American Indian students generally have not done well on traditional standardized tests. Such tests have been criticized because their ability to predict academic success is questionable, and they correlate with socioeconomic class, reward superficial learning, encourage classroom practices that fail to provide high-quality education, and are culture and gender biased. In contrast, authentic or performance-based assessment allows students to construct, rather than select, responses. An ongoing assessment based on observations of student behavior on tasks, performance-based assessment evaluates the learning of critical thinking skills, demonstration of applied knowledge, and performance of tasks in the real world. American Indians have historically used performance-based assessment, and the adoption of this method may provide the first fair indication of what Indian children know and can do. New performance-based methods of assessing student learning are being developed, and all schools receiving Title I funds are required to have performance-based assessment systems in place by the 2000-2001 school year. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has adopted the Learning Record, developed in Great Britain and adapted for use in California, as the performance-based assessment system to be phased in over 3 years. Although performance-based assessment has great potential for American Indian education, Indian educators can also improve assessment by promoting the inclusion of oratory skills to balance reading skills, by ensuring culturally relevant curriculum, and by factoring in students' language and experience when judging their abilities. Contains endnotes and a bibliography. (TD)
CHAPTER 7

Student Assessment in Indian Education or What Is a Roach?

SANDRA J. FOX

New performance-based methods of assessing student learning are being developed as part of the education reform movement. These new methods offer educators the opportunity to adopt a system that more fairly and completely assesses what Indian students know and can do. Because successful performance on standardized tests correlates with socioeconomic status and the provision of mainstream experiences, Indian students generally have not done well on them. Performance-based assessment can give Indian children alternative ways to demonstrate their knowledge and skills. According to the National Center for Fair and Open Testing (FairTest),

Assessment is a process of obtaining information about student learning that can be used to guide a variety of decisions and actions. . . . The primary purpose of assessment is to improve student learning. Teachers assess to learn students' strengths and weaknesses, to understand their interests and how they learn, to figure out how to help each individual and the class as a whole, and to help students think about their own learning, as well as to measure what they have learned and how well they have learned it.²
The terms *authentic assessment* and *performance-based assessment* have become increasingly familiar as educators across America explore alternative ways to assess student learning. But understanding the methods and purposes of these new forms of assessment challenges both educators and the general public, partly because the topic is so politically and morally charged. The old paradigm is deeply entrenched. The established process of norm-referenced standardized testing to determine student achievement and school effectiveness has been sacred in America, and it has been deemed politically incorrect to question it. Those who disputed the usefulness of norm-referenced standardized testing of Indian students were discounted as trying to avoid accountability or not caring enough for Indian children to want them to be as competent as others.

But the old paradigm is now being questioned by the education establishment, making this an ideal time for Indian educators to question openly the process of assessment used for Indian children. To paraphrase Sitting Bull, "We must put our minds together and see what we can make for our children." Indian educators must take advantage of this opportunity. They must learn what the general education system proposes for assessment and how it can apply to or be adapted for Indian students so we might finally have a fair and more complete picture of what Indian students can do.

This venture will not be easy. The Indian population, like the general American population, is brainwashed in regard to thinking about testing. It would be easy to stay in old paradigms or fall back to them. The criticism of new methods of assessment is already starting. We must stay the course. We must try new methods of assessment that are being created, including the Learning Record, a system recently adapted by BIA-funded schools, and we must evaluate proposed methods to find the best ways to assess the learning of Indian students.

**Why Are New Methods of Assessment Being Developed?**

The U.S. Department of Education explains that three phenomena have prodded changes in the assessment process:

1. concern from the business community that students entering the workforce could not produce in real-world workplace situa-
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1. students and could not solve problems necessary to keep our country competitive in the world economy
2. emergence of the constructivist model of learning, which emphasizes how students learn and the importance of their existing knowledge base, and predicts greater student motivation to learn when learning is based in real-world experiences
3. pressure on educators to be more accountable for student learning as a result of the 1991 report Indian Nations At Risk, which promotes "teaching to the tests," even though the tests were actually measuring lower order skills (not the ones required by the business community) and knowledge out of context (not related to the real world).³

Further pressure came from reports that students in the United States were not learning as much as students in other countries, emphasizing the need for an assessment system to measure the learning of more difficult content. A review found assessment practices of other countries more performance based. The U.S. government now urges new, more challenging instructional content in America's schools and use of new assessments to measure the learning of that content. At this writing, recipients of federal Goals 2000 or Title I funds have begun implementing new content standards and piloting new assessment systems. All states are required to have performance-based assessment systems in place by the 2000-2001 school year.

Many have long criticized the use of standardized, norm-referenced tests for assessment. In 1997 Peter Sacks summarized research regarding standardized testing in America:

1. Standardized tests generally have questionable ability to predict academic success. Even though educators and the general public have been led to believe that standardized tests provide sound measures of students' achievement and schools' success and many decisions are made based on results of those tests, they are often not reliable indicators of what students know or how well students will do in subsequent educational experiences. Teachers often testify that standardized tests don't accurately measure their students' achievement or abilities. Performance on tests such as the SAT, for example, is very poorly
correlated with student success in college. Sacks concludes that high scores on standardized tests only predict high scores on standardized tests.

2. *Standardized test scores tend to be highly correlated with socioeconomic class.* This finding is true across races. Standardized test scores correlate well with the income and education of one's parents.

3. *Standardized tests can reward superficial learning.* Standardized tests assess rote learning of facts and formulas. They are designed to test information that can be put into multiple choice questions for ease of scoring. They cannot test active, critical thinking skills. They cannot test whether someone can truly solve problems or write an essay. Studies of students who scored high on the SAT and a standardized reading exam found that those students acquired information through rote learning. Students who valued learning and literacy activities did not do as well. Schools that continue to use standardized tests are working in opposition to the attempt to teach problem-solving and other thinking skills. Standardized tests drive instruction in undesirable directions and inhibit meaningful educational reform.

FairTest cites two main problems with traditional standardized tests: (1) they fail to measure important learning adequately; and (2) their use encourages classroom practices that fail to provide high-quality education, especially for children from minority groups and low-income families. FairTest goes on to state that the multiple-choice format is incompatible with how people learn. The norm-referencing and bell curve used for standardized testing reinforce the view that instruction will not be effective for certain students and will encourage low expectations. Standardized tests are culture and gender biased. Determining important actions regarding individual students on the basis of one test is misuse with serious implications.

The U.S. Department of Education report *The Inclusion of Students with Disabilities and Limited English Proficient Students in Large-Scale Assessments,* published in 1997, provides guidance on making accommodations and other considerations in the testing of limited-English-proficient (LEP) children. It acknowledges that pro-
ficiency in the English language is another factor that affects a student's performance when assessed. This issue must be considered and addressed.

Again, why are new methods of assessment being developed? They are being developed for all of the reasons listed above and will provide new direction for education in this country.

In general, American Indian students have continuously scored low on standardized achievement tests. Educators of Indian students have long believed their students could do more than was revealed by the standardized achievement tests. Until recently, it was not questioned. Many educators of Indian children think the tests are definitely culturally biased and can give examples to support this belief. Dorothy King, who works with Navajo children, documented the following:

Another item had four pictures: two men in a boat hauling in a net, a Navajo woman seated at a loom weaving with another woman seated at a metate grinding corn some distance away, a woman in a car returning to a house with a man working on the roof, and a girl mowing a lawn while a mailman walks by. The item asked one to identify the picture that shows helping each other do a job. Most of the students said they had wanted to choose all four. In their concept of the world, everyone is always helping each other do whatever job there is, working together for the good of their family and community regardless of whether they are doing diverse tasks or at what distance they are doing them.

A standardized test is probably a good measure of one's acculturation into mainstream society. The fact that successful test performance correlates with socioeconomic status indicates that Indian children are at a definite disadvantage. Most Indian children have been included in large-scale standardized testing without accommodations for limited English proficiency, even though many are LEP students, whether identified as such or not.

What Is Performance-Based Assessment?

Assess comes from Latin meaning “to sit beside.” This implies a teacher sits beside students and watches them do their work or talks
with them. Assessment is a good thing meant to help students.

In performance assessment, students construct, rather than select, responses. Students may write, give a speech, solve a problem, or do a project to show what they know. Teachers observe student behavior on those tasks and systematically record information about the student's learning gained from the observation. Teachers are able to see patterns in students' learning and thinking. This method of assessment is ongoing, built as a part of the instructional process. It also drives the instructional process. Students are well prepared for what is expected of them and understand criteria that will be used in assessment. Rubrics explain how tasks will be assessed by defining exemplary, competent, minimal, or inadequate performance (or other delineations such as advanced, proficient, and partially proficient, as required by the Department of Education).

Portfolios are collections of student work representing various performances. Portfolios are derived from the visual and performing arts tradition that showcases artists' accomplishments. A systematic gathering of performances can provide a reliable assessment system. Performance-based assessment is not completed in one sitting on one day. Many performances are taken into account before determinations are made about one's achievement. This also alleviates problems that can arise if a student is absent on the day of testing. Assessment and instruction are merged, improving both.

Performance-based assessment is designed to assess the learning of content found in the emerging, more challenging content standards that promote critical thinking. Performance assessment is often termed authentic assessment because it promotes the demonstration of applied knowledge and the performance of tasks of the real world.

Performance-based assessment allows students to be involved in assessing their own progress. It also allows parents to be involved in assessing the progress of their children and to provide information about the child's application of knowledge at home. Performance-based assessments shed light on students' understanding of a problem, involvement with the problem, approach to solving the problem, and ability to express themselves.

The main criticisms of performance-based assessment are the possibilities of lack of reliability (e.g., different people might assess individual performances differently), validity (e.g., particular per-
formances may not be good indicators of specific content knowledge), and lack of access to data used to compare students and groups of students (as was provided by norm-referenced tests). These concerns are being addressed, and some interesting solutions are taking shape, as will be described later in this chapter.

American Indian people have historically used performance-based assessment to evaluate the skills and abilities of the young and to determine their readiness for taking on various duties in the tribes. Performance assessment is alive and well in tribal systems today. Contemporary examples include powwow dance competitions, sports competitions, art contests, and some tribal princess contests that require contestants to speak the Native language, prepare Native foods, and so forth.

Performance-based assessment examines student performance on specific tasks that are important for life. Those tasks can be determined at the local level, providing relevance to the assessment system. Performance-based assessment can take place in a child’s Native language, a situation in which a student’s language and culture would count as a strength.

Performance-based assessment may, at last, provide the first fair indication of what Indian children know and can do. Schools serving Indian students—particularly the schools funded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)—are delving into performance assessment. A system known as the Learning Record is being adapted for Indian children in those schools.

What Is the Learning Record System?

The Learning Record is a performance-based assessment system that provides teachers with a structured method of tracking students’ academic development and planning instruction to meet students’ needs. It has evolved from the Primary Language Record, first developed and used in Great Britain. The Record was adapted for use in California as the California Learning Record.

The Learning Record provides common forms and procedures for recording and summarizing information based on selected assessment indicators that provide multiple viewpoints and common performance standards of achievement (rubrics), called scales. The Learning Record summarizes evidence from a variety of student
work and activities to assess student achievement in the contexts of the classroom and the home. It builds on what students from ethnically and linguistically diverse backgrounds know and can do and provides a system to ensure more valid and equitable assessment results.

All schools receiving Title I funds must utilize a new form of assessment starting in the 2000-2001 school year. BIA schools can choose the new performance-based assessment system of the state in which they are located or the Learning Record, adapted for use by BIA schools. At this writing, staff from 34 schools are being trained to pilot this system at their schools.

The Learning Record system has undergone 10 years of research and development throughout California, the last four at the Center for Language in Learning, a not-for-profit organization in El Cajon. By June 1994 the system had been tested in small-scale studies so it could be phased in by schools, including Chapter I program schools, as an alternative to or in conjunction with norm-referenced, standardized testing. The Center for Language in Learning continues to conduct research on implementation of the Learning Record.

The Learning Record system of assessment is standards referenced, based on the content to be learned, as specified in the new standards and on standards of performance described in scales. (See example of reading scales on page 169.) Standards-referenced assessment requires an analysis of performance in various settings and from multiple perspectives and relies on various indicators and information from people who are important in the child’s educational process. (See page 170 for a diagram of the multiple perspectives used in the Learning Record process.) Notice that standardized tests can be one of the indicators for schools and teachers who still feel that such testing is important. Examples of student work and other documentation provide evidence that individual students have either met or not met the standards. Use of the Learning Record requires extensive staff development. Teachers learn what various pieces of documentation indicate about student learning and how these data can be summarized to determine students’ achievement levels.

A moderation process is unique to the Learning Record model of assessment. Moderation readings of student records ensure the quality, consistency, equity, and reliability of teacher assessments. A first
Reading Scale 2, Grades 4-8: Becoming Experienced in Reading

1 - Inexperienced
Experience as a reader has been limited. Generally chooses to read a very easy and familiar text where illustrations play an important part. Has difficulty with any unfamiliar materials and yet may be able to read own dictated texts confidently. Needs a great deal of support with the reading demands of the classroom. Overdependent on one strategy when reading aloud, often reads word by word. Rarely chooses to read for pleasure.

2 - Less experienced
Developing fluency as a reader and reading certain kinds of material with confidence. Usually chooses short books with simple narrative shapes and illustrations. May read these silently; often re-reads favorite books. Reading for pleasure often includes comics and magazines. Needs help with the reading demands of the classroom and especially with using reference and information books.

3 - Moderately experienced
A confident reader who feels at home with books. Generally reads silently and is developing stamina as a reader. Is able to read for longer periods and cope with more demanding texts, including novels. Willing to reflect on reading and often uses reading in own learning. Selects books independently and can use information books and materials for straightforward reference purposes, but still needs help with unfamiliar material, particularly non-narrative prose.

4 - Experienced
A self-motivated, confident and experienced reader who may be pursuing particular interests through reading. Capable of tackling some demanding texts and can cope well with the reading of the curriculum. Reads thoughtfully and appreciates shades of meaning. Capable of locating and drawing on a variety of sources in order to research a topic independently.

5 - Exceptionally experienced
An enthusiastic and reflective reader who has strong established tastes in fiction and non-fiction. Enjoys pursuing own reading interests independently. Can handle a wide range and variety of texts, including some adult material. Recognizes that different kinds of text require different styles of reading. Able to evaluate evidence drawn from a variety of information sources. Is developing critical awareness as a reader.
The Multidimensional CLR
Multiple Viewpoints

Student
Parents
Other teachers
Teacher

California Learning Record

Reading, Writing, Math Scales

Information from outside of school, opportunities to learn

“On demand” test scores

Observation Notes
talking
listening
reading
writing

Student Samples
reading
writing

Reading Assessments
informal
running record
miscue
round of moderation readings is held at the school's own site among teachers who are keeping Learning Records. Participants read in pairs a sampling of the completed records and student work without seeing the originating teachers' judgments. Looking at the evidence, they judge a student's performance according to the performance standards scale. The process is repeated at inter-site readings, conducted by teachers from other schools using Learning Records. Altogether, this makes three evaluations of student progress: original evaluation by the teacher, evaluation by a pair of readers from the same school (based on documentation of the teacher's evaluation), and evaluation by a pair of readers from another school at the regional inter-site. If there is a difference among judgments by the readers, other readers highly experienced in using the Learning Record make a final determination. The Center for Language in Learning reports annually to each participating school on the consistency—and therefore trustworthiness—of teacher, site, and inter-site judgments. For schools using the Learning Record schoolwide or with an identified target population, the center also reports on individual student achievement at each K-12 grade level.

The Learning Record summarizes information about student learning to be used with students of different ethnic backgrounds and students with disabilities. It is endorsed by FairTest. The Learning Record requires observation and documentation in assessing not only what children know but how they learn. The assessment for each child requires active involvement of many teachers, parents, and the student. The process can be used for all grade levels. It can be used to summarize information about reading, language arts, and mathematics for Title I requirements and to evaluate student language and mathematics abilities in languages other than English.

The Department of Education approved the BIA's state plan to use the Learning Record as its new method of assessment because of the moderation process and studies that have shown it to be a valid and reliable way of assessing student learning. A Learning Record (Language Record) system is also being used with a multiethnic population in New York City. Beverly Falk and Linda Darling-Hammond of the National Center for Restructuring Education, Schools and Teaching list the major principles of the system in New York City as "encouraging meaningful parent involvement, respecting each family's linguistic and cultural background, recognizing
that children come to school with prior knowledge and experience, looking at children individually and noting their growth rather than comparing them with other children, and respecting teacher knowledge and professionalism."9

Resulting implications of the Learning Record for Indian students can be great. The system includes many of the ingredients Indian educators have called for in an educational process suitable for Indian students. Indian educators should watch the progress of the implementation of the Learning Record with great interest. At present, we are gaining insight into the ramifications of its use by reading what teachers participating in the Learning Record training have to say (see box).

Comments of Participants in Learning Record Training

"I am proud to be a part of this needed change in education."

"I am very impressed with the new method of assessing our children [Native Americans]. We've been seeking such an assessment."

"Thank you for giving me a system/means to note my observations and progress of the students I teach. It will be put to good use."

"This is such a neat way to find out what your kids know—not what they don't know, and it gives you a wonderful insight into your students as human beings!"

"Retrieving information from the student and parents to form a database will provide a better understanding of the student."

"I believe the Learning Record will benefit my teaching abilities and increase our parents' commitment to our school, its teachers, and most importantly our students' success."

"Finally, an assessment tool which will work instead of culturally or socially biased tests. Also, putting the sharing of the educational experience with parents and students is excellent."

"It was exciting how it all fit together and we were able to get quite an overview of our student!"

"I have become very excited about the Learning Record and its potential for all students. I feel very privileged to be in a position that can have such a professional effect on our children's education."

"It seems like common sense to me and simplifies my ideas about portfolios."

"I feel this is a good way of assessing our children, and you have planned it out so everyone doesn't feel pressured by something new."

"I believe in 'asking the child'—this will provide a tool for accountability."
STUDENT ASSESSMENT IN INDIAN EDUCATION OR WHAT IS A ROACH?

What Should We Be Questioning Further?

Despite the fact that performance-based assessment, and the Learning Record in particular, appears to offer a real breakthrough for Indian education, our work in this area must continue. Indian educators are calling into question many aspects of the educational process. Some of the questions educators commonly ask about assessment are discussed in this section.

**Oratory or reading skills?** In performance-based assessments, one indicator of success might be the number of books read. In the Indian world, reading a lot of books is not highly prized. For Indian people, more credence is given to the skill of oratory. Is oratory not a worthy process? Is it not related to reading? Given that assessment drives instruction, is it not wise to give more weight to a skill, such as oral language, that tribal members have long recognized as needing more emphasis in Indian education? Should this not be taken into consideration when framing the assessment of Indian students?

**What about content?** The whole matter of content for Indian students needs to be examined carefully. While the process of performance-based assessment holds great potential, it still could promote cultural bias or emphasize learning that is not important to Indian people, thereby putting us back where we started. This brings us to the main question: What do we want Indian students to learn? For example, the BIA has adapted national content standards to include aspects of Indian culture. If this cultural information is important, the learning of it must be assessed. What should Indian students know and be able to do when they leave school?

**How do language and experience factor in?** What about the fact that assessment of reading is in large part the assessment of one’s knowledge of and experience with the topic of the material being read? It is also the assessment of one’s English vocabulary. Yet, one’s reading ability is firmly determined (judged) by an English reading assessment. How can we say that Indian students cannot read as well as other students as indicated by standardized tests and national norms? It brings to mind the story of one of the chiefs of the Iroquois Confederacy saying he would send young men to the schools of the White settlers as long as they sent some of their young men to live with and learn from his tribe. How well would non-Indian children do if they had to read something from the
Indian world for which they had no reference? For example, if an Indian story referred to someone wearing a roach, the non-Indian student might assume the author meant an insect when, in fact, the text referred to a headdress made of deer tail and porcupine hair that is worn by male Indian dancers at powwows. The experience one brings to the assessment situation is of utmost importance. If Indian students are expected to read and understand materials, they must be given the cultural experiences that relate to those materials. But is that really what we want? Does that require Indian students to learn things that are really not important to them? Again, Indian communities must decide what their children should know and be able to do and then assess student learning within that body of knowledge and skills.

In many Native languages, a single word may have meaning that may take a paragraph to explain in English or that cannot be explained at all, or certain linguistic patterns may suggest entirely different meanings from those expressed in English. How then do Native speakers process English? What implications does that have for assessment? We must question, question, question.

**Leaders in the Assessment Process**

We are just on the brink of improving the education of Indian children. This is the result of new assessment processes and new insights into what should be learned and how it might be learned better. We need to work very closely with our communities to make sure full advantage is taken of this opportunity. Indian educators must become very interested in the new assessment process and its implications. They must ask questions that may affect the teaching and learning of Indian children.

An Indian educator who has taken a special interest in the assessment process is Roger Bordeaux:

Standardized norm-referenced testing is no longer universally accepted as the one best measure for determining learner success. Although some American Indian/Alaska Native students have shown academic success in this type of testing, the continued exclusive use of norm-referenced assessments could shortchange many AI/AN learners. One caution, however, for those involved in developing alternative assessment measures: The
effort to improve cultural relevance of curriculum and assessment must be guided by all stakeholders, including parents and other tribal community members.¹⁰

The teaching and learning process for American Indian/Alaska Native learners will improve as curricula and assessment become more culturally relevant. Culturally relevant performance assessment can help schools see language and culture as integral parts of a total curriculum. According to Elise Trumbull Estrin and Sharon Nelson-Barber of the Far West Laboratory,

Many Native students are thriving in programs that are based on culturally responsive curriculum, instruction and assessment. And—fortuitously—the current climate of reform provides all of us an opportunity to reexamine old assumptions and develop new bases of knowledge from which to re-create instruction and assessment.¹¹

We must revisit the works of Karen Swisher and colleagues whose special interest has been assessing the learning styles of Indian students.¹² We must reread the work of Richard Nichols,¹³ who concludes the practice of standardized testing has been hurtful to American Indians and encourages educators to rely more heavily on measures of attitude and skill mastery and to utilize student portfolios. We must not forget the early questioners Dean Chavers and Patricia Locke, who wrote “The Effects of Testing on Native Americans” for the National Commission on Testing and Public Policy in 1989.

Finally we must not forget that Indian people had a way to assess the learning of their children long ago. It was performance-based assessment.

Epilogue

The BIA has adopted the Learning Record as its new assessment system. BIA-funded schools have the option to utilize the new assessment systems of the states in which they are located or the Learning Record. Teachers from 34 schools are currently involved in extensive professional development activities to build leadership capacity among schools choosing to use the Learning Record.

Other information from the reauthorization of the Individuals
The *California Learning Record* was to be one model for the classroom assessment part of a new, three-part California assessment system. (To learn more about how that assessment system fell to defeat before it could be fully implemented, read Crispeels' "Educational Policy Implementation in a Shifting Political Climate: The California Experience." ) The since-renamed Learning Record Assessment System has been developed to provide a classroom assessment that can be used to inform teaching and learning as well as to serve public accountability purposes.

A three-year phase-in plan has been designed to help school staffs implement the Learning Record in BIA schools. To follow progress, contact a School Reform Team Leader, Office of Indian Education Programs, Mail Stop 3512, 1849 C Street NW, Washington, DC 20240, or visit the Learning Record Web site maintained by the Center for Language in Learning: http://www.learningrecord/lrorg.

Notes

1. Sandra J. Fox (Ogala Lakota) has worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs as a teacher, education specialist, and team leader.


7. See Bordeaux, *Assessment for American Indian and Alaska Native Learners*.

8. See Barr, *California Learning Record*.


For more about the learning styles of Indian students, see Swisher and Deyhle, "Styles of Learning and Learning of Styles" and Swisher, "American Indian Learning Styles Survey."

See Nichols, Continuous Evaluation of Native Education Programs.

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