business activity has linkages to others. Some of these involve spending money within the reservation for supporting services. Consequently, if a business expands on the reservation, it increases demand for the output of reservation-based supporting firms. A substantial portion of these supporting firms could be owned by and employ reservation residents. Thus the initial expansion of one firm generates further rounds of local-income and employment growth, which would not occur on that reservation if the firm expanded off the reservation. In similar fashion, employees spend part of their income near their place of work, so that creating additional jobs on the reservation also creates expansion not possible when residents leave the reservation for employment. The typical multiplier effect is 2.2 for each primary job.

External economies of agglomeration - Such external economies occur at the local level both for producers who favor areas that can provide a full line of supporting services, and for consumers who are attracted to a retail center that offers a large selection. The economics of agglomeration is such that the more activity a reservation has, the more it can attract.

Demonstration effects - The demonstration of success encourages other members of the reservation to emulate the pattern of success, and success within the reservation is much more visible to tribal members than success outside. This is particularly true in relation to Indian students.

Leadership effects - It has been long recognized that underdeveloped regions consistently lose their better talent to the more developed surrounding areas. This analogy is true between the reservation and the white economy. Even if a person continues to live on the reservation, his outside employment leads him to expend much of his social energy off the reservation. The social and political contributions to the tribe are likely to be much greater if a person works on the reservation.

An economic development of indigenous enterprise on the reservations is most desirable, yet a tribal group, short on skills and capital, and lacking a business tradition, find it extremely difficult to get started. How then can development take place?

Whether one looks at private or public-assistance programs, two things appear to be lacking: adequate funds and coordination through a single, technically competent institution. In short, no workable arrangement has been found for bringing together capital, information, and talent for the job.

An institutional model for the task at hand may be the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). The IBRD puts up no equity capital, but it makes loans to underdeveloped countries on what might be called bankable projects. The IBRD associated groups, the International Finance Corporation and the International Development Authority, provide equity for development undertakings and long-term loans for projects that are worthy but cannot qualify for IBRD loans.

The commercial banking system fulfills for the reservation a function similar to that of the IBRD; it takes care of the bankable loans. However, commercial banks cannot legally provide equity funds or long-term loans. An ongoing institution is needed that will be to the commercial banking system what IFC and IDA are to the IBRD.

The advantages of such an institution would be numerous: It would not be subject to annual appropriations or sudden death; it could attract a top-quality staff; it could provide expert technical and managerial assistance as well as capital; and it could serve as a one-stop office to provide information about all Federal, state, and local subsidies available to tribes for economic development.

Finally, it should be possible to set up the organization in such a way that it could act as a channel for private as well as public funds for reservation development. Thus both the private business investor and the charitable foundation would have at hand a technically competent organization for putting their funds to work. There would be an enormous gain through the elimination of overlapping staff and better use of knowledge and experience.

In American society, income is distributed to individuals and groups in proportion to their economically desirable skills, their ownership of resources, and their access to power and privilege. Indians are short on all three. But this proposal could provide access to financial resources, the tribal leaders are gaining insight into obtaining greater power for our people, and finally we as individuals must acquire those economically desirable skills. We must recognize, however, that these desirable skills are not restricted to manual skills.

SUMMARY

To summarize the near-term efforts necessary to enhance the educational process for Indian students on a priority basis, the tasks, their purpose, anticipated results, and implementation processes are outlined below.

I. Revision of Indian teacher training programs.

A. Introduction of group dynamics training.

1. Purpose: To enable teachers to work with pupils at generating relevant curriculum based upon cultural awareness and knowledge of the community. To reduce teacher prejudices. The prejudices that each person has are learned; and, what he learns is set by the social framework of his life. Prejudices on the part of both student and teacher must be negated. The prejudiced teacher, because of his prejudice, does not get to know the Indian children intimately in an equal-status relation. His prejudices combine with social custom to prevent him from having the types of experiences with Indians which would destroy this prejudice. The main source of information about Native Americans comes to be the "experiences", beliefs, and feelings of other prejudiced members of the teacher's own group. As a consequence, contact with only the prevailing attitude among one's own group provides the "experience" to support a prejudice.

2. Anticipated results:

a. Increased sense of self worth and group identity as Indian students share their own experiences, and explore the experiences of their elders.

b. Teacher becomes role model because he or she participates in their culture as well as providing alternative behavior in own life style.

c. Utilization of community people as resources reduces barrier between school and Indian group.

d. Alienation lessened when children develop pride in their own culture background, and when parental involvement in the education process legitimatizes the school.

e. Participation encouraged when language barriers are no longer a symbol of lower status of the Indian, but rather another source of individual difference.

f. Examination of differences between historical culture and present day manifestations of that culture permits expanded alternatives, thus reducing frustration and increases sense of control over own destiny.

3. Implementation:

a. Use of one leader to 20 teachers conducting twice weekly sessions on group process techniques during the practice teaching, or internship period.

b. Extensive use of demonstration teaching to acquaint teacher trainees with the resources and materials available throughout the community for creation of a curriculum through a group process.

B. Teaching English as a second language.

1. Purpose: To allow Indian children to learn basic skills with their best language tool (the tribal language) while becoming proficient in the English language.

2. Anticipated results:

a. Teaching of the basic subjects in grades K-3 in the Native American's first language, avoiding the burden of learning a new skill with a strange language.

b. A heightened respect on the part of teacher and student for the Indian language and culture.

c. Lessening of the psychological shock in introducing the Indian child to the dominant non-Indian culture.

d. Curriculum materials more closely attuned to the child's personal experiences and values.

e. Gradual proficiency in English on the part of Indian children through its introduction as a "foreign" language.

3. Implementation:

a. Training of Indian teacher candidates with high school certificate for one year in basic skills and classroom techniques.

b. Entry of Indians with one-year training into the classroom as paraprofessional, with responsibility for teaching basic skills to Indian children in grades K-3 in Indian language - with continued combined training and teaching until teacher certification is reached.

c. Specialized training of non-Indian teacher, including workshop participation throughout in an Indian school. Special emphasis on teaching English as a second language.

d. First year teaching experience for non-Indian as a paraprofessional working with an experienced, capable teacher - preferably Indian.

II. Development of community school concept, through parent participation in the classroom.

A. Purpose: To bring school and community closer together through involvement of Indian parents in classroom activities.

B. Anticipated results:

1. Over three year period, to reach goal of one involved Indian parent per 15 Indian children.
2. Active role model for Indian children will be provided by parent in the classroom.
3. New avenues of communication between parents and teachers will be available - providing opportunity for parents to observe and influence school activities, and an opportunity for school administrators to inform parents of classroom goals.
4. Frequent visits to Indian homes by Indian parent participant in the classroom, to expand lines of communication.
5. More individualized attention for students.
6. Increased guidance and counselling available to students.
7. Adult bilingual capacity in classrooms with white teachers.

C. Implementation:

1. Selection of a tribal committee to:
   a. Determine objectives of parent classroom participation - including what problems might be solved by such activities and the general function of the Indian parent in the classroom.
   b. Establish pay schedules, transportation and day care arrangements, training programs, career development mechanism to give participating parents basic necessary skills as well as an avenue toward eventual certification.
   c. Recruit and select parent participants.
2. Six week summer orientation sessions for teachers and parent participants in teams, led by educators and tribal leaders - toward the end of sensitizing all who will be involved to the learning and emotional needs of the children and each other.

3. Actual operation of the program, with half-day classroom aid and half-day training through local tribal, governmental and academic trainers.
4. Workshops and analysis sessions involving teams of teachers and parent participants continued throughout the school year.

EARLY CHILDHOOD IN INDIAN COMMUNITIES

PROCESS OF BECOMING

A Collaborative Project
of

Indian Head Start Programs

in

Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota

Writing Committee

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Because of its collaborative nature a project such as this paper requires the cooperation of many people, in this case the Directors of Head Start Programs operated by Indian Tribal Councils in Nebraska, South Dakota and North Dakota. The Writing Committee wishes to acknowledge the support and response provided by the Directors and their staff members who expended precious time and energy to contribute to the task of putting on paper their ideas and experiences to be incorporated into the final draft.

For those of us who work in the Head Start programs the most difficult task we face is that of documenting the exciting happenings which are taking place every day in the communities concerning the children, the families, the personnel. We are all learning from the successful activities as well as the not-so-successful ones. This ought to be shared, we realize. We are learning better how to share these with each other, within the programs. We hope to make a concerted effort to be able to collect and refine the results of the process during the coming year.

We find ourselves in the position of leaving many things unsaid in the attempt to put together the content of Early Childhood as we experience it within our programs. We have not pretended to compose a scholarly dissertation. We have not provided a panacea for the development of young children. We have many more questions than answers, ourselves. What we have tried to do is take a look at the past, to see where we are, and peer into the future, perhaps a bird's eye-view. Other Indian communities would have entirely different experiences to account. The elements of a process are most difficult to write down and easily mis-interpreted. That, however, is our premise: Early Childhood is the Process of Becoming for all of us, the children, the community, the families and the staff. Hopefully, this is our greatest strength so that everyone can "Look upon these faces of children without number and with children in their arms that they may face the winds and walk the good road to the day of quiet," in the words of Black Elk.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Every society has provided a way of preparing its young to live within the culture of that society, to understand and live by its values, to become a socialized member of that society. This process begins before birth, continues through infancy and early childhood, following successive stages into the age of adulthood as determined by the particular societal group. Systems of socialization have ranged from comparatively simple to extremely complex, utilzing a variety of individuals, institutions and organizations. The socialization process itself has not remained static throughout time but has gradually, sometimes explosively, undergone change to fit the setting in which the group finds itself. Increasing concern about the results of such a system and/or sub-systems marks many areas in the contemporary scene in the United States.

Urie Bronfenbrenner provides a statemnt, which validates consideration of the issue of early childhood, for those who feel the need of such validation in the midst of many pressing social problems demanding attention.

> How can we judge the worth of a society? On what basis can we predict how well a society will survive and prosper? Many indices could be used for this purpose, among them the Gross National Product, the birth rate, crime statistics, mental health data, etc. ... We propose yet another criterion: The concern of one generation for the next. If the children and youth of a nation are afforded the opportunity to develop their capacities to the fullest, if they are given the knowledge to understand the world and the wisdom to change it, then the prospects for the future are bright. In contrast, a society which neglects its children, however well it may function in other respects risks eventual disorganization and demise.[1]

In this country, the process occurs in a series of social contexts beginning with the family but then proceeding to other settings such as preschools, churches, schools, neighborhoods, communities, religious groups and other structures appropriate to the diverse cultures within the national boundaries.

Traditionally, the training of children has been left to the discretion of parents alone until the child reaches legal school age (generally at six). Bettye Caldwell points out that, "Until a few years ago no one realized how important those first six years were for the

development of the child. We used to think that they were years for marking time until the child was 'ready' to learn. Now we are fairly certain that if he does not learn many significant things during that period---a language system, a motivational system, how to trust and model after adults, how to find joy in his daily life---he will be ever after handicapped in acquiring these essential learnings." [2]

Schools have come to be regarded as the educational agent quite separated from that of the family in function and purpose, although cognizance is given to the reality that the child is affected by both the school and the family. Diverse cultural groups have carried on their own socializing processes, or attempted to do so, in their own communities, creating two worlds for children.

Recently, certain kinds of educational programs have been designated as "compensatory" or "remedial" as forms of educational intervention to make up "deficiencies" found in the achievement of some children, usually in terms of the dominant society. Thus, education, formal education, is not always perceived as intervention unless it is labeled as such in a special category. Basically, education is a type of intervention in that it changes the lives of individuals. Whether carried on by the family, the school or some other agency, it is an attempt to help the child(whatever his background) become a competent adult. Seen in historical perspective, the school has functioned in support of the family in this molding process and their joint effort is intended to prepare the child to maintain the values of the dominant society.

The reader is correct if he feels that this is a somewhat simplistic view. Robert Hess writes that the process is much more complex in "eras of social, economic, political and scientific change. Conditions have so altered educational needs that they have forced changes in the values of adults responsible for the training of young children---values more suited to contemporary circumstances. Children are now being socialized for change. This means that the school no longer supports the family's values and patterns of behavior, especially in poor and minority communities. It also introduces new ideas and attitudes."[3]

Some of the first efforts in such "eras of change" to alleviate the detrimental effects of the high dropout rate in high school with

certain populations found federal monies providing programs in these communities which proposed to decrease excessive attrition. This proved relatively ineffective, however, and attention was turned to programs for children in the elementary grades. Success was not spectacular and many thinking people became convinced that effort was needed at even earlier levels.

Such thinking was not so much a discovery of the contemporary scene as might seem apparent. History provides numerous examples of references to child-rearing. The White House Conference in 1950 approved of early education in the form of kindergartens and nursery schools as a "desirable supplement" to the home. The kindergarten movement had been gaining momentum since the late 1800's and various types of nursery schools and day care centers showed sporadic growth from the 1920's through the early 1960's. Each White House Conference repeated this viewpoint in different phrases and with increasing emphasis coming from varied segments of American society. By 1960 the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association recommended that all children aged four or over have the opportunity to go to school at public expense. The reality of such an opportunity was less emphatic since the education of children under the age of six was unconstitutional using public funds in some states. Further, even if not illegal, local school districts and parents were relatively reluctant to "school" young children. One cannot help but wonder about the experiences of parents in their own school days.

The year 1965 opened new doors for young children and their families everywhere. The administration in the White House focused on social legislation to wage war on poverty, the new frontier. The potential of early childhood programs as one of the weapons in that all-out war was reviewed and included as Project Head Start in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

This was not just another educational program extended downward but was designed as a <u>comprehensive</u> child development program to meet the needs of the young child <u>and his family</u> within the community setting of low-income and minority populations. Each program was individualized in terms of the local community's perception of its own unique needs. Goals were to be determined by the community; this same community was to design the planning, implementation and evaluation of a coordinated action

involving all community resources to achieve the desired results.

The first summer program in 1965, hurriedly put together and considered experimental, enrolled 561,000 children for eight weeks prior to school entrance. Hopes were high that the predictable failure of "these" children in school would be ameliorated by this brief experience, although the original designers had not proposed such an illusion. Grants were funded to communities for locally developed projects in Appalachia, inner-city ghettos, remote rural areas, Eskimo villages, suburbia, Indian reservations, barrios and among migrant groups.

Since then Head Start projects have grown to include full year programs for children of age three and above. The concept of a comprehensive developmental approach has been extended downward to younger children and upward into the primary grades. The components included in such an approach have been consistent in a broad range of programmatic aspects, i.e., career development, health and nutrition, education, social and mental health services and parent participation.

The state of the art and/or science of early education is succinctly put by James O. Miller.

> The year 1965 must stand as a landmark year in early childhood education. The administration's investment in the war on poverty created Head Start. Head Start was a singular commitment to young children at the federal level. While there had been other federally sponsored programs for day care, they had not been directed toward serving the needs of young children per se, but were instituted to provide child care for women employed in critical war and defense industries during the 40's. Support for preprimary education had come mainly from middle class and upper middle class parents concerned with developing social and group experiences for their children. Other private programs existed providing day care for children of working mothers. A number of universities had nursery school facilities associated with minor training programs. These facilities also served the research interests of professionals concerned with child development during the early years. It is fair to say that no national commitment nor universal interest in the field was evident prior to 1965.[4]

Community Action Agencies operated Head Start programs under the Office of Economic Opportunity until July 1, 1969 when authorities were delegated to the newly created Office of Child Development in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Under the direction of this new agency in the Office of the Secretary, HEW, Head Start has remained a

uniquely local program utilizing content and techniques which have been gleaned from the areas of early learning, developmental concepts, community involvement and parent participation articulated through research, experimentation and pilot programs.

Many influences have been reflected in the actual operation of Head Start and other early childhood programs such as the Civil Rights movement, Women's Liberation, demand for universal child care, various ethnic perceptions, political expediency, social welfare legislation, professional controversies about child growth, family structures and/or options congruent with that structure, early learning curricula, evaluation demands, quality criteria, national priorities for fiscal and human expenditures, presidential preferences.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Indian Tribal Councils in Nebraska, South Dakota and North Dakota demonstrated leadership in the establishment of Head Start Centers on the reservations to obtain funds for the summer pilot programs in 1965 and in submitting proposals for the full year programs the following year. The Tribes were the first grantees operating full year programs for several years under their Community Action Agencies funded from the Special Fields Programs in OEO, Washington, D.C. Head Start programs in other communities in these states typically were funded to local school districts by OEO for the summer only. Eventually three or four communities in each state developed full year programs.

A review of the setting described in To Make a Difference: The Training of Early Learning Agents,[5] provides background for the current early childhood programming on the reservations in this area.

The basic philosophy of the national Head Start guidelines proposed that (1) the young child can benefit most from a comprehensive interdisciplinary attack on his total needs at the local level and (2) the child's entire family as well as the community must be involved in such intervention. Thus, local Tribal Councils (elected representatives of their people) were responsible for the design and operation of a community-based program meeting the national guidelines of health, educational, social and psychological services to young children with their families. Staffing flexibility flexibility provided positions for qualified professional personnel and career opportunities for indigenous paraprofessionals. Parents were encouraged to actively participate in the program. Training resources, in addition to technical assistance, was provided through the federal funding agency.

The usual staffing pattern in the Head Start classrooms was a teacher and an aide for the 15-20 children considered a maximum for effective grouping at this age level. (National guidelines added the stipulation that a volunteer, i.e., an unpaid position, be present to provide the ratio of 1 adult for every 5-7 children. Logistical and psychological realities prevented the implementation for such a ratio in most reservation classrooms.) A bus driver and a cook were also employed from the local community. Each Tribal project had a Head Start Director, a secretary,

and some arrangement for financial management. Usually this function was performed by the local Community Action Agency bookkeeper. Possible variations might include a social worker, nurse, classroom social service aides, parent coordinator. Because of limited funds it was rare to see more than one of these additional staff persons in a program.

Children enrolled in the Tribal programs came from Indian and non-Indian families, at least ninety percent of whom had to meet low-income guidelines. Preference was given to children who would be entering the local elementary school, usually the first grade (during the early years of Head Start) because of the lack of kindergartens in the schools, i.e., federal schools, (Bureau of Indian Affairs), parochial mission schools and public school districts.

General programmatic procedures for the Head Start programs, directed from the national office in Washington through the Indian Division of the Special Fields Programs in OEO, required fairly extensive transformation from an urban ghetto perspective to the reality of multi-cultural, bilingual prairie reservations in the Dakotas and Nebraska. Socialization and enrichment goals of the traditional nursery school were promoted by the "Rainbow Series", published as guides for each of the program components by the national office. Although one of the series did focus upon the cognitive development of the young child as part of the comprehensive approach, this edition was soon withdrawn as a typical example of the professional ambivalence concerning the possible "harmful" effects of a planned program to foster intellectual growth. Much later in the history of Head Start, this particular publication was re-issued when cognition became more respectable in the comprehensive development of the child.

Attempts to find solid baseline data upon which to build a more systematic content for young children in the Indian communities were revealing although not too productive. It did seem that there ought to be options available to the local people which could be chosen by them as appropriate for what they wanted for their children, relevant to their environment, culture, language and life style.

In February 1969 a limited printing was distributed through the Special Committee on Indian Education(Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate),of The Education of American Indians: A Survey

of the Literature by Dr. Brewton Berry. Of the some 708 references dated from 1898 to 1968,not more than a dozen could be considered even remotely related to early childhood of Indian children. None cited articles about Indian children living on the upper Great Plains.

Such a paucity should not be surprising when the field of early childhood in the three states was fairly undeveloped, especially in the Dakotas, with even private nursery schools and day care centers almost non-existent with the exception of the few cities. State funds in North Dakota could not constitutionally be used to support education for children under six. Federal schools could not fund kindergartens with their regular appropriations. The concept of early childhood education as a discipline of its own found little understanding or credibility under the circumstances.

Head Start programs were generally popular with the Tribes and the local communities although not without controversial issues. The grants were administered directly by the Tribal Councils through their Community Action Agencies. That is, there were no schools or other groups serving as delegate agencies to administer the programs(except for several centers on one reservation for a short period). A variety of opinions was publicly and privately expressed as to the value of such administration. School officials enviously spoke of what could have been accomplished under their administration with "all that money". Others saw it as discrimination in favor of some children and against others. The stigma of welfare was sometimes attached with strong emphasis on the total deprivation of "these children". In some cases, Head Start was viewed as interference by the federal government designed to force the "frill" of kindergarten onto school districts.

Employment of local people in staff positions perpetuated certain community biases and added fuel for local jealousies. For example, one teacher aide position advertisement resulted in 13 applicants from one very small community. Understandably, the final selection produced 12 dissatisfied non-advocates of the program since this was the only available job of any kind. As staff members continued to benefit economically from their employment, there was some confrontation, with personal conflict and mistrust, within the local community. There were instances

of such episodes between husbands and wives as well as between families. A possible explanation for marital tension in such cases could be that women were predominantly employed, receiving not only financial rewards but advancing educationally through the career development and training emphasis provided through Head Start.

The duality of Head Start in its design for children with their families often polarized to either children or adults. Indeed, in the first years of Head Start it was possible to detect open resentment that funds were being spent on young children when there were such extremely obvious adult needs. Employment preference for Head Start jobs was recommended for older people who might be less likely to find employment in other poverty programs. This reflected a common attitude that anyone can work in a program with little children since all they do is play. Standards of excellence in a program which focused on the first five years of life were not too well understood or supported in many places in this country More visible and critical issues were felt by local residents, trying to eke out a sub-marginal existence.

The delegation of Head Start to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in 1969 resulted in the Indian and Migrant Programs Division attempting to strengthen the agency as an advocate for Indian grantees, extending into many areas which affect the environment of young children in Indian communities. Such an advocacy role has required much time and energy by IMPD to sensitize the central agency(Office of Child Development) to the unique needs of Indian communities to obtain the necessary financial and human resources to carry out the letter and intent of Head Start programming. The effort made by local Indian participants to communicate their perception of maximizing the ecology of child development has not always found a match in bureaucratic regulations and legislated procedures accompanying federal funding.

CHAPTER III

EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION
PHILOSOPHICAL EVOLUTION

EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION: PHILOSOPHICAL EVOLUTION

Like most compensatory projects, Head Start(in the beginning) emphasized remediation to off-set certain deficits identified with children who live in poverty, characteristic of ghettos, isolated rural pockets, migrants and Indian reservations. A plethora of books, articles, publications, instructional kits and packages, technological hardware and software, instant cures, not-so-instant recipes were addressed to the "culturally deprived" or the "disadvantaged" or the "under-privileged" problems. Whatever the term, all underlined the label of inferiority, that "these children" were lacking and insufficient in whatever it took to be successful in the school system. Arguments of the causes ranged from genes and low I.Q.'s because of heredity to home situations that had numerous faults such as lack of language(standard language, that is), over-stimulation, under-stimulation, no books, inadequate self-concepts, disorganized family structure, apathy, restricted verbal comprehension and so on.

Another tack taken was directed at the schools themselves. Physical facilities and instructional materials and methods were faulted as to their quality, their appropriateness, their relevance in addition to the skills, attitudes, training of the staff, especially in schools attended by children from ethnic and minority poor communities.

Along with the pressure to find a solution to achieving in school, one might ask, "Successful compared to what?" And it did not take long before that question was asked, by a number of people, not only consumers of Head Start services but others (professionals, social activists, concerned citizens, college students, middle-class parents) involved in the upsurging interest in all aspects of the early development of children.

Ethnic and minority groups insisted that adequate consideration be given to the identifiable strengths possessed by children and families, to the community life styles, to the cultural heritage valued by them, however viewed by the dominant society. There was no argument about the economic conditions of unemployment, bad housing and health conditions or the price paid for these devastating disadvantages. General improvement of the economic, health, social and educational opportunities

of minority groups is recognized but not at the cost of eliminating the values held by such groups. Options should be available and they must make the choices.

Instead of subscribing to the "melting pot" or acculturation goal for all peoples living in this country, segments of the population speak of cultural plurality, seeking recognition that cultural diversity is the right and responsibility of those who desire to retain, promote, emphasize, perpetuate elements of their heritage in order to foster self-identity, pride, self-guidance for themselves and their children. It is felt that such diversity will enrich the total society and contribute solutions to recognized social problems although this is probably not the prime motivation for pressing the concept of cultural diversity.

David Weikart explains the cultural difference model as have others who have been deeply involved in the development and evaluation of preschool education curricula, staff training and working with parents.

> This model holds that each individual grows up in a specific sub-culture that has its own style of interpersonal relations and intellectual operations. To make value comparisons across cultures is not an effective way to proceed with the development of effective educational programs. The strengths of a culture should be emphasized and the major goal of education in a multi-cultural environment should be to build upon the strengths of each group rather than attempt to bring the groups into conformity with an arbitrary standard of performance. ...
>
> The goal of education in this model is not the development of a specific educational program where each group will learn to a standard, but the sharing of diverse cultures in a true pluralistic sense.[6]

Determiners of cultural elements to be included in early childhood programs are the parents of the children who are enrolled. Parent involvement has been stressed as an important component of the comprehensive Head Start program since its inception. A policy statement distributed from the national office describes four types of parent participation which are considered essential:

1. Participation in the process of making decisions about the nature and operation of the program.
2. Participation in the classroom as paid employees, volunteers or observers.
3. Activities for the parents which they have helped to develop.
4. Working with their children in cooperation with the staff of the center.[7]

Encouragement for parents to participate in programs which affect their children has taken various forms within this policy statement depending upon the local Head Start program personnel and parents as they work out effective partnerships. Careful planning and sustained effort of these significant adults to children has resulted in the parents developing leadership roles involved in every aspect of the program. They have organized Policy Councils, participated in fund-raising projects, worked on refunding proposals and budgets, provided input to classroom curriculum, recruited and selected children to be enrolled, served as volunteer teachers and paid substitutes, attended staff training sessions, screened applicants and hired staff, held parent workshops, followed their children into the local school system and made decisions about many aspects of the operation of the program.

Special training programs have been developed to increase the capacity of the parents to analyze their own needs, to present workshops themselves and to evaluate their progress toward their goals. The ultimate purpose of such Parent Trainer programs is to bring out among the parents explicit awareness of their strengths and to offer ways of converting those strengths into constructive action, through a problem-solving approach.

The brevity of this summary should not be construed as indicative of the importance attached to parent participation activities. To do justice to the subject is beyond the scope of this paper. It should point out the commitment of Head Start to children with their families. A milestone has been reached in the formation of an incorporated parent group being considered as the grantee for the training and technical assistance grant for the Tribal Head Start programs in the three states funded by the Indian and Migrant Programs Division. Support of this effort has been documented by the Head Start Directors and the Indian Tribal Councils.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION IMPLEMENTATION

EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION: IMPLEMENTATION

The early years of Head Start on the reservations were devoted to socialization and enrichment for the children who would be starting school the following fall. The Head Start classrooms in the Indian communities looked very much like nursery schools everywhere. Emphasis on health, nutrition and social services affecting the children provided noticeable differences. This accepted version made the staff, local community and families comfortable with the happy-looking, occupied children, a "nice" program. In an area unfamiliar with group experiences for young children, the establishment and maintenance of such centers was truly an accomplishment. Obtaining a suitable facility, providing transportation in isolated communities, distribution of supplies, organizational procedures, hiring and training staff, complying with federal regulations were very real challenges to meet. Tribal groups were operating an educational system, even if it is taking time to perceive it as such.

There gradually emerged, here and there, a suspicion that the children, while benefiting from the comprehensive services which improved their social and physical development, were outgrowing the materials and activities in the centers. The teaching personnel and the parents began to wonder about extending and expanding their expectations of the children.

Concentration on the nursery school approach of play as the major activity of the children at this age had been fostered to counter-act the initial local concept that Head Start should present first grade preparation as the content of the program. Professional background of teachers and directors was in elementary education. Very few had any training in early learning. They tended to purchase workbooks and ditto masters in the tradition of school readiness programs. Schools felt that Head Start ought to see that the children learned certain behaviors that would make the school course of study more productive, although "real teaching and learning" supposedly took place only in the school system. On the other hand, some of the songs, finger plays, and stories learned by the Head Start children were resented by the first grade teacher since those activities were considered to be her territorial repertoire. Goals were rather vague in such a context, implementation haphazard and evaluation lacking.

Training programs, a strong component of Head Start from the beginning, provided resources to local grantees which attempted to develop a more cohesive approach to early childhood. The appearance of differentiated early education programs provided approaches and curricula components emphasizing a variety of philosophies, learning theories and practices. Support for such programs came from federal and private funds. Some had been in existence before Head S[illegible]ually were prototypes of early childhood programs, others came i[illegible]ing because of the increased activity in the field of early childhood.

Collaboration with one such program in the Dakotas came about because of the continual search of a better way to function with young children desired by local grantees. Dr. Susan Gray at George Peabody College in Nashville, Tennessee pioneered a program designed to "offset the progressive retardation all too frequently observed in deprived children during their years of schooling."[8] Specific activities and techniques were developed with children and training provided to home visitors who worked directly with mothers as the significant person to preschool children. This all took place with low-income children in Black communities in the upper south before the inception of Head Start. Contact with the Demonstration and Research Center for Early Education in the John F. Kennedy Center at Peabody gave impetus to the Dakota programs in 1969 to expand beyond the physical and social development of the children. An eclectic approach included curriculum, staff development, classroom management, parent participation and evaluation. Materials, environmentally and culturally appropriate, were developed for use in the classroom to facilitate the growth of the children, intellectually as well as physically and socially.

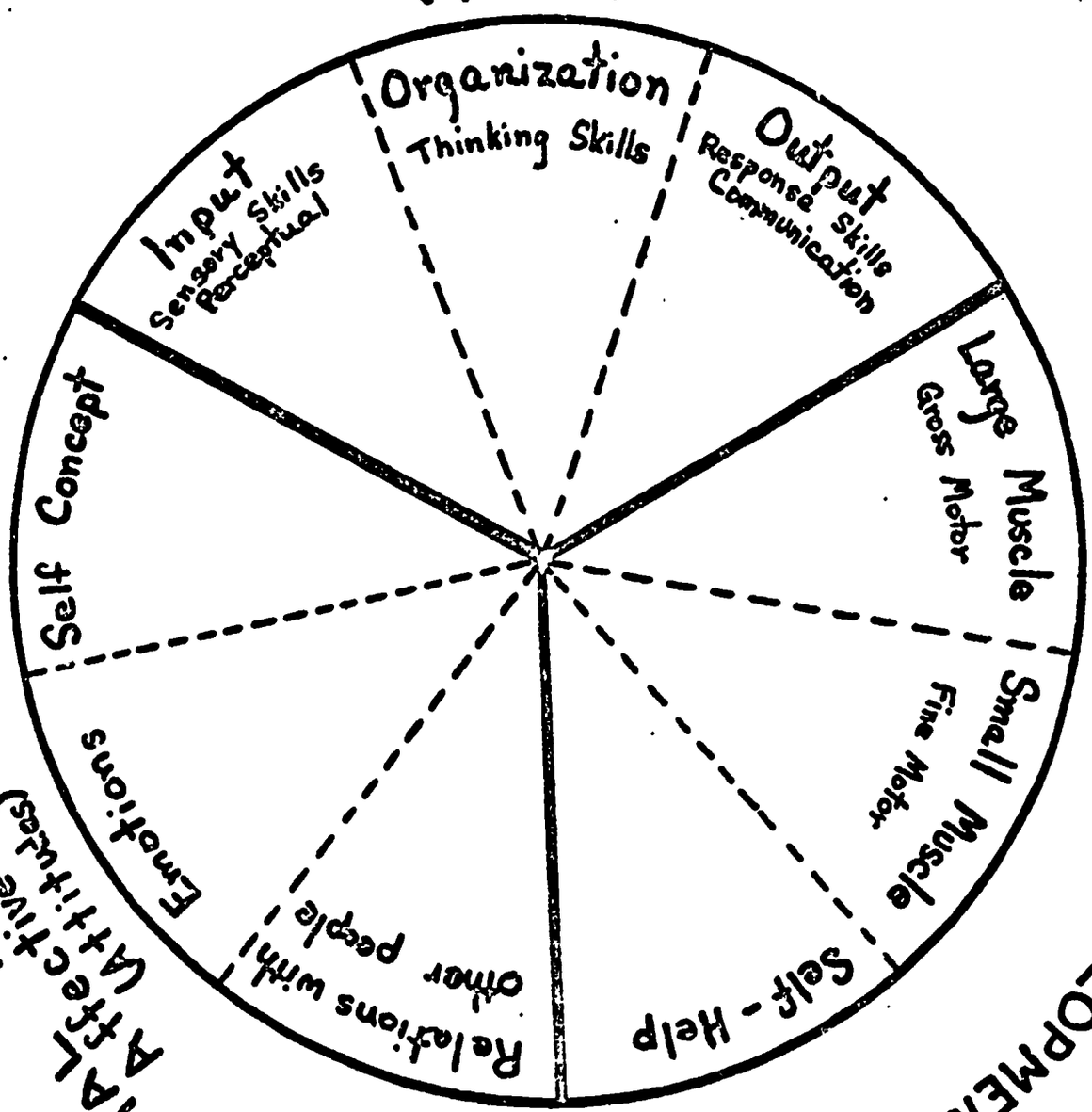
During that year emphasis was on training local staff members as a team of trainers who would disseminate the principles of planning, implementation and evaluation of program aspects based on specific objectives to meet the needs of individual children. Subsequent direction taken by the Dakota/Nebraska Indian Head Start programs have tended toward a more systematic approach to early childhood education. Such a movement has not been easy and, at times, has been eratic because of local political situations.

Programs designed to create change can become institutionalized and resist openness to change, themselves. Other issues emerge which make changing even more threatening to the participants. A crucial element appears to be whether the staff members feel the need for change themselves and what kind of reinforcement is received from administrators, co-workers, parents and the local community when changes are attempted.

Increased exposure to alternatives found in early childhood education has encouraged local Head Start programs on the reservations to design their own options, as conceptualized by the local staff and parents. It has become apparent that a standard curriculum or the same kind of approach for the Dakota/Nebraska programs is not the answer. Just as each reservation is different, so each community within that reservation is different. Parents and staff have become motivated to look closely at the children, plan for meeting their needs, utilize both local and outside resources to create the kind of environment which provides comprehensive services contributing to the total development of children in that community. An unobtrusive measure of success is the network developing among local grantees to share with each other certain components individually designed, both successful and not so successful ones. It seems that the process is more important than the product, which is more transferable, of course. Both staff and parents from one reservation have been used as resources on other reservations, increasing the capability of individuals through teaching as well as learning.

Most of the Head Start programs have become more definitive in the educational experiences offered to the children so that the purpose of such experiences is more clearly articulated. It is not so much a matter of choosing which part of a child is to be nutured, in spite of the debate concerning intellect versus emotions, cognition versus affect. Children do not come in separate little packages. Cognition and affect, thinking and feeling belong together and only when both are examined in terms understood by both staff and parents can a definition of success be made that tells what ought to be done in home and classroom. Possible alternatives from which to choose do not have to be precisely replicated but are modified and adapted with original innovations integrated into the daily and long-range planning. A basic schematic has been useful allowing for flexibility and a balanced curriculum which contributes to the total growth of the child.

MEASURING THE GROWING CHILD



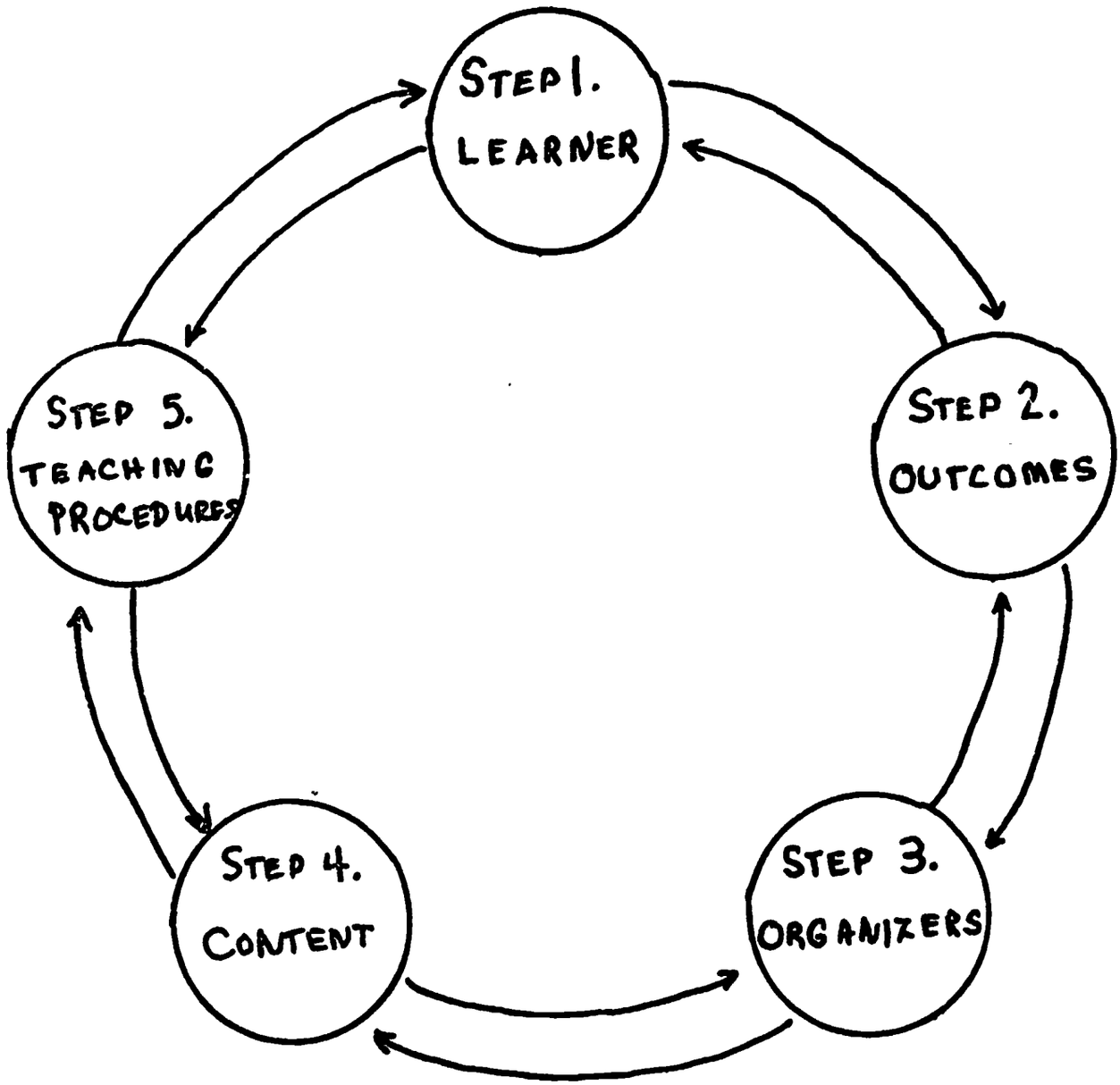
Reservation programs have had to work out the process of implementation of programmatic aspects which will enable the child to develop physically, socially and intellectually. Staff and parents are examining many learning theories, early childhood curricula; looking at kindergarten and first grade programs; increasing their knowledge of child growth and development; experimenting with the cultural and language elements to include in the classroom. Perception varies but formulation is found which indicates their concern with the balancing of experiences that insure happy, emotionally adjusted, intelligent, coping children. Local participants are moving toward the utilization of all possible resources, including themselves as they face the stress of determination of what and how they want their children to learn.

Daniel Prescott has written about such resources and their use in reference to the needs of children in their early years which is descriptive of the programs in the Dakotas and Nebraska.

> Of course, science and technology constantly are adding to our knowledge of the learning processes and to the materials and devices that we provide for children. It is good that it is so--and by all means let us use them extensively and judiciously. But let us not throw out all existent knowledge of the innate blueprint of body and behavorial unfoldment as the essential provider of the organic basis for learning. Nor do we dare, in the present disorganized condition of society, to deal with our children with frenzied demands that they learn without respite and fun in the face of the obvious evidence of increasing emotional maladjustment among them. We could not make a worse mistake than to disregard mental health for the sake of supposed intellectual growth. But we would quickly become decadent if we disregarded the growing and available scientific knowledge about the multiplicity of factors that influence learning, about the many kinds of learning and of cognition essential for survival in today's world.[8]

The design of the framework for a Diagnostic Early Childhood Program gives an order to what individual groups of children do without imposing a structure on either the children or the staff. Whatever the actual implementation is contributes to the conceptual framework but leaves the choice of specific details to the local participants.

DIAGNOSTIC EARLY CHILDHOOD PROGRAM



Diagnostic Early Childhood Program

Step 1. Learners (Who are the learners?)

... Description of the physical, emotional, intellectual status of the child.
... How do we know? What do we observe that makes us think so?
... Who does this? And how do we get it together?
... When do we look at the learner? How often?
... How do we share our knowledge? With whom? Find answers to questions?
... What do we do with our diagnosis?

Step 2. Outcomes (What do we want the learners to accomplish?)

... How can we state our objectives?
... What skills/attitudes does the child have? What ones are needed?
... What kind of physical development now? What further growth needed?
... How can we measure changes in the child?
... What kinds of procedures will be used to measure changes?
... What do we need to know or learn in order to do this?

Step 3. Organizers (How do we organize the program to achieve the outcomes?)

... What ways are there to organize a system or curriculum?*
... How do we decide what is most important? (priorities)
... What should come first? Second? Next?

Step 4. Content (What will be included in the curriculum?)

... What kinds of experiences will be provided to the child? Why?
... What kinds of activities will promote his growth?
... What materials and equipment will be needed? Who decides?
... How do we obtain information about early learning?
... What will parents teach at home to reinforce classroom learning?
... How can learning at home be reinforced in the classroom?

Step 5. Teaching Procedures (What methods and techniques will be used?)

... What skills and knowledge are needed by the staff?
... What kinds of attitudes should the staff develop in themselves?
... How will they work as a team? Individually?
... How will parents teach children at home?
... How do parents and staff work together as teachers?

* Curriculum refers to all learning experiences, formal and informal, in the classroom, at home and in the community.

Adapted from "A Model for Developing Relevant Content"
by Mario Fantini and Gerald Weinstein.

The reservation programs attempt to continually upgrade the performance of the staff in meeting the objectives of mental, physical and social growth for the children. Members of the staff are becoming more capable in refining the skills and attitudes needed by the children to be competent in their world. Classroom personnel are careful to plan experiences that are within the ability of the child so that he has frequent opportunities to succeed, yet is challenged and motivated to "stretch" his faculties and is assisted toward a positive self-concept, feeling that he is a "can-do" person. The route taken to do this is flexible, according to what the staff and parents determine most suitable, most helpful to the children in processing information and making sense out of their environment. Materials and equipment utilized in the classrooms do not always remain the same but are chosen with a specific purpose in mind. There are commercial early learning materials and teacher-made materials. The latter are made from common, everyday items, familiar to the children in their own environment at home and in their community. The space arrangement and the daily scheduling are chosen by the same criterion, i.e., for a specific purpose. Family style meals are planned to introduce new foods, serve familiar foods and to serve culturally appropriate meals with the adults eating with the children, encouraging conversation and a pleasant atmosphere.

Excursions into the community and longer field trips are involved in the same careful planning, to extend the experiences of the children, with follow-up in the classroom of language experiences and expression through other media(blocks, dramatic play, painting, music, etc.).

Materials, activities, language appropriate to the particular local culture and environment are in the process of being integrated into the daily schedule of the early learning center, when chosen by the parents. As the staff, community and parents become more aware of the significance of such an approach, instances of innovation increase.

College courses taken by the classroom personnel on Indian History and culture increases the background knowledge of the total staff through the reading materials, class instruction and ensuing discussions. A curious approach is sometimes taken by the college providing coursework, whether on campus or at the local reservation site. For example, translating traditional nursery rhymes into the local language

does present a problem of relevance since both ryhming and sense are lost in the translation. Such courses vary greatly in depth, appropriateness and authenticity.

Local Indian people, particularly the older ones, participate in the classroom, telling legends, playing games of their childhood, providing language, music and dancing experiences, explaining ways of living they knew as children. Every classroom employes local community members and usually at least one of these can speak the native language. Dancing, music and crafts are adapted to the age level of the children. All the children enjoy these activities and Indian and non-Indian families are enriched by such experiences.

Teachers and aides, assisted by other staff members and parents, are developing materials and activities from the local culture into an early education curriculum which is shared with other reservations during workshops. Resource units have been produced by some programs. Assessment tools or inventories have been developed by local staff and parents which incorporate cultural elements into performance criterion as objectives in the physical, social and intellectual development of the children.

Useful references concerning culture in the curriculum are increasing in the professional literature in such publications as Young Children, Childhood Education, The Instructor, Grade Teacher, Early Years and others. Such references do need selective discrimination since stereotypes still persist and questionable, if not objectionable, publications are found. Some are more subtle than others. The Journal of Indian Education and The Indian Historian are sources of background materials which can assist the staff in the formulation of appropriate culture elements into early childhood education. The American Indian Historical Society has recently issued The Weewish Tree,"a magazine of the Native American, especially made for the youth of the country." Classroom personnel can find this especially helpful as they are working to develop cultural materials which are suitable for the young children in their program. Most of the children are now four-year-olds since kindergartens have increased in both federal and public schools.

It is not unheard of that pressure from outside groups(funding agencies, institutions of higher learning, well-meaning organizations, etc.) zealously push "culture" in the classroom, resulting in visible(sometimes artificial) artifacts, rather than the slower process needed by the community to think through exactly what cultural elements are desired by its members to be included in the early learning program. Some parents have insisted that such teaching is the prerogative of the home not the classroom. Further, not always is there only one tribal culture represented in the background of the children, which means going beyond a bicultural approach. Credence needs to be given to the plural diversity of Indian Tribes in authentic ways.

Early childhood in Indian communities is truly in the "process of becoming." A mother of a Head Start child on one of the reservations in the Dakotas expressed this process in words that speak to everyone who cares about children, how they grow and learn.

" I saw tomorrow look at me through little
children's eyes
and thought how carefully we'd
teach
if only we were wise." 11

CHAPTER V

FUTURE PROCESS

Future Process

Head Start nationally is taking on a new look through the Improvement and Innovation Plans currently providing direction to local grantees. Such activities will consist of:

... Improving Local Performance

Performance Standards have been issued as Policy Statements designed to assist programs to meet certain basic priority standards in the desirable quality of comprehensive developmental services for children and families.

... Encouraging Local Programs to Adopt Optional Variations

Five principal options--- each with many possible variations are offered to local communities so that individualizing programs may better meet the identified needs made by parents and community members.

1. The "standard" Head Start Model of a center-based program.
2. Variations in Center Attendance.
3. Home-based Models.
4. Double-Sessions.
5. Locally-Designed Variations.

... Conducting Experimental Programs.

These directions are intended to move Project Head Start toward several important long-range goals. Thus in the contemporary scene and beyond, the Office of Child Development will join parents and local Head Start grantees in pursuing the following goals for strengthening Head Start services to children

1. Establishing in each community a new "Child and Family Resource Program" that will pull together the full range of successful program models such as the traditional Head Start, Home Start, Health Start, Parent and Child Centers and programs to ensure continuity between Head Start and the school.
2. Providing individualized care for Head Start children by strengthening local needs assessment procedures and expanding the range of local program options for responding to individual needs.
3. Enhancing parent involvement in the care and development of their own children. Head Start experience and research confirm what common sense has always told us---that parents

and the family are the key determinants in a child's growth and development. Accordingly we will work toward increased parent involvement in Head Start child development activities.

4. Enabeling communities to serve even more children by assisting them to make more efficient and wiser use of their limited Head Start resources.

5. Strengthening local Head Start capacity to mobilize the resources of other public and private agencies on behalf of their clientele by serving both as an advocate and as a service provider for agencies interested in financing or purchasing child care services.

Head Start programs in the Indian communities in Nebraska, North Dakota and South Dakota are gearing up all their resources and energy to join in the Improvement and Innovation plans. The results will be seen in the coming year when the children return to the centers and the process of becoming continues based on local planning, implementation and evaluation.

FOOTNOTES

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5. Rosemary Giesy, Jean Heemstra, Harry Saslow and Leslie Williams, "To Make a Difference: The Training of Early Learning Agents"(Publication of the Demonstration and Research Center for Early Education, George Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee, 1972)pp.3-9.

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8. Susan W. Gray, Rupert A. Klaus, James O. Miller, Bettye J. Forrester, Before First Grade. (New York: Teachers College Press, 1966) p.1.

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POSITION PAPER

FOR

NATIVE AMERICAN TEACHER CORPS CONFERENCE

APRIL 26-29, 1973

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THE ASSIGNMENT:

A. Identify and describe the specific conditions causing problems to the effective delivery of HEW services to Indians, both reservation and non-reservation.

B. Suggest actions that might be taken to alleviate or remove these conditions.

The charge of identifying specific conditions causing problems to the effective delivery of HEW services to Indians in the field of education is indeed a large assignment. The range of conditions having causal effect covers the full spectrum of the socio-economic field with the added complication of the federal government's historical inability to develop relevant Indian education programs.

Many of the problems are also statements of the human dilemm. that take on dimensions far beyond the purpose of the assignment.

It is the intention of this position paper to address those problems that are perceived by Indians, and when surfaced, have a reasonable chance at solution.

SOCIOLOGICAL

The purpose in reviewing a group's origin or past history is to find explanation of its present attitudes and conditionings, to secure perspective on its adaptation to change, and to understand its present-day goals. "The Past is Prologue."

The Indians believe that most federal employees have serious misconceptions about Indians that often result in well motivated but poorly conceived programs. An understanding of the following facts would be a beginning at eradication of some common fallacies:

A. Indians are not all alike.

A great many Indian people dislike the word "Indian;" they prefer a tribal categorization. The Sioux are not like the Utes; the Crow are not like the Navajo, etc. Tribal distinctness is very strong within the Native American people.

The languages of the various Indian tribes differ as much as, say, Swedish does from French or English does from German.

B. Not all Indians live on reservations.

Well over 50% of the Native Americans do not live on reservations. This demographic situation complicates any possible solution. The categorizing of these two groups also creates considerable devisiveness within the Indian communities. The term "Urban Indians" is a white man's term and one that concerned, well educated Indians do not like. It is offensive enough to refer to a Northern Cheyenne as an Indian without adding to the culture emasculation by prefacing it with Urban.

C. Indians are different than other ethnic minorities.

To simplify this concept, most ethnic groups in America, including Blacks and the Chicanos, by and large want assimilation and justice within the general culture. The Indian wants to remain "Indian" and is not generally concerned with assimilation. Another significant difference is that Indians do not form political blocs as other minorities do. Their present real concern is with self-determination.

D. Culture in Crisis.

The jargon of the anthropologist, "Culture in Crisis," applies definitely to the Indians. They are caught in the dilemma of identifying primarily with a specific tribe that has a distinct traditional culture.

At the same time, there is a psychological need for identification with the new Indian, a pan-Indianism. On the surface, this may not seem traumatic. To the traditional Indian, it is as frightening as acculturation into the dominant white culture may be for many.

E. <u>There is no such thing as Indian education</u>.

One of the near impossible adjustments that Indians are asked to do (and then criticized or ridiculed because they somehow have failed) is to resolve a two-culture conflict by themselves at the age of puberty. As long as Indian parents cherish and preserve their cultures, they educate their children successfully in an informal way through association with parents, other family, old people in the tribe,and through games and words. A Hopi Chief, as reported by Robert J. Havighurst, said of his childhood:

"Learning to work was like play. We children tagged around with our elders and copied what they did. We followed our fathers to the fields and helped to plant and weed. The old men took us for walks and taught

us the uses of plants and how to collect them. We joined the women in gathering rabbitweed for baskets, and went with them to dig clay for pots. We would taste this clay as the women did to test it. We watched the fields to drive out the birds and rodents, helped pick peaches to dry in the sun, and gathered melons to lug up the mesa. We rode the burros to harvest corn, gather fuel, or herd sheep. In house-building, we helped a little by bringing dirt to cover the roofs. In this way we grew up doing things. All the old people said that it was a disgrace to be idle and that a lazy boy should be whipped."

The conflict comes when formal education begins. Every society has its own way of molding its children into adult participants within its own culture. Education is always a process of teaching a culture. The formal education for the Indians, designed by the whites, has been a process whose goal was teaching the white culture.

F. There are Indian cultural similarities.

These commonalities of culture are paramount in priority for HEW to understand. It is equally important for designers of Indian education programs to be cognizant of the differences of behavior that result from a cultural value system. In comparing patterns of behavior between Indian culture and non-Indian culture, one should recognize that the differences are relative and not absolute. Some of these differences are as follows:

Tribal or Traditional Cultural Values	Urban-Industrial Cultural Values
group or clan emphasis	individual emphasis
present oriented	future oriented
time, non-awareness	time, awareness
age	youth
cooperative, service and concern for the group	competition, concern and acquisition for self
harmony with nature	conquest of nature
giving	saving
pragmatic	theoretical
patience	impatience
mystical	skeptical

(continued)

Tribal or Traditional Cultural Values	Urban-Industrial Cultural Values
shame	guilt
permissiveness	social coercion
extended family and clan	immediate family
non-materialistic	materialistic
non-agressive	agressive
modest	overstates and over-confident
silence	noise
respect others' religion	convert others to religion
religion--a way of life	religion--a segment of life
land, water, and forest belong to all	land, etc.--a private domain
beneficial and reasonable use of resources	avarice and greedy use of resources
equality	wealth
face-to-face government	representative democracy
compact living--close contact indoors high-space utilization	space living--privacy-- use of roominess
low self-value	strong self-importance[1]

[1]Adapted from the list of Indian values and non-Indian values as given by L. Mayland Parker in "Observations Concerning and Causes of Poverty Among Reservation Indian People." (Unpublished article prepared for Indian Community tion Project, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona--undated). Page 3.

The essence of presenting at the outset an analysis of some of the obvious sociological problems and frustrations that impinge upon effective Indian education stems from this writer's concern that it does little good to discuss logistical or jurisdictional improvement unless the basic philosophic questions are raised. The problem is biculturalism,and the federal government and the Indians themselves do not really understand the problem, much less the solution. The unique stance of the Indian refusing to be assimilated creates a serious maladjustment that necessitates an empathy at the very least and places the basic educational problem into a forced new perspective.

William Kelly's comments described the problem accurately when he said:

> "To become bilingual is no great task. Neither is it difficult to be bicultural when the two cultures trace to a common source, such as the Judeo-Christian tradition. The difficult task is to live simultaneously with parts and pieces of two entirely different sets of cognitive orientations and values. For example, you learn in one culture that man and nature are one and that man must learn to live with nature.

> In the next culture you learn that man and nature are worlds apart and that man must dominate nature. In one culture you learn that the supernatural is both good and evil and that the supernatural gives and withdraws health, crops, and fertility. In the next culture you learn that germs cause disease, hybrid corn seed determines the amount of a crop, and that a little pill controls fertility. I could go on without end. But it does not end for the Indian. The problem of reconciliation goes on every day and every hour, and even the most sophisticated Indian is forever battling for cognitive control and for a sense of unity in the universe, and especially in the universe of social relations which you and I take for granted and to which we never give a thought. The result is confusion, bewilderment, discouragement, and anger. The Indian, in fact, being unaware of the causes of his difficulty, escapes the pressure through idleness, erratic work habits, alcoholism, and apathy.[2]

One could add that the first manifestation of the maladjustment syndrome often is evidenced the day the Indian child appears in the American classroom.

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[2]William Kelly, "Social and Cultural Considerations in the Development of Manpower for Indians." Paper delivered at the National Conference on Manpower for Indians, Kansas City, Missouri, February 16, 1967.

THE INDIAN CATCH 22

The history of formal education for the Native American has been directed primarily by three major groups: the federal government (Bureau of Indian Affairs), the Christian missions, and the public education of the states.

The mission schools today account for only a small percentage of Indian education compared to the 19th century. The financial hardships that have closed non-public schools throughout the United States have taken their toll on the Indian reservations.

Since 1968 the Bureau of Indian Affairs has developed a policy encouraging public school enrollment of Indian children. In 1968 the BIA served over 152,000 Indian children, approximately two of every three in the age group of six to seventeen. The trend, however, is definitely toward the education of Indians to be in the hands of the local educational agencies and the states. This evolutionary phenomenon was started long before the present Administration conceived of Revenue Sharing. Special federal funds have been provided to states where tax-exempt, Indian-owned lands create financial burdens in supporting the public education of Indians. The Johnson-

O'Malley Act, combined with the Impacted Aid Laws 874 and 815, have been the chief sources of federal funds to public schools. Many states now have special contracts with the BIA where the BIA provides assistance, but the educational responsibilities lie completely with the state.

The trend is, therefore, toward state and local control of Indian education. This trend is enhanced with some form of Revenue Sharing appearing imminent and with the Bureau of Indian Affairs being reorganized.

The United States Office of Education under HEW is also undergoing radical changes. These conditions create an urgency for establishing a workable system to meet the needs of the Indians.

ISSUES

REAL INDIAN EDUCATION

A case can be made, and is being made, that Indians have a historical right and a legal right to control their own tribal schools or to have significant input in schools with large Indian student enrollments. The case also contends that the federal government is legally responsible to construct and to pay the salary and expenses of operating these schools.

Assume that the federal government capitulated to the case for Indian autonomy and agreed to fund these schools fully: would this be a panacea resolving the ills or even most of the problems concerning Indian education?

It would not solve the educational problems that exist for Indian children who are going to schools off the reservation -- more than 68% of all Indian children.

It is inconceivable that the government would build and support adequate higher educational facilities exclusively for Indians. In the absence of separate higher educational institutions, the traumatic social and psychological adjustment of an Indian

youngster going to a heterogenetic college, often spending his entire educational career in a segregated school, has to be a serious factor.

The final serious considerations necessary for Indians with reference to demanding separate schools for their children are the retrogressive aspects.

Norman Cousins said, even after he had graduated from college, he was still only half educated. His point was that even in our most sophisticated schools and universities, the curriculum is from a Western point of view. Most Americans know very little of Eastern philosophy, history, culture or religion. His thesis was that to be truly educated, we must be less parochial -- less nationalistic -- less chauvinistic. The question here is now does Cousins' international concept relate to separate, homogeneous parochial schools?

I also remember the elation that libertarians felt when the United States Supreme Court ruled in favor of Brown versus Topeka School Board in the famous decision of 1954. Chief Justice Warren, writing his rationale for the majority, said: "separate facilities are inherently unequal." The constitutional duty of a state to provide equal educational

opportunities have been afforded, the totality of the educational experience must be considered, and this experience encompasses more than the brick and mortar of the institution attended and other tangible factors.

The above references to Cousins and Warren are not to argue the legality of segregated versus integrated schools, but to project the moral issue on the question of being educated to live in the 21st century.

Recommendations and analysis on the issue of separate schools:

1. Indians do have a legal position,based on treaties, that obligates the federal government to financially support Indian-controlled schools.

2. There is ample evidence that the present conditions are abominable in meeting the educational needs of the Native American.

3. Having separate Indian-controlled schools will not meet the needs of a majority of the Indian children.

4. Having separate Indian-controlled schools may, in fact, do a disservice to those Indian children that attend these schools.

5. Using the legal and moral obligation of the U.S. Government to support Indian education as an unique bicultural phenomenon, a design needs to be formulated that accommodates all Indian tribes and all Indian individuals.

6. The design needs to be such that 'self-determination' can be a reality, one in which Indians can retain all of their culture without self-incriminations and at the same time develop those necessary skills that will enable them to function harmoniously and prosperously with and within the dominant society.

7. The design needs to be Indian conceived -- Indian managed -- and generously funded by the United State Government.

8. The boarding schools of the Bureau of Indian Affairs have not been successful. They too were segregated schools.

9. There is a need for integrated schools opposed to separate schools. The design should complement the existing structures of the public schools of America.

10. The attitude of many local and state educational agencies indicates that the federal government must remain in the design.

11. The logical place for this configuration should be the U.S. Office of Education in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

VARIATIONS ON THE THEME OF RESPONSIBILITY

Our federal system provides for state and local government with certain functional responsibilities.

Where federal functions seem to be duplicated, the operation and management of the function has, in general, shifted to the state or local jurisdictions with grant-in-aid assistance coming from the federal level. This assistance has often had considerable impact on policy and operation at the state and local level. The Indian, because of non-taxable land, treaties, contract schools, etc., has added additional complexities to jurisdictional responsibilities that vary in each state.

Consequently, any discussion on the merits or demerits of the major federal aid programs to assist public schools in accommodating the needs of Indian children must be assessed in each state and often in each local area of each state.

As mentioned earlier in this paper, a vast majority of Indian children in school on federal reservations used to be educated either by mission schools or federal schools. However, the

mission and other private schools now have about 6% and federal schools about 26% of the total Indian children in school in states with federally recognized Indians. The remaining 68% are in public schools.

Of course, all Indian children not members of tribes recognized by the BIA are educated in either public or private schools. The federal policy has been to transfer BIA schools to local and state jurisdiction when all parties concerned were in agreement.

A financial problem faces a public school with an appreciable number of Indian children living on non-taxable land, if the school district obtains part of its revenue from a real estate tax. Relief in such instances should come from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (P.L. 874 funds). However, under the provisions of the Johnson-O'Malley Act, the BIA can reimburse states and school districts to make up for this tax loss if it determined that P.L. 874 (64 Stat. 1100) and other federal, state, and local resources cannot compensate a school district for this loss. Johnson-O'Malley funds are primarily used to provide compensatory education for disadvantaged Indian children. In fiscal year 1970, over $16 million in such funds were disbursed to the states.

Suffice it to say that these well intentioned programs have not been effective if one considers the present status of the product -- the Indian child. The reasons are glaring and warrant a change -- an entire new approach.

SUMMARY

Any attempt at increasing the services of HEW to the Native American must first consider a mechanism that will allow for a national consistency and a national policy, with built-in flexibility to meet tribal and geographical differences.

The basic structure should give states the responsibility of conducting programs that meet the Indians' needs considering the tribal uniqueness. To assure that the states are accountable, policy must be formulated that transcends jurisdictional pettiness. This must emanate from HEW in Washington, D.C., with the monitoring and evaluation aspects conducted by the USOE Regional Offices, and with the pragmatic clout of adequate federal funds and accompanying authority to redelegate to Indian education leaders. Needles to say, the policy and the monitoring of the local and states' accountability must be controlled by Indian people with the authority to do it.

CONCLUSION

In closing, I would like to quote Thomas Jefferson:

> "Laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. As that becomes more developed, more enlightened, as new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed and manner and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times."

The educational system of the United States of America is in a revolutionary period. There is no better time than now for the Indians to insist on an entirely new relationship, vis-a-vis education, with the state and federal government.

The revolution has affected all of America's institutions. There is increasing recognition that the federal system is also changing. States are no longer as independent as they used to be. States' rights have now become "rights of first refusal." If a state has not served all of its citizens fairly, the federal government should step in.

An educational design needs to be adopted now that allows an Indian child to remain Indian and still be biculturally educated for the economic and social existence that he determines. The design must accomodate all Indians, reservation and non-reservation.

It must be done in cooperation with the public schools--integrated and equal, but sensitive to the pluralistic, culturally diverse students.

The design must be federal, consistent in every state, adequately funded, and Indian conceived and controlled.

Simultaneous with the revolutionary design, there must be a drastic increase in the economic base for the average Indian.

The Coleman report dramatically points out that education cannot make radical societal changes unless there is a viable economic base.

To make the educational process relevant, a crash emergency employment program with Indians on the job front needs to be launched at the same time.

A basic bill of rights for Indians in the late President Johnson's speech titled, "The Forgotten Americans," March 6, 1968, sums up the concluding points of this paper:

> "The program I propose seeks to promote Indian development by improving health and education, encouraging long-term economic growth, and strengthening community institutions."

"Underlying this program is the assumption that the Federal government can best be a responsible partner in Indian progress by treating the Indian himself as a full citizen, responsible for the pace and direction of his development.

But there can be no question that the government and the people of the United States have a responsibility to the Indians.

In our efforts to meet that responsibility, we must pledge to respect fully the dignity and the uniqueness of the Indian citizen.

That means partnership--not paternalism.

We must affirm the right of the first Americans to remain Indians while exercising their rights as Americans.

We must affirm their right to freedom of choice and self-determination.

We must seek new ways to provide Federal assistance to Indians--with new emphasis on Indian self-help

and with respect for Indian culture.

And we must assure the Indian people that it is our desire and intention that the special relationship between the Indian and his government grow and flourish.

For, the first among us must not be last.

I urge the Congress to affirm this policy and to enact this program."

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To implement the bill of rights for education:

1. Appoint an Indian Deputy Commissioner for HEW--Indian Education -- vested with authority.

2. Develop the policy.

3. Appropriate money -- release the money -- and get on with it.