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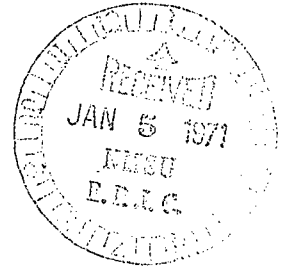
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ABSTRACT

The objective of the symposium from which this document resulted was to give visibility to some worthwhile programs for mobile and "by-passed" populations, in order to allow those in attendance at the symposium and those exposed to the published proceedings to capitalize on what has been learned through these programs. The conference report points out the failures of the American educational system in honoring the rights of certain segments of our population. The people that are left behind are referred to in this document as those "by-passed" by the majority of the population and by the rapid changes in society in general. Considered among the "by-passed" are American Indians, Mexican Americans, migrant workers, and other disadvantaged minorities. The 16 papers presented at the symposium are included in the document under the following headings: (1) Representative Papers, (2) Non-Establishment Programs, (3) Some Establishment Programs, (4) The Private Sector and Agency Responses, and (5) New Perspectives. (EL)

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EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS
FOR
BY-PASSED POPULATIONS

A report of a symposium held at the
University of Minnesota on April 14-15, 1970.

Included are the major addresses
and invited papers.

Edited by:
Don A. Morgan

October 1970

College of Education
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated firstly to a hopefully vanishing people -- the poor. Poorness among richness in the United States, as well as anywhere, is an incongruous and unacceptable state of affairs which must be redressed.

This work is dedicated secondly to Gilbert Chavez and Richard Zazueta, Chicanos of unusual patience, tact and intelligence who can teach what it means to be an Anglo by describing what it means not to be one.

This work is dedicated finally to "establishment education" -- which takes a proper battering in these published proceedings -- in the confidence that it can right the wrongs it has for too long perpetuated on too many. Education has far too often been a cause of deprivation rather than an agent seeking solutions to the problems of the oppressed.

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PREFACE

The symposium reported here resulted from the convergence of several visible forces. First was the idea that a need existed to examine critically the kinds of educational programs invited to present papers. Secondly there was a University interested in and capable of sustaining the idea and organizing the program. Thirdly there were people committed to the idea and willing to support it with both time and money. And lastly, in this listing, there was a planning committee with a national breadth of experience in this area which could and did convene to recommend what the general format should be and who ought properly to be invited.

The idea to have such a symposium was a modification of a related idea put forth first, in the knowledge of the writer, about March of 1969 in Washington, D.C.. The thought was that it would be valuable to display to the "establishment" schools the better programs from among non-establishment migrant efforts--essentially funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity--against the possibility that such efforts might not be refunded by the new federal administration and the programs would cease to exist. Gene de la Torre and Emily Lewis, both of OEO-Migrant Division, and this writer sketched the idea and then attempted to set up something along the lines of a conference for legitimization--this in the sense of trying to influence the establishment schools to accept or to legitimize or to give credibility to some of the experimental and innovative approaches some migrant programs had developed and adopted. California was selected as the area to be represented and the site of the conference.

A committee was gotten up at the University of Southern California with membership drawn from some of the stronger California projects, the original planners and Patricia Heffernan-Cabrera of the University of Southern California. Although several meetings of the committee were held throughout Southern California, the idea did not reach fruition for several very complicated reasons chiefly having to do with funds and the difficulties of determining organization of the conference.

The modification of the original idea from a conference to a formal symposium resulted from several conversations the writer had with Gilbert Chavez, Office of Education, and Richard Zazueta of MOP, Phoenix, Arizona, plus reasons to do with the University of Minnesota. The idea for a symposium involving experts from non-establishment programs and to be sponsored by the University was put forth by the writer early in fall quarter of 1969. The question was put in the fashion of "Would the University pay for publishing the proceedings?" Fortunately this plea fell on receptive ears, those of Clifford Hooker, Chairman of the Educational Administration Division of the College of Education, who responded affirmatively and immediately. Next the support of Robert Keller, Dean of the College of Education, was most easily obtained as he was totally sympathetic to what was proposed. It was easy then to move upward through the University's administration gaining additional pledges of support and of interest. It was rewarding to find the University as a whole not only willing but eager to get involved with what was proposed.

THE PLANNING COMMITTEE

The symposium then became planned as a two day affair which the University would willingly host with the Division of Educational Administration paying for the publishing of the proceedings. It then became desirable to convoke a planning committee to give depth and breadth to the program. There was no money available for this stage of bringing together a planning committee and the outstanding support of several OEO field programs, the OEO central Migrant Office in Washington, D. C., the Office of Education and some private citizens made this possible. These were the people willing to support the idea of the symposium with time and money from their own pressed schedules and budgets. Considering the planning committee was made up of members from Washington, D. C., Arizona and the state of Washington, the contribution of time and money for travel alone was substantial.

Membership on the planning committee was viewed as critical to later participation from the selected programs. There again had to be donations from captive budgets to send the selected representatives to the actual symposium. This would require eventually that the board of directors for the programs represented would have to authorize these kinds of expenses and that regional and national reviewing officers of several federal agencies would have to approve or disapprove of the involvement and subsequent expense. The planning committee would have to give credibility by its membership to what was planned and which would help assure support. Additionally the planning committee had to have expertise in the area of attention of the symposium--non-establishment efforts in establishing and maintaining relevant educational programs addressed to the needs of by-passed populations. That the planning committee accomplished both tasks is attested by the results presented here. This committee was made up of: Gene de la Torre and Ernest Chabot, OEO- Migrant Branch, Washington, D.C.; Richard Zazueta, Executive Director, Migrant Opportunity Program, Phoenix, Arizona; Alan Apodoca, Executive Director, Washington State Migrant Education, Moses Lake, Washington; Sister Giovanni, Our Lady of Guadalupe, St. Paul, Minnesota; William Wilson, Honeywell, Inc., Minneapolis; and the writer.

Out of this planning group grew also contacts with the Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory at Albuquerque. A small grant was applied for from this Laboratory for the principal purpose of helping on travel expenses for invitees who had no captive budgets or were restricted otherwise by finances. This grant also allowed for program costs such as audio-visual, ushers, clerical and editorial expenses. It was a most timely bit of help that was realized, and the cooperation of the Laboratory was outstanding.

THE TERM "BY-PASSED"

The term "by-passed" has distinct limitations. It was selected for use simply as it had fewer negative connotations than other commonly used terms which attempted to describe those deprived of rights through failure of the educational system of the nation to address or cope with their needs. It was first used by this writer in 1968 at a conference at the University of California, Los Angeles, concerned with the junior college presidency, and the context of its first use might be helpful here:

...(There has been a) nearly bewildering pace of social change in recent years. This change can be attributed in great part to enormous population pressures and technological production processes which are mutually com-

plicating. Moreover, social change is never complete in any large modern society; instead, pockets of people are left behind and isolated by behavioral patterns inadequate to the altered situation. And though B. Lamar Johnson has documented the heartening ability of the two-year college to innovate and experiment, and Erwin Harlacher has described some significant community service programs, there remain the enormous needs of the by-passed people, which must be faced squarely.¹

BY-PASSED SYMPOSIUM ANNOUNCED

By February, 1970, the following announcement was made and given the widest possible distribution:

The College of Education at the University of Minnesota will sponsor a symposium, April 14 and 15, 1970, on educational programs developed to meet the needs of by-passed or mobile populations. Select programs of known innovative and experimental quality will be represented by experts drawn from those programs. These representatives will give papers which will be followed by discussion or reaction sessions. The general public, as well as the scholarly community of the state and region, are invited. There will be no registration fees or costs.

The purpose of the symposium is two fold:

1. to record in the permanent literature the experiences of important programs not now represented there, with a hoped-for long-range impact on planning in and out of establishment schools;
2. to have an immediate impact on persons attending the symposium who might then return to projects or systems and implement some of the findings presented.

Overall, the objectives are to offer a wider visibility to some worthwhile projects and the experts developed within them in order to capitalize on what has been learned through their efforts by influencing those in attendance and those exposed to the published proceedings.

The papers presented will be drawn from three distinct approaches to the educational problems mobile and by-passed populations presented:

¹Don A. Morgan, "The Junior College President: Role and Responsibilities", in B. Lamar Johnson, ed. The Junior College President (Los Angeles: Junior College Leadership Program, Graduate School of Education, University of California, Occasional Report No. 13, May 1969), p. 19.

1. non-establishment, i.e., programs outside the traditional kindergarten through graduate school spectrum;
2. establishment response, i.e., programs developed by colleges, state agencies or school districts; and
3. private sector, i.e., programs conducted by commercial firms usually with the view to hiring those trained or selling expertise.

ORGANIZATION OF THIS REPORT

This report of the proceedings of the symposium is organized into parts. These parts parallel, approximately, areas of "distinct approaches" as delineated in the foregoing announcement. Each part is composed of papers submitted by experts operating within the programs represented and which were read at the symposium.

The planning committee had recommended who was to be invited to give papers. All papers subsequently presented were not, nor were they expected to be, the kind of detailed and documented examination one normally finds at a symposium held within academia. Most experts making contributions are not that kind of scholar--their scholarship runs in a different, more practical, vein of experimenting, developing, innovating and administering, often on a totally creative basis. They were unaware of or rejected existing models. No format for the papers was suggested for fear this would freeze the results into an academic form which would miss the point of it all--that academia can and should learn from the experiences represented when these experiences are recounted in the language in which they were accomplished. Indeed, the moment these programs are reduced to the jargon of academia is the moment they will stand in the greatest danger of failing. It was interesting that all invitees from establishment programs who either had long personal experience with the sub-rosa programs or worked when the system had accommodated non-establishment programs, objected strongly to being included in the "establishment response" section of the program. Clark Knowlton of the University of Utah observed, "I've been fighting the system from within a long time to try to move it and have been called radical, among other things, and it's kind of tough to be known here as an 'establishment figure'."

LIMITATIONS

The limitations of these proceedings are obvious--it is difficult to truly represent human experience with mere words. The chief limitation, however, has to do with the depth of treatment--the surface of the subject was merely scratched. There was not time enough or space to accommodate all the worthwhile programs which are deserving of this kind of exposure. There also was not time enough to treat those programs represented in sufficient depth. A beginning has been made, however limited it might be. Some of the expressions of the invitees will not please all. The people some experts purport to represent will not be pleased at how they were represented. This is to be expected. Hopefully, if great umbrage is taken at what is presented here, others will pick up these humble beginnings to refine or refute what has been said and written.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The continued support of Dr. Clifford Hooker, Division Chairman, Educational Administration, and Dr. Robert Keller, Dean of the College of Education, both at the University of Minnesota, must be acknowledged as critical and most welcome. Without them, the whole thing would not have gotten out of the think stage. Although acknowledgment is made elsewhere of Gilbert Chavez and Richard Zazueta, their understanding, cooperation, support and work with the Symposium were equally valuable. Also the help in the planning stages of Mr. Gene de la Torre and Mr. Ernest Chabot, both of the OEO-Migrant Branch, Mr. William Wilson, Honeywell, Inc., Minneapolis, and Mr. Alan Apodoca, Northwest Rural Opportunities, Pasco, Washington, was of great benefit. It is impossible to thank all at the University and elsewhere who gave positive support, but they are personally thanked here with the hope the whole thing proved as rewarding to them as to the editor. I would be remiss, however, were I not to thank Assistant Vice President Fred Lukermann, Associate Dean Norman Moen, Dr. Thomas Stark and Miss Terri Moen of ERDC personally for their contributions.

The help and cooperation received from the Southwestern Regional Educational Laboratory is mentioned previously, but they deserve inclusion in this special section on acknowledgments. Many on Dr. James L. Olivaro's staff contributed to the final results, particularly Miss Irene Sikelianos and Duane Sours.

Lastly, though by no means the least, it is important and proper that special recognition be given Miss Patricia Catherine Maas and Mrs. Laurie Perry, administrative assistants for the Symposium. These pleasant and bright young ladies worked long, hard often unpaid hours to make the whole thing a reality.

Don A. Morgan
Minneapolis, Minnesota
1970

Part I Representative Papers

CHAPTER I

THE MEXICAN AMERICAN--EDUCATION PROFILE 70

ARMANDO RODRIGUEZ

Genocide is not limited to annihilation by physical force. Educational genocide has destroyed generation after generation of Blacks, Browns and other minorities in our country. The next decade must see, if this society is to survive, the elimination of all vestiges of an educational system that has been geared to exclude instead of include. Education must assume the responsibility for the past programs of cultural, linguistic extermination--and it must assume the responsibility for creating a new system that produces young individuals whose attitudes and values reflect a culturally cognizant institution. Nothing less will be accepted by the Mexican-American during the next decade. Nothing less should be accepted by all of our society.

If, for example, we focus on "disadvantaged institutions"--that schools are "disadvantaged"--not culturally different children--this implies acceptance of the responsibility for inadequate institutions or "institutional deprivation". A kid who doesn't learn to read by 5 or 6 may later learn to read, but if he is taught that he is "disadvantaged, that is "inferior" at 5 or 6, he may never overcome it. This concept has too often been carried throughout our society at other levels. It burns my "you know what" when I think of the thousands of Mexican-American youngsters who have been tabbed as "disadvantaged" because they didn't come to school speaking English. Just think, they came to school with a rich potential to be bilingual--a most desired personal and national value in most every country in the world except this one. And neither the school nor the society it serves recognizes this cultural richness.

Mexican-American education for the 70's will begin with what our youngsters are really saying to us--and I totally endorse and support their cry--that we do not need new institutions--disadvantaged as the ones we have may be--but we need people in existing schools willing to accept the responsibility for the consequence of their work and, if necessary, to fight for the resources needed to get the job done. These are the "moral" traits which an expert must develop. There is also the accountability that society will insist on being a part of every educational program receiving public support--learning accountability--not just fiscal accountability. This whole picture must also recognize that high morale, which is one of the characteristics of an effective institution, is related to "value infusion" and "pride". Few effective institutions consider their participants "disadvantaged". Education for all in the 70's, but especially for the Mexican-American, must begin with the elimination of this "disadvantaged child" syndrome by which educators have been permitted to escape their responsibility for their failures.

In this age of search for identity, a quotation by a young Mexican-American high school student from northern California seems appropriate:

Who am I? I am a product of myself. I am a product of you and my ancestors. We came to California long before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock. We settled California, the Southwestern part of the United States, including the states of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Texas. We built the missions, we cultivated the ranches. We were at the Alamo in Texas both inside and outside. You know we owned California--that is, until gold was found there. Who am I? I'm a human being, I have the same hopes you do, the same abilities; and I want the same chance you have to be an individual. Who am I? In reality I am who you want me to be.

Clarification of "Mexican-American":

Before I talk about the future--the next decade of education for the Mexican-American, I want to clarify the hyphenated term, "Mexican-American". This includes an ethnic as well as a national concept describing the Spanish-speaking group of Mexican ancestry. The hope is to obviate the problem as to when a Mexican-American's parents arrived in this country or where he may live. Actually many of the educational observations to follow can apply to all Spanish-speaking people, though the Mexican-American is referred to specifically.

There are Mexican-Americans who deny belonging to this ethnic group. Fortunately, history cannot be denied or changed by wishful thinking of wanting to be different. What difference does it make if a group migrated to this country some thirty years ago or was included as an integral social unit in the territory ceded to the United States by Mexico at the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo nearly 130 years ago?

The Mexican-American people and their culture found in what is now the American Southwest were simply periodic extensions of the Mexican nation. Therefore for all practical educational purposes, and if we are to think in terms of this ethnical and national concept, the Mexican-American is a well defined social group whose ethos and cultural pattern differ very little from Texas to California.

We must realize that the Mexican-American is a reality. Some families have been in what has since become the United States for more than four centuries. Unfortunately, in many parts of the Southwest, the Mexican-American is still not considered a full-fledged citizen. By comparison, the foreign immigrant from Northern European countries came to be referred to as American within one or two generations. Texas provides an example of this discrimination. When Texas became a part of the United States, Texans became citizens of the U.S. and were thereafter called Americans. However, Mexican-Texans remained, and still are in everyday language of Texans, Mexican rather than American. Mexican does not properly describe those whose residence North of the Rio Grande predates the existence of both Mexico and the U.S. as nations.

But it is less the geographical inaccuracy of the term Mexican that invites comment than the meaning with which the term is invested. As used and understood in the Southwest, Mexican is a descriptive term and carries

with it an entire complex of moral and physical attributes. It excludes such commonplace notions of Americanism as godliness, cleanliness, sense of justice and fair play. Some may still deny this, but proof that Mexican is used as a disparaging term lies in the fact that it is a description carefully avoided by those who do not at the moment wish to offend.

The term Mexican-American ostensibly bestows a measure of Americanism on the recipient, yet balks at acknowledging unqualified American citizenships. Another alternative used, prompted sometimes by misled notions of tact or kindness--sometimes by irony, is "Spanish". If Mexican is geographically inaccurate, Spanish is even more inaccurate. There are relatively few Spaniards in the U.S., and those who are here, by virtue of education or by virtue of being Europeans, generally move in other circles than the so-called Mexicans. We do not call Canadians "English", nor Brazilians "Portuguese", yet we use "Spanish" in spite of its obvious inaccuracy and in tribute to the evocative power of Mexican. The tragedy is that many Mexicans resort to the same hypocrisy and assent to the stigma of Mexican by their disavowal of it. Tacitly, some Mexicans concur with their detractors, though not always of their own choice as generations of conditioning have convinced them that they are different and inferior, unworthy of sharing the name American.

Popular American usage does not expressly distinguish between the Mexican national and the American born citizen of more or less remote Mexican ancestry. The popular imagination mixes them both into a stereotype that is at once quaint and threatening. Across the length of the U.S., the symbol is that of the Mexican peon, asleep against the wall of his adobe hut or at the foot of the saguaro cactus. At best he only wears sandals. He is lazy and given to putting things off until mañana. This picturesque fellow and his burro adorn the menus and neon signs of restaurants and motels all across the United States. At some point in his life the peon wakes up, takes a swig of tequila, puts on his sombrero, and emigrates to the U.S. by swimming across the Rio Grande. Of course, now he loses his picturesque and harmless ways and becomes sinister--proud and hot-blooded, easily offended, intensely jealous, a drinker and cruel.

The myth of the lazy, jealous, passive, fatalistic Mexican is perpetuated in literature in such books as Tortilla Flat, Rio Grande and The Oregon Trail. In a Treasury of American Folklore, edited by B. A. Bothin, there is the following celebrated peroration, attributed to Judge Roy Bean; "The Law West of the Pecos":

Carlos Robles, you have been tried by twelve true and good men, not men of your peers, but as high above you as heaven is of hell, and they've said you're guilty of rustlin' cattle. Time will pass and seasons will come and go; spring with its waving green grass and heaps of sweet smelling flowers on every hill and in every dale. Then will come sultry summer, with her shimmerin' heat waves in the baked horizon; and fall, with her yeller harvest moon and the hills growing brown and golden under a sinking sun; and finally winter, with its bitin' whinnin' wind and the land will be mantled with snow. But you won't

be here to see any of them, Carlos Robles; not by a damn sight because it's the order of this court that you be took to the nearest tree and hanged by the neck 'till you're dead, dead, dead, you olive colored son-of-a-billy goat.

The prisoner, it is said, did not know a word of English and missed the flavor of Roy Bean's oratory. Only rarely in American literature of the Southwest does one encounter a portrayal of Mexicans that is both sympathetic and unsentimental.

Yet in spite of place names, in spite of architectural and musical influences, in spite of the millions of people who are a living reminder of the past that Spain and Mexico played in forming the character of the Southwest--in spite of all this, the Mexican-American is an alien, unknown in his own land. Our history and culture are either ignored or romanticized. The Mexican is pictured on the one hand as the peon who, hat in hand, holds the reins for the rich rancher in the movies or is the Frito Bandito on T.V. On the other hand, he is the glamorous hidalgo, the ambassador of goodwill for the city of San Diego and a participant in the Rose Bowl Parade. Between the fanciful extremes of the peon and the hidalgo is the ordinary Mexican-American. Probably the most telling observations ever to be printed about the Mexican came from the pages of Newsweek (May 23, 1966): "We're the best kept secret in America."

The secret is kept against considerable odds. There is, for example, the visibility of the Mexican, he is easily identified and, once identified, easily categorized and ignored. In the words of a recent television special report (April 29, 1969), they are the Invisible minority. It is this non-existence within American society that gives the Mexican the "furtive and uneasy look" that Octavio Paz perceived in the Pachucos of Los Angeles in his book El Laberinto de la Soledad. The Mexican-American is neither truly American nor truly Mexican; he is suspended between the two cultures, neither of which claims him. As a result, he withdraws into himself and away from the larger society.

This furtive, secretive air is adopted early in life. Shortly after entering the primary grades, the Mexican child begins to realize that he is different and that this difference is taken by society at large as a sign of inferiority. And it is not only his schoolmates who teach him; frequently the teachers betray an ill-disguised contempt for the schools and neighborhoods in which they work but do not live. Then there are the text books, wherein the youngsters read of the cruelty of the Spaniards towards the Indians, of the Spaniards greed for gold, of the Spanish Inquisition, of Mexican bandits and of the massacre at the Alamo.

The result of this kind of teaching by school and society is that the Mexican youngsters are kept ignorant of the contributions of their forebears made to the so-called winning of the West. At a time when they should be learning pride in their history and in their own particular kind of Americanism, these children are made to feel that they do not rightly participate in the American enterprise, that they are intruders in their own land. Mexican-American children can do well scholastically, but only in schools that not only help them to adjust to Anglo society but also foster pride in their

origin, history, culture and bilingual background. A high school girl from the barrio in East Los Angeles said: "We look for others like ourselves in these history books, for something to be proud of for being a Mexican. All we see in books, magazines, films and T.V. shows are stereotypes of a dark, dirty, smelly man with a tequila bottle in one hand, a dripping taco in the other, a sarape wrapped around him, and a big sombrero".

Mexican-Americans cannot be described according to a simplistic formula, despite the strident assertions made by social scientists. These assertions insist upon the antiquated idea of a beneficial and acceptable bi-polar process of change--beginning at one point and leading all Mexican-Americans in the same direction, like sheep toward the stagnant fatalism of total assimilation and loss of unique creativity. But actual history reveals this formulation to be a grand hoax, not really wanted by dominant society and unacceptable to Mexicans, a blatant lie. Witness the seemingly endless decades of labor conflict initiated by Mexicans and Mexican-Americans.

Conflicts which involved literally tens of thousands of people of Mexican descent and at which one time spread to eight different states in the nation. This conflict was met with massive military counteraction. Social scientists have never asked themselves just why such massive action was necessary in order to deal with a resigned, passive, fatalistic, non-goal oriented people with lax habits and no plans for the future. The concept of the traditional culture as presently used by social scientists must be totally dropped. Instead the concept of the historical culture must be adopted. Unfortunately, many books embracing the former have become the authoritative sources of information about Mexican-Americans for a wide variety of institutional agencies--from schools of medicine, departments of welfare, departments of employment and other governmental agencies. In this way, thousands upon thousands of people, many of them Mexican-Americans themselves, have been indoctrinated with the historically perverted notion that the Mexican-Americans are a historical people who have no history except that of a long siesta.

If Mexican-Americans are not Americans, what are they? What is an American? Regardless of what we call ourselves or are called: Manitos, Hispanos, Mexicans, Espanoles, Spanish-Americans, Mexican-Americans, Latin-Americans, we are Americans. Who is more American? Carlos Garcia whose ancestors came aboard the Santa Maria or Paul Smith whose forebears arrived on the Mayflower? We should have pride of our Hispanic-Mexican background. History predated the arrival of Columbus and the pilgrims. We still need to give full account of the contributions of the Toltecs, Olmecs, Mayan and Aztec civilizations. We should know that the first printing press was established in Mexico City and that the University of Mexico was founded one-hundred years before Harvard University. We are proud of being Americans, we have roots in this continent. Who should be ashamed of this part? If you are ashamed of being what you are then you are ashamed of being a man. The important thing is that you are accepted and respected. This is our fight and our quest.

A poem by Alurista that I believe simply but forcefully says what will be for all of us by the end of the next decade:

Mis ojos hinchados
Flooded with lagrimas

de bronce
melting on the cheek bones
of my concern

razgos indigenos
the scars of history on my face
and the veins of my body that aches

vomito sangre

y lloro liberted

I do not ask for freedom
I am freedom.

Education as an avenue for freedom:

This freedom will come through two avenues. The first is education, and the second is the determination of the young Chicano to get what is rightfully his by skillful, dynamic manipulation of the American System. Most of us here are interested in education so I will aim most of my observations in that direction. But let us never forget that we can not restrict our concerns and activities solely to education. It may be one of the most important avenues, but it needs the support and base of all Chicanos--the 70's must find Mexican-Americans involved in all aspects of the fight for freedom.

I am talking about the freedom of Delano, the freedom of East Los Angeles, the freedom of the Rio Grande Valley, the freedom of Denver, of Kansas City, of Chicago and a hundred other places--rural and urban. This freedom means that Mexican-Americans everywhere must rise up--as our younger ones are already doing--and shout, "Ya Basta, United States! Mexican-Americans repudiate the idea of rehabilitation as a condition for their share of the American Dream. This freedom in the 70's means that you and I must join the young Chicanos and become bold, skilled, tough fighters for the educational and economic opportunities this society says--at least in abstract--are for everybody. This means we must be advocates for a cultural explosion in this society that results in a negative response to the question posed by the National Advisory Committee on Mexican-American Education, "Is only a monolingual, monocultural society acceptable in America?"

The crises in and for education:

Let us through our educational forums make it very clear that any attempt to erase cultural identity through an educational "brainwash" will be rejected by us. That no institutionalized process can make us Anglo. It is imperative that we, as educators, join our young people in getting this point across loud and clear so the United States can begin to fulfill its destiny as a country whose strength lies in its human diversity --as well as its economic diversity.

One of the most common words flung about today is the word, "crisis". I understand that this word refers to danger rather than opportunity. The crisis in education today seems to revolve around two major areas--somewhat related. One is the "youth or student problem". The other is the "minority educational challenge problem." I would like to believe that the crisis in education has provided us with more opportunity than danger.

When I came to Washington a little over two years ago I was told that my main responsibility was to find solutions to the "Mexican-American Problem". Today I find less and less said about the "Mexican-American Problem" and more and more said about the "school's problem". The educational crisis propelled the federal government into an extensive financial assistance program for schools and also created an opportunity for parents from the Black and Brown community to take a long and deep look at their schools. And it gave opportunity for parents and their children--the major clients of the school--to become full fledged partners with educators and school board members in the development of educational goals and practices for the school. We are still a long way from full realization of this opportunity--but the 70's will see us fully achieving this right. This movement is most important--because for most of us, and to a great extent for our children--the schools have been one of exclusion instead of inclusion. This crisis and its accompanying many explosions gives all of us a chance to participate in changes that are imperative if the school is to survive. And let there be no mistake--the schools must change or they will be destroyed.

So the Mexican-American Problem and the Black Problem has now become the school's problem. The crisis here provides opportunity for change--while not seriously endangering the school, if it responds. The "youth or student problem" also provides opportunity more than danger. I spent a whirlwind week last spring touring several communities in the West and Southwest attempting to determine just what the "youth or student problem" really was. I found these major difficulties:

1. Failure to accept the Brown and Black student in the educational community.
2. Students see the university and the educational system as a reject system that is not willing or able to provide educational opportunities for the Brown or Black.
3. Special federal and state programs designed for the high risk student are not functional and cause conflict.
4. Teachers and students are not allowed to participate in determining their future.
5. The news media has developed an inaccurate picture of student-educational authority conflicts which has escalated the crisis.

The picture for the 70's:

We are about to enter the 70's. What is the picture for both of these "crises"? One of the most significant areas of potential gain for the Mexican-American is in the determination of the present administration to

place more of the responsibility of the educational programs directly upon the state and local educational units. And, certainly, this is where it should be. For the Mexican-American in the 70's this will demand the assumption of a more vigorous role in his educational community. And this immediately implies a more vigorous role for the Mexican-American educator. He must be the leader in the development of a guerilla warfare in attitude and behavior change. He must become an expert in the psychology and sociology of human relations. He must teach the community people how to become cultural catalysts for a revolution in dominant cultural complacency. We must all become experts in the politics of human rights and equal educational opportunities. No longer can the Mexican-American educator sit back and wait for others to join him-- he must become the bridge by which others find and use education for power and change.

Militancy in our youth needs our help--not our hesitancy. Dr. Eugene Smoley, a high school principal in Montgomery County, Maryland says:

The activists represent a real challenge educationally by questioning the foundations of the society. They are looking for ways to be helpful, pushing for a way for their actions to have some influence, pressing for more meaningful lives. The movement is a very positive thing, because it can only be compared with the apathy of an earlier time.

The Chicano Youth Movement has raised very eloquently this cry of "Ya Basta!" The profile of Mexican-American education in the 70's contains this vital entity of change--massive and immediate--a change in attitude of the Anglo and the Black toward La Raza. A change that all of us better get with or be trampled. A change that says to our schools, "These are the principles you must follow!"

1. The Mexican-American child can learn. The language barrier or the cultural conflict is a false apology for the failures of the school.
2. The Mexican-American child and his parents have the same high aspirations and expectations as the Anglo and the Black.
3. Language, Spanish for the Mexican-American child, is an effective tool for learning. To destroy his language is to destroy him as a person with identity and self-esteem.
4. Cultural heritage, a rich resource in the Mexican-American child, must be a visible, viable part of his school experiences. Cultural cognizancy must be a continual curriculum entity.
5. Training programs can be established which will enable the teacher and administrator to have confidence that they can be successful with the bilingual, bicultural child.
6. The parents and the community must be involved in the decisions that direct the education of their child--and Mexican-Americans do want to be a part of this process.

All of these principles are predicated on this premise--that the school is a "disadvantaged institution"--not the child. This is the base on which education is a profile for freedom for the Chicano in the 70's. Let's look at this debilitating syndrome that has destroyed so many in the past.

Our schools up to now have been saying they can educate those whose mold fits the curriculum--but not many of us had any hand in that curriculum. You see, if the school--which really means society--talks about "disadvantaged children" this is in essence saying they are inferior and not a great deal can be expected of them. This leads to a self-fulfilling prophecy where children are put into "disadvantaged"--that is--"inferior" programs.

What does this mean for all of us? It means that public education must be prepared to operate an educational environment in which there are "zero" rejects. Educational accountability will be based on what is done for each child. Failures will be unacceptable to the child, to society and to the parents. It means that it is imperative that all of us today join together to see that the school faithfully carries out this new responsibility. It means that we must get across loud and clear that the school has the primary responsibility for fostering a national goal and that the destiny of this nation lies in the strength of its human diversity. This is the profile of education for the Mexican-American in the 70's.

There are three priority areas for immediate attention in producing an educational environment responsive to the challenges and needs of the bilingual, bicultural child. The first is the expansion of early childhood education programs. Headstart programs may have some weaknesses, but for the most part they have been very successful for the Mexican-American. They have enabled the bilingual, bicultural child to establish himself with a positive identity before being tossed abruptly into the mono-lingual, mono-cultural atmosphere of the public school. It has enabled the Mexican-American parent--particularly the mother--to gain some confidence in her ability to associate with and provide guidance to her children. It is critical that the schools provide a pre-school program for the bilingual, bicultural child. And, hopefully, that program should be a year-long one, not just a summer session.

Accompanying the early childhood programs--which really means pre-school, kindergarten and any other readiness program--there must be an educational program in which bilingualism and biculturalism are a central focus. This means that we must have bilingual, bicultural teachers in all of these programs. I recognize the difficulty of obtaining this type of teacher--so it is important that those available be utilized where it is critical in our primary grades. And I want to stress that I am talking about a truly bilingual program--not just English as a Second Language for the Mexican-American youngster. I am also talking about Spanish as a Second Language here in the Southwest for the Anglo and Black youngster. We need right now to have the schools lead the way in the recognition of bilingualism and biculturalism as a national and cultural value for all--not just for the person whose mother tongue is not English. We must have more para-professionals in our schools who reflect the cultural composition of our communities. They can become valuable assets in a bilingual, bicultural program. And let's not get hung up on their credibility as measured by education courses and credentials. We need teachers--Anglo, Black, and

Chicano, along with administrators, who are thoroughly trained in an understanding of the cultural heritage, the traditions, the beliefs of the Mexican-American. We need to get rid of those teachers who "love" our kids --we have had enough of the "patron" syndrome--it isn't love they need--its teaching, learning and accepting. We need to revamp our schools so they are learning environments--not just teaching climates. Note some time in your school how much of the organization and operation is designed to accommodate the professional and secretarial staff--at the expense of the client--the child and his parents.

We need to get with it in the counseling of Mexican-American youngsters-- I still find too many youngsters in vocational programs. Just as we are now uncovering an astounding number of bilingual, bicultural youngsters in our classes for the mentally retarded--and you know and I know they don't belong there. With a dropout rate still exceeding 50% in some of our urban high schools for Mexican-Americans, it is imperative that counselors intensify their efforts to get more students into college bound programs--and stay with them to insure they reach that college campus.

What can the Anglo and Black do to help make this educational goal--really it is a goal that reaches into the "guts" of a society whose racism has surfaced in the past decade--a reality? Obviously, the first step is to become involved beyond the classroom. Secondly, I suggest that you do some intensive reading on La Raza. I suggest, for teachers, three books: 1) Disadvantaged Mexican-American Children and Early Education Experience, obtainable from the Mexican-American Affairs Unit--U.S. Office of Education, 2) a recent publication, Teachers and Counselors for Mexican-American Children, published by the Southwest Educational Development Corporation, Suite 550, Commodore Perry Hotel, Austin, Texas, and 3) a general book on the Mexican-American called La Raza to be released early in January by Harper and Row Company. This latter publication is an excellent description of the Mexican-American (Chicano) movement with a very contemporary setting.

Conclusion:

For my Chicano friends, education profile 70 for the Mexican-American will see the end of pitting Chicano against Chicano--a technique that enables the Anglo-dominated educational society to continue to promote their "interpretations" of what the bilingual, bicultural child should have in the way of an education. We must unite. The profile of education for us in the 70's must be strong, consistent and common. We may have differences, but let us resolve them privately.

Education for the Chicano in the next decade has the highest responsibility to strike a blow at those who profess to use education as a weapon for exclusion. Education must use all its resources to instill in all people the vital fact that the United States is a country united--and the bonds of unity are strengthened by the richness of differences, the linguistic and cultural diversity that makes each individual a sacred entity whose destiny is bound to every other person by our American belief that the worth of the individual is paramount.

I opened with a quotation from a young Mexican-American who made a plea. I want to close with a poem by a young Mexican-American girl who makes a demand--this is Mexican-American education leaving one decade and entering another:

I've heard
Black is beautiful
But
I want you to know
Brown is beautiful
To feel is to be - to live

My feelings are beautiful
Because they're real
Because they're me
And I'm being brave enough
Loving enough
To allow myself to feel
To be myself...to grow

But shit
Who can/will understand
 my frustration
 my pain
Who can I turn to
Who will help me untwist my stomach
My body is screwed with this
 pain..mi grito
 es loud and long

Can't you hear it
That I feel ugly...
To discover after all these years...
That I don't love myself
That all these years I've been looking
At myself, through gavacho eyes
Judging, condemning

Damn, I was a racist
Against myself
I hated myself because of me!!!
No more, white man, no more
Gavacho, Gavacho.....

I'm brown, I'm beautiful
I'm a Chicano
Y sabes que white man, pig,
Educator
No chinges, conmigo mas! !

Por olivia de san diego.

CHAPTER II

THE WAY IS "ANY WAY!"

GWYN JONES-DAVIS

Five or six years ago, when we started talking about more black teachers and black representatives in our schools, we forgot that we had a number of these for many years who had never been models for our children. Black is beautiful--but only when seen in its true cultural context; and for generations now the educated black person has deserted the black people. To look at blackness--to value or define it--by color alone is to see that the language of the American culture allows nothing to be beautiful that is not white.

The fact is that the cultural heritage of every American has been beautiful. It is just that most of us know nothing about any heritage except that of the northern European, who was almost the last to get here. All of our institutions have been founded on the premise that we must use this one heritage as our model. Our bibles, our religions--and especially Christianity--have fostered the notion that this northern European is the only original man and that everybody else is aboriginal, which means something less than a man. And cultures other than this one are referred to as subcultures, meaning something less than a culture.

Consequently, when people talk to me about the opportunity to do something, they mean the opportunity to be like them. But I don't want that opportunity. I have taken the right to be as I am, and I refuse to let anyone take this from me. Appalling? Most Americans think so, and this includes some who look like me but who act like the northern European.

Out of this kind of dilemma, The Way in Minneapolis was started. It was created to fulfill the needs of people who--by their own choice or not--had been left out. It was created to aid the deprived, the disadvantaged, the delinquent. It was created also to aid sociopaths--so close to what the good Christians have always called "sinners" that it's hard to distinguish (except perhaps to say that the church dreamed up one and academia the other).

What is The Way then? The way to get things done, the way to make a better life for everybody. And how? Any Way you can! My own focus happens to be the educational process, because I do not buy what academia teaches. The institution within this society that is educational exists for one purpose alone, and that is to teach the 3 R's; and when it has failed that, it has failed completely.

At the beginning of the school year in 1966, one problem we had at The Way was that our summer programs had become so popular, many young people did not want to return to the public schools. On the other hand, several had been suspended one year prior to that time and were not permitted to return. Others had attended school for one week and had been dismissed for reasons of behavior or tardiness or had been sent to special classes they did not like. Still others had been sent to court or before the school

excuse committee and were not allowed in school until they had been before the court a second time. One child had been expelled in kindergarten and was old enough to be in fourth or fifth grade, but no one knew he was still out; another had been expelled in fourth grade and no one knew he had not come back. Altogether we were confronted with sixty-five children not enrolled in any school.

We submitted a program for educating these children to the public school administration. We met with the superintendent of schools to bring the problem before him. We were told there was no money to aid our project.

This gave us the choice of opening a school for these children, and hoping we would get some money, or of abandoning the idea completely. We chose the former! In September, 1966, The Way educational program was started with no money and sixty-five children registered. Our focus was that a child should be in a learning situation until he is sixteen, which accords with the law, whether he has been suspended from the public schools or not.

In our initial stages we worked with the public schools, finding out a child's grade level and starting from there with the use of school materials. This approach worked fairly well for eight or nine months--what work was done by us we gave to the public school teachers. Unfortunately, a student we returned to the public schools would soon be expelled again for reasons such as tardiness or disobedience.

At the end of the school year 1966 we received funds from OEO (Office of Economic Opportunity) for a summer youth program to enroll three hundred ten children, which stipulated that part of a day be spent in a learning situation. Since we were always plagued by a shortage of teachers, this required that we develop what we called a "chain-gang" technique. In this approach a child at grade level six, for example, would teach a fourth grader who, in turn, would teach a second grader. One certified teacher was overseer of the whole program, which lasted ten weeks. Two hours of each five-hour day were spent in classwork. The children, ranging from eight years old to twenty-two and whose reading abilities ranged from the nursery-school level to eighth or ninth grade, were tested using a nationally standardized test at the beginning of the program. At the end of the ten-week program they were retested--each child had moved up at least two grade levels.

The following September the three hundred ten children returned to public schools, and in December of that same year we tested them again, using the same examination. All had dropped back to where they were before the start of the summer program. Why did this happen when they were spending six hours a day in the public schools and had spent only two with us?

One of the most informative answers for us was that we had used as teachers people who were of the same culture as the children. The same kinds of approaches used in the home with regard to discipline, learning and the way people related to one another were foremost. These lines were not drawn according to color. The American society is divided into a number of cultures which are based, not on color alone, but on world view. The old push to have black people teach black people was not relevant. Rather it was a matter of people who saw one another as human beings, which was

related to the way in which they had been socialized or how they saw their own experience and that of others. We had no educated blacks teaching; they were all whites close to the "hippie" frame of reference or street people themselves; that is, not people who were in the street necessarily, but people who were of the street, which is to say of the value orientation of the street.

We went back to the superintendent of schools, this time to ask not for money but for a certified teacher. We knew who we wanted--a man who had demonstrated his abilities in the summer project. This was Dick Scott, who, in an earlier controversy at Lincoln Junior High School, had been chosen by students in a group that was predominantly black to become the new principal. This choice of Mr. Scott, who is white, was made over two blacks whom the children dismissed as being from "Oatmeal Hill", which is to say of middle class orientation. Mr. Scott, however, was placed in central district administration and one of the two black men was appointed principal.

We demanded that Dick Scott be appointed to The Way School and the superintendent agreed to do this. On December 8, 1968, the superintendent made a public announcement of the opening of The Way Educational Center with a liaison teacher from the public schools, a move that certified the center through the school system. At the same time, the courts began referring young people to us. The secretary at The Way had earlier begun working for the courts as amicus curiae, a friend of the courts, and we had created a program called the "legal complex" to deal with juveniles only. We became an interim school for children who had been suspended or expelled from the public schools or who were having other kinds of problems in that context, and for children who would otherwise have been sent to Glen Lake Reformatory School.

What we have been able to do demonstrates the theory we adhere to, that people who view the world in the same way learn more from one another than they do from outsiders. The Way School ran successfully with no money, with no bus, without even equipment or anything else from the public schools. And it was written up in Education Today as a program out of the Minneapolis school district; this was done by the public schools, which had not given us a quarter but were still getting the credit. The per capita funds for the children in The Way School are still going to the public schools.

In the last year we became more sophisticated. We had already established what the school could do. At the beginning of the term we must have gotten forty calls asking when The Way School would open--from the school excuse committee, from the public schools and from the courts. We did not write a program that would put us into the public schools; if we were to focus on culture we needed to be free to choose our own teachers. And with our "chain-gang" technique and others that we might initiate, we felt that the children should be paid when they are teachers but not paid when they are students. Needless to say, the public schools went into orbit about this; we were becoming a threat.

We were also saying that if a child was on welfare, then the Welfare Department should pay the fee for that child's coming to school; that if he was referred by the court, then the court should pay the fee. If we spend seventy cents out of every dollar in Minnesota for welfare

administration and thirty cents for the woman, then I believe that part of that seventy cents should go to insure a good education for her child. When we met with the Hennepin County Welfare Department, we were told that the department did not pay for education but for treatment. So it will pay a psychiatrist; it will pay a sociologist; it will pay a social worker, but won't pay to insure that a woman's child learns to read and write.

We refer to ourselves now as the "poor man's Blake," Blake being a private school for upperclass boys. In some respects we are not too much different, because the cultural milieu that Blake represents is not that of the public schools.

Our main focus at The Way School is the 3 R's, although we start with the cultural milieu of the child and write a tailor-made curriculum according to his interests. The child selects his own teacher from among the staff and the older students and is permitted to be "free" the first two or three weeks, because "school" has become for him the same as "prison". One thing we have discovered in the two years we have been operating is that most of these children are above average; however, they are not time-oriented in the way the middle class is. They do what they want at the time they want to do it, and we allow for that. One goes to the bathroom when one wants to go to the bathroom and not just at such and such a time. We remember this orientation, requiring first of all that part of the children's time be spent in learning the 3 R's, by whatever means we find workable. This then becomes the teacher's job.

I write the general curriculum and individual teachers add to it or make adjustments as needed. We re-do the curriculum if a child says to us, "Today I like music". If he finds that he doesn't, we discover other avenues and change constantly. Our word in operation is "flexibility". The key is the teacher, and the teacher must be someone the child wants and respects, someone who cares; and he's got his own kind of radar about the latter.

We are talking about two kinds of people in the American society:
1) those who are socialized as part of the group which does the oppressing--we call them the "oppressing" group, which is where the teachers come from generally--that is the good middle class, whether black or white or whatever; and 2) those who are socialized as the oppressed, who may also be black or white or whatever. The middle class, the oppressing group, is socialized for prestige and status. Its people are characterized by the use of their eyes, the emphasis being, "What do I see?" For the oppressed, the issue is survival--physical, mental and emotional--and they are a hearing people. They don't see what you do first; they hear what you say. Then they watch how you act in relation to what you've said. And if you are not truthful, they shut you out.

Another fact about the oppressed child is that he is not play-oriented. Although he learns while he plays, playing is secondary. He does not grow up with Alice-in-Wonderland, with "let's pretend." We try to build a curriculum around the real world that he knows; but in order for a teacher to do this, he must know the real world of the child as well as of himself. Current training for teachers does not make this possible.

Teachers say to an oppressed child, "I'm going to make you into what I am," and the child keeps saying, "I don't want to be like you." How does he show he doesn't want to be like you? He's late for school; he sits and doesn't say anything; he reacts to you according to the way he understands your behavior.

For years oppressed people have been saying, "I don't want to be like middle-class people," but there is a law that says they must go to school, so they go, not wanting to go because school offers nothing for them. For the oppressed there is no need to learn to read or to write, because it has no meaning in his life. Our job then becomes one of developing a meaning to reading and writing. We usually say, "When you're dependent on other people to interpret to you the words they say, or to read to you the words they write, then you remain always oppressed in this sense."

We have found that most of the children do not want to stay at home. One child hasn't been in public school for a year and has a home-bound teacher, but she hasn't missed a day with us. Even when it is thirty below zero they walk; they come, which says to us that we have something to offer. And the one person who is free to walk into the school at any time is the parent, our intention being that parents should have the last word in relation to their children.

If you don't know what oppressed children already know, they won't express it to you, and in order to teach them, you've got to know their world.

The students we serve do not have tunnel vision; they do not think in what has been called "logical terms." To be logical is to say that if I'm going to get over there, the only way I can do it is to go straight this way. And that's a lie. You can get there by going a thousand different ways. The counterpart of that is to say that there's more than one way to kill a cat--he's just as dead at the end.

The children the society calls "problems" we define as extraordinary,-- the ones who have refused to die, who have refused to become robots and who keep fighting back for their own survival. It's either me or you. Headstart is worthless as a program. It has not worked, and it will not work, mainly because Headstart is no more than an outside version of what is already happening in school. It's just another "Let's pretend."

The problem in our society then is not the oppressed but the oppressing-- the middle class. They are the ones who are constantly striving, who have delayed gratification in order to get the careers from which their status flows. They are the sick ones who project that sickness onto others who they feel are beneath them. It is instructive that the middle class defines those people that they see as above them and those people that they see as below them in the same terms: the lazy, immoral, filthy rich and the lazy, immoral, filthy poor. And yet the problem cannot be defined in terms of economics. The problem begins when one's culture is unwanted and denied, that one is among the unwanted, among those that the church calls the depraved and the devil. Those are the people The Way tries to serve.

Nobody has been able to tell us what a delinquent boy is, what a deprived person is, because by the standards of the oppressed, those people who have grown up doing the oppressing are deprived. Their creed and their deed, their ideology and their reality are two different matters. They have grown up on Alice-in-Wonderland, the Brothers Grimm, and the fairy godmother; they have grown up on "let's pretend" and they have grown up on dishonesty.

The ambiguity of the oppressed is such that they cannot be put into little slots. When The Way was just started, we learned that one student will not finish a test on the theory that, "If I don't finish it, they won't know where I am and they can't computerize me." It is a form of self-protection.

The initial success we hoped to have with The Way we have achieved: the school is, and it will be. To the oppressed people, failure is a word that does not exist; one never fails--because again, there is more than one way to kill a cat.

One of the biggest problems we have now is that the Establishment has many ways within many institutions to force its way. We have one child whose welfare worker said, "No, you can't go to The Way School." The fact that the child can read and write now when he couldn't read or write before--the public school said it was not possible for him to do it--has no bearing. The child has been to a psychiatrist and he has taken tranquilizers, three a day. The Welfare Department wants him sent to a YMCA school that hasn't opened yet, and the child has been out of school since the first month of the school year on the premise that he is not educable. We've had him in the interim period. We've taken him off tranquilizers, which were prescribed because he was "hyper-active" - there is no such thing as a hyper-active child who has grown up oppressed; there is no such thing as an emotionally disturbed child who has grown up oppressed. Those terms exist only in the minds of the investigators.

If the psychologist or the psychiatrist or the social worker (and I was a social worker for three years) has any value at all, its within the middle class. The techniques, the methodologies work only there, as is true also of teaching techniques and methodologies. There is no need in any school system for counselors or social workers; these professions serve absolutely no purpose except to provide jobs for the middle class.

If we're going to do anything with teaching, it means we're going to have to change the teachers. In order to change the teachers, we're going to have to change the socialization process that has made teachers what they are. Perhaps one hope all of us have is the "hippies," who are children of the people who have made it in the Establishment and who are also refusing to be put into little slots.

What all aspects of education must do, as we have done at The Way School, is to focus on the children, to say they are our concern. The system must reflect response to the needs of a multi-cultural community. And this will get done. The time will come when the oppressing system will no longer represent only one segment of this society--the segment which is, in fact, most deprived: deprived emotionally, deprived in its human values. And no matter what skin color those people are who buy the

system as it is, they are a part of that which must be destroyed.

We place strong emphasis on a child's culture, on his life as it is, and build reading and writing around this. Whatever he must know--whether it's music, math, geography, history or whatever--we pull together in terms of what he likes. And we find teachers he can relate to according to what he perceives them to be. Then he can begin to learn the 3 R's.

That is what The Way School is about.

CHAPTER III

SELF-DETERMINATION...A MUST FOR MINNESOTA INDIANS, A CULTURALLY ENRICHED PEOPLE

WILL ANTELL

The purpose of this paper is threefold. First, it would be very appropriate to discuss the readiness of the Indian Community to participate in affairs that affect their lives. Secondly, a brief examination will be made of two programs currently in operation and which illustrate a new thrust for Indian education in Minnesota. Finally, several recommendations are made to educational institutions, which provide services to American Indians.

No other group of people have been more misunderstood than the American Indian. It should be noted emphatically that this is not the fault of the Indian. No other group has been studied more; the findings range from depicting him as an uncouth savage to a highly civilized human being. Unfortunately, the conclusions are closer to the former and it is this data which has supported the myths associated with Indians. Programs based upon myths and misunderstanding will not meet the needs of people. It is here where events in Minnesota will be noted to further illustrate what can happen when people whose needs are being met are involved in the process.

First, a myth important to me:

"know then, that when the world was new the Ojibwa had much to learn. Observing their difficulties, Gitche Manitou (The Great Spirit)...in his wisdom, sent them a teacher. . . In those far off times a wise old woman lived among the people, her name was Nokomis, and she was a daughter of the moon . . . she gave birth to a daughter and named her Wenonah. Wenonah gave birth to two sons . . . one departed with her to the land of the Spirits. The grieving old woman (Nokomis) wrapped the living child in soft grass . . . and called it her Nanabozho . . ."

The preceding legend is taken from THE TALES OF NANABOZHO by Dorothy M. Reid.

The Bus-in-as-see, or Crane family, form an important element of the Ojibway tribe. They were numerous on the south shores of Lake Superior. The literal meaning of their totemic name is "Echo-maker", derived from the word Bus-Wa-Wag, "Echo", and pertaining to the loud, clear, and far reaching cry of the crane. They were known for possessing naturally a loud, ringing voice and are the acknowledged orators of the tribe. In former times when different tribes met in council, they acted as interpreters of the wishes of the tribe.

As a descendant of the Ojibway tribe this writer feels compelled to relate very closely with Nanabozho and the Bus-Wa-Wag. It is the intention of the writer to serve both as a teacher and as an interpreter for there has never been a more critical time in the history of this nation for American Indians to be served by educational institutions.

Indians are patient people and one only has to examine the history of this country to arrive at this conclusion. Their patience has been defined in many ways. Seldom was it accurate or complimentary to the first Americans. The simplest way was to say they weren't interested, capable, willing, or responsible when peers from the dominant culture tried to assimilate them into the so-called "melting pot" of this country. The record is clear. This rationale is false and total assimilation has failed the majority of Indian citizens.

It is debatable whether the Indian will continue to remain patient. It is the opinion of this writer that they will not. Recent events throughout this nation gives one the impression that a "New" Indian has emerged on the scene. He intends to be heard and will insist on being the "key" factor in decisions affecting his life. Anger and frustration have given way to commitments and determination among young Indian leaders.

The Indian has always been surrounded by the non-Indian "expert" who planned, developed, implemented and evaluated programs affecting his life. Minnesota Indians, as Indians all over the country, have tolerated sociologists, anthropologists and other "do gooders" who have constantly studied and used them for guinea pigs. The outcome was invariably the same, the Indian gained little if anything, but the "do gooders" received national recognition, advanced degrees and exorbitant consultant fees.

Educational opportunities for Minnesota Indians have been purported to be excellent. It was always assumed such opportunities were there if Indians only would become self-responsible citizens, like everyone else, and pursue those opportunities. This generalization will not hold, however; in fact, educational problems for Indians are much more complex and need sincere and dedicated efforts rather than continued generalizations about the Indian being required to be "responsible".

Selected events in Minnesota revolving around Indian education illustrate why and how Indians are ready, or in the process of getting ready, to lead programs which are providing meaningful services and opportunities to Indian citizens. The Indian has come forth with courage, determination, dedication and dignity to lead the way in solving the difficult problems surrounding him.

Perhaps a written account by William Warren, the Ojibway historian, in the middle of the 19th century in his book, History of the Ojibway Nation, brings out a very significant factor in regard to many of the young Indian leaders of Minnesota. In his explanation of the totems which comprise the Ojibway nation, he states that the No-ka or Bear family are the acknowledged leaders and fighters of the tribe. The brave and unflinching warriors of the Bear clan defended the tribe from the inroads of their numerous and powerful enemies. The Mississippi band of Chippewas are part of the Bear Totem. Many of the "New" Indian leaders in Minnesota belong to the Mississippi Band and originate from the White Earth Indian Reservation in Northern Minnesota. They have indeed become the fighters and dominant force in Indian affairs in this state. The Bellecourts, Deagans, Buckanagas, Goodwins, Sargents, Ecksteins, and Antells hold "key" positions and exert tremendous influence.

The New Indian leadership in Minnesota centers around a number of Indian organizations. Over a period of several months, Indian citizens of Minnesota saw a need to organize a Minnesota Indian Education Committee. A committee was formed with representation coming from all reservations and urban centers of Minnesota. The purpose was to provide service and advice to all educational institutions connected with Indian education.

The Minnesota Indian Education Committee has had tremendous influence over several educational institutions in Minnesota since it organized in late 1968. The Minnesota State Department of Education has utilized the resources of this committee and it is the intention of this paper to discuss two of the projects where this group has assisted the Department in securing federal funds. It is not the intention to relate influence to other sections or institutions, but it can be safely said their impact has been felt.

Critics of the Committee have expressed disappointment with its activities. Non-Indians have a tendency to expect this committee to immediately perform miracles, when it took this nation decades upon decades to cause the existing problems to occur in Indian education. Some "instant" non-Indian experts have observed that this group has patterned itself after attempts of other states to have such a committee. On both accounts, this is obviously unjustified and only represents an attempt to undermine or destroy the assumption that Indians can attain successful results without guidance and input from these "so called" experts.

In November of 1968, several members of the Minnesota Indian Education Committee appeared in Washington, D. C. before officials of the United States Office of Education, Bureau of Indian Affairs, United States Congress and Office of Economic Opportunity to state their views on Indian education in their state. They articulated their views convincingly. It was clearly pointed out what was going on in Minnesota, what their needs were and how they foresaw Indian education in Minnesota. Federal officials were impressed with their assessment of the Indian education picture. Later requests for federal assistance for "Library Institute for Minnesota Indians" and "Opportunities Unlimited for Minnesota Indian, Adult Basic Education" were funded.

The road to receiving federal funds for the two aforementioned projects was not easy. Elements within the Minnesota State Department of Education and the University of Minnesota resisted the efforts to the point where Minnesota almost lost the opportunity to carry out these programs.

The rationale for the Library Institute is sound. Indian citizens feel the media in elementary and secondary schools of Minnesota does nothing but reinforce negative stereotypes of American Indians. The Minnesota Indian Education Committee and other Indian citizens wanted to provide a vehicle whereby schools would make available material which would depict the American Indian in his true perspective. Also, they felt the Librarians needed to be sensitized as to how Indian people felt and hopefully the librarians would evaluate and observe the media from an Indian point of view.

American Indians are very sensitive to curriculum material which constantly depicts them in a negative manner. They want a program providing opportunities for children to learn other and positive aspects of Indian life. To discover the rich and beautiful culture of the Indian would be an

exciting and worthy experience for all children. Perhaps if the dominant society valued friendship, respect, family relationship, nature, natural resources as the Indian did, many national problems would be eliminated. In short, the Library Institute was a beautiful way to respond to the needs and concerns of a certain group of citizens.

Naturally when inference is made as to professional librarians competency, or lack of it, a negative reaction occurs. The Library Science school of the University wished not to participate, and we got little or no encouragement from the Library Unit of the Department of Education.

A meeting was held with Dr. Robert Keller, Dean of the College of Education, at the University of Minnesota. His enthusiasm and encouragement gave us new life. Within a very short time, the College of Education agreed to administer the program.

The next meeting was held with the State Commissioner of Education for Minnesota, Duane Mattheis, and he gave his overwhelming support. In fact, the Commissioner released this writer to serve as the Project Administrator because it seemed such an integral part of the Department's "Family Plan for Indian Education". This writer was loaned to the University of Minnesota without compensation to serve as the director of the project.

This experience demonstrates the importance of commitment on the part of institutions to serve all people. Further, the cooperation between two educational institutions in attacking a problem is an element which should not be overlooked.

The project has four phases. Phase I was the planning and staffing of the Institute; Phase II, five week summer workshop in 1969; Phase III, five three day workshops held intermittently during the school year in various parts of the State; and Phase IV, two week summer workshop for dissemination and evaluation in 1970.

The project is totally administered by Indians and they have been advised by the Minnesota Indian Education Committee. In planning the five week summer workshop, the Committee and administration wanted the librarians to have an opportunity to dialogue with Indians from all walks of life. Professional, lay, mothers, fathers, students, dropouts and tribal leaders of Indian descent participated on a daily basis. At the conclusion of the five week sessions it was the overwhelming consensus of the librarians that this was truly a meaningful education for them.

The library staff didn't want to make any hasty conclusions. The real impact of the Institute would be felt when the librarians returned to their respective schools to become change agents in getting their colleagues to utilize materials relating to Indians in day to day teaching. At this point the staff is confident the librarians have had a relevant and useful institute. School administrators are reporting to the library staff how pleased they are with the work the librarians are doing.

Federal assistance to library institutes are usually for a duration of a few weeks during the summer months. USOE (United States Office of Education) officials raised questions and concern about the project. However, they funded the institute for one year because they were convinced by Indian people

of Minnesota, personnel from the Minnesota State Department of Education and the University of Minnesota that a real service could be provided to public schools and Indian citizens of the State.

After all summer library institutes were completed, USOE requested all project directors to attend a conference in Washington, D. C. The purpose of the conference was to have each director deliver a progress report.

Needless to say, all the professional library science people were surprised at this writer's report. Amazement was the rule rather than the exception. No other college or university utilized administrators from the so called "dis-advantaged" groups of people. And how could people who were not library or media specialists provide the appropriate experiences for its clientele? Not all were convinced, and time alone would provide some answers.

In subsequent months USOE officials reported the "Library Institute for Minnesota Indians" had gained national recognition and received more inquiries than any other project funded. In addition, other institutions conducting library institutes for 1970 requested Indian administrators from this project to serve as consultants to their projects.

Just what does this mean? Very simply it indicates that when an educational institution understands the needs of the people it has an obligation to serve, it can sometimes meet those needs by deviating substantially from traditional or professional standards. In this case they chose clientele who had the expertise to perform this service even though not one of the Indian administrators were trained librarians or had experience in library science. Additionally, the Indian administrators did not have any college or university teaching experience. Therefore, the University placed resources and appropriate personnel at the disposal of the Institute. The relationship that developed in the process has strengthened respect and admiration for each other.

The Indian citizens of Minnesota have gained new bondage with their University. From this experience this institution can address itself to other needs expressed by Indians in the State. It appears a commitment has been extended and received.

Opportunities Unlimited for Minnesota Indians (OUMI) was based on the fact that many Indian citizens of Minnesota do not have a basic education. Drop-out statistics of Minnesota Indians supported this premise, as did the fact Minnesota Indians have not participated in traditional adult basic education programs throughout the State. Permission was granted by USOE to conduct an experimental Indian adult basic education program. This represented an overall plan by USOE to conduct several experimental projects throughout the nation for diversified groups of people.

Although funding can only be assured for one year at a time, the overall program is designed for a maximum of four years. At the conclusion of federal assistance, the program should have demonstrated methods and techniques used to reach a segment of the population not reached previously. This should provide an opportunity to phase in the successful portions of the program into regular adult basic education programs.

Besides the regular adult basic education programs in existence, other institutions have attempted programs for Indian citizens to participate in. The BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs) offered opportunities on several reservations in Minnesota but cannot offer substantial data to show success. OEO (Office of Economic Opportunity) through Indian CAP (Community Action Programs) have conducted adult education courses on several reservations in Minnesota. For this latter program Indian citizens were paid a stipend if they would participate. There were no substantial gains, and in both cases the adult education programs were eliminated.

OUMI faced a serious challenge in light of past performances by other agencies. Perhaps a brief review of organizational structure, staffing and program content can be examined to illustrate what has happened during the last several months.

The State Department of Education and the State Board of Education have initiated several programs designed to meet the needs of Indian citizens throughout the state under the title of "Family Plan for Indian Education in Minnesota". OUMI represents a vital component in this plan. The key to the program thus far has been the fact that three-fourths of the working personnel are Indians which number around forty-five. The project administrator, coordinator and all three center directors are of Indian descent. Indian advice is rarely sought by many service organizations, accounting for traditional poor relationships between these groups. In this case, the program was staffed with personnel who can relate well because of their own personal experiences and ability to associate with people of Indian descent. This is a vital element which most organizations overlook. Great emphasis must be placed on this factor. The writer serves as project administrator and is assisted by a coordinator who operates out of the Indian Education Section of the State Department of Education. Three directors assist and are located in Minneapolis, Duluth and Bemidji.

A center to serve Minneapolis Indians operates on the south side of Minneapolis with satellite operations scattered in Indian population areas. A center to serve Red Lake, White Earth and Leech Lake Reservations operates out of Bemidji and a Duluth office serves Nett Lake, Grand Portage, Mille Lacs, Fond du Lac and the greater Duluth area.

These centers take program content to each reservation rather than to offer courses in centers requiring participants to travel long distances. This attracted people who could not otherwise participate. Participants also have an opportunity to determine what courses are offered, and center directors must be ready to immediately make the necessary changes. Students feel very much a part of the program and attendance has been excellent in all centers.

Besides providing basic education opportunities, many other courses are offered. All centers do not offer the same classes because students obviously express different interests. Consumer education, home management, law enforcement, clerical, driver education courses are offered at each center with varied success.

All centers offer courses in Indian History and Culture. Indians have insisted on this and it remains one of the most popular sessions. Great concern has been expressed due to the lack of knowledge about their rich and beautiful heritage.

Another component which is well attended is called "Responsibilities of Indian Parents and the Public Schools". This course is designed to assist both the Indians and the schools in understanding each other. Many of the problems Indian youth encounter in the schools can be traced to misunderstanding on the part of both the school and Indian parents. There are many who are convinced that these two institutions have lost respect and confidence in each other. Hopefully by bringing them together on an informal basis, greater understanding will occur and what has been lost can be regained. School districts have been pleased with this component and several incidents in various communities indicate better relationships have already begun to exist.

Cooperation between the State Department of Education, local school districts and USOE officials has helped to solve another "need" of Minnesota Indians. Again, combined efforts between institutions should be an element not to be overlooked. It takes courage to deviate from traditional programs. Failure to serve American Indians is a known fact, especially by educational institutions. Success is not eminent; however, if those in positions of authority will not experiment, the Indian will continue to be "tuned out".

The following are several recommendations to educational institutions which provide services to American Indians:

1. Employ Indians in administrative positions, especially in programs involving Indian people. (Do not let professional expertise or degrees place restrictions on filling positions.)
2. Indians MUST be involved in planning, developing, administering and evaluating programs designed to meet their needs.
3. An element not to be overlooked is cooperation between institutions regarding suitable programs for Indians.
4. Institutions should utilize Indian Advisory Groups so that the needs of Indian citizens are completely understood.
5. Provide opportunities for Indians in locations which will not be a hardship if they choose to attend.
6. The American Indian and his relationship to various levels of government is very complex. Factors related to this should be understood and plans drawn accordingly.
7. Institutions should be knowledgeable about all the resources available to facilitate programs for American Indians.

The readiness of the Indians, programs in operation and institutional commitment in Minnesota offers promise and encouragement. However, many segments of the Indian population needs are not being met and continuous efforts must be solicited. This offers challenging opportunities to those in positions where decisions are made. Self-responsibility is a desirable outcome for Minnesota Indians. If this is truly a major goal then self-determination by a culturally enriched people must be adhered to.

Part II
Non-Establishment Programs

CHAPTER IV

GET UP--AND DO IT

PETER BRIGGS

Now, let's see. What was the name of that guy who wrote that comprehensive manual on how to convert starving migrants into someone like you and me?

Was it Dr. Robert Coles? No. He wrote the pamphlet, "The Migrant Farmer," published back in 1965. It described the migrants and analyzed their condition and its causes.

Maybe it was the new book, what was it? Oh yes, "Still Hungry in America." Coles again. Four years later.

"Still Hungry In America?"

Naturally. Four years after Coles' probing findings were published, he found that virtually nothing had been done and in America millions of people were still undernourished, diseased and hopeless.

And, if you're still trying to think of the name of that guy who wrote the all-inclusive manual on how to cure the plight of the poor, forget it. There isn't one. The only manual is "Trial and Error"--that's the one that works. And, that's why we're here today. To spread around a few of our failures. And to show the people concerned that the failures lead to successes. And success can only lead to more success.

The only "concerned" Americans are those who are doing something about the problems of the poor. Then there are others.

Dr. Coles describes them:

Perhaps we need intricate theories because as a nation we have so far refused to do anything 'about' or 'for' such people; because we--the comfortable, well-educated, high-minded, sincere, and avowedly generous member of America's middle class--have said so often that something, anything should be done, only to find out how weak we are (politically) for all the money and position we have; because the plain blunt horror of what exists and what ought to be changed (and in America can be changed) makes our clever minds first ashamed, then challenged--yes, challenged to invent all sorts of face-saving camouflages, wordy and abstract formulations that make the awful and the dishonest seem by rights here to stay, out of some irremediable or terribly 'complicated' or slow-changing 'political reality' or 'social phenomenon.'

And, he goes on: "It is one of the attributes of the human mind that it can brilliantly and convincingly shut out those millions of men, women and children by discussing and analyzing them to death."

Send a senate sub-committee here; a team of doctors there; a university specialist another place, and on and on and on, ad nauseum. To do what? To study these people to death.

Studies don't put food in peoples' stomachs. Nor do they deliver babies, or give shots, or put roofs over peoples' heads, or chase away vermin, or put toilets in houses, or running water or find jobs for people, or train them for jobs or get their children back into school.

Studies don't do anything that hasn't been done before. What America has to do, and now, is do something that hasn't been done before. In two words: Eliminate Poverty.

Wars seem to be a fascination of man. Why then, doesn't man become fascinated by the so called "War on Poverty?" Granted, some people are doing something about it. But, then there are others who, as the cliché goes, are "all talk, no action."

Then, there are the "Band-Aid" people. One VISTA volunteer said of his own program: It's "just like putting on a Band-Aid when the patient is real bad sick, and needs a lot of surgery."

And then there are the "concerned" Americans such as a school superintendent in the South who said:

I can tell you as superintendent that out there off the roads and especially near the fields a lot of them just don't have the desire to learn, and we're not set up to go seeking them out. I don't believe that they're really suited for school -- and our nigra teachers feel that even more strongly than I do. The principal of our nigra school calls them 'primitives'... To be honest, I just don't think they got what it takes. I mean, they're not endowed the way we are.

Oh?

In South Florida, where at any time there may be as many as 100,000 migrant farm laborers and their families, workers of CAMP (Community Action Migrant Program) know differently. This year, one of our "clients" has been accepted at MIT. Another graduated from one of our programs and now makes \$1,000 a month. Over 200 of our clients have been placed in college and all of them received financial aid from the schools. And that, in less than a year.

There are some of our successes. There are some failures, too.

Who are our clients?

They're black, white and brown. Their average family income is about \$1,000 a year. They're either migratory or seasonal farm laborers, or once were. Few can vote. Few can get unemployment compensation. None can get workmen's compensation. Not many are educated beyond the eighth grade.

For the record, 63.8 percent of our clients are female. Twenty-four percent are under 20 years old. The 20-29 age level accounts for 39.9 percent. Twenty percent are 30 to 39 years old. Between 40 and 49 are 10.5 percent and 4.9 percent are 50 or older.

Black persons represent 87 percent of our clients while Puerto Ricans account for 2.66 percent; Mexican-Americans, 3.52; Indian, .02 and Caucasian, 7.025 percent.

The average grade completed is 8.5; the average family size is 5.16. The average wage before CAMP's placement on a job was \$37.86 a week; after placement, \$68.64.

Who are our clients?

They're people, like you and me.

But as a reporter for a West Palm Beach, Florida, newspaper wrote: "They're the unwanted people, except at harvest time."

With CAMP, it's "harvest time" 365 days a year. Our crop is people. But unlike farmers, we can't leave the rotten tomatoes lying around the field, or not pick the wormy ears of corn.

We have to be different. Have to try innovative ways. Have to fail sometimes.

Earlier this year, when cold weather severely damaged crops in South Florida and thereby severely limited jobs available to our people, one of the local "Band-Aid" groups that likes to think it has all the answers to migrant problems (but does nothing about them) declared a "limited emergency." One of our staff members, who sits as a member of the group, was the only one who didn't vote yes. The chief "Band-Aid" applicator asked why.

"Hell," the CAMP man replied, "when you work with these people 365 days a year, like we do, every day is an emergency!"

Later the local do-gooders scraped together some blankets, leftover clothes, a few cans of food and said they were prepared to cope with the emergency. One nice little old lady even offered to donate some day-old pastry.

At CAMP, we employ about one hundred persons. Some naturally are clerical and secretarial. But most of them work directly with our people -- and we demand that they work on a person-to-person basis and stay with each case until the job is done. If it means they have to work twelve hours a day, they do it. After all, if their clients can pick beans twelve hours a day, why can't we spend the same amount of time trying to help them?

Florida-based migrants start moving north with the crops in May. "We're going up the road," they say. Some go as far as the apple orchards in Upstate New York or the potato fields of eastern Long Island, in rickety buses or asthmatic cars.

When the crops are harvested up north in October, they return to Florida, the source of the East Coast "migrant stream," to bring in the winter crops.

We know that the migrant will never get out of the migrant stream without education or a job or both. But that's not enough. There are those, and a good many of them, too, who like to pick beans or whatever, who like moving

from field to field, state to state. We have to try to improve their lot also.

There shouldn't be any question in anyone's mind about why we like to get people out of the stream. The need for seasonal farm workers, migrants, is steadily decreasing as mechanization increases. Of course, it can be expected there will always be a need for some farm hands, but not as many. The simple fact of the stream movement is that it leads to poor education for the children who have to move with their parents, and often work in the fields too, instead of going to school. The work is unsteady, poorly paid and very often hazardous to their health. Try being a migrant worker some-day, working in the field when the farmer's plane flies over dousing not only the bugs with insecticide, but the worker as well.

When they get out of the stream they get a chance to live like you and me. If that's desirable.

They can send their children to school 180 days a year. They can live in a house, not a shack. They can eat three meals a day. They can drink water like you and me without having to depend on drinking Coke for their liquid requirements because they are afraid of the polluted water that very often is all that is available for them. They can have their teeth fixed at the dentist. They can have a doctor deliver their baby. They can have a toilet that flushes and water pipes that have water. And maybe an electric washing machine or an electric can opener. Or a frost-free, ice cube-making freezer-topped refrigerator that has fresh meat and vegetables and milk in it. Like you and me.

On paper, there's a simple formula for obtaining this. It's the one we use. In practice it's not simple at all. But we work at it: 1) identify the person as one who needs help. That's easy. There are a lot of them; 2) find out what this person would be best suited for if a job were found for him. We do that with various testing material, interviews, etc; and 3) find an employer, or a school, or a training program that could accept this person. Not so easy. If the job requires a high school education, get the person into a High School Equivalency Program or an Adult Basic Education class.

Now, your client has a job or is in training or in school. Is that enough? Not hardly.

That client undoubtedly has a family. Here's where the social welfare person on the staff comes into play. If they qualify for commodity foods, take them down to the distribution point and get them. If they qualify for welfare support, get that for them too. Or food stamps. or social security assistance. If there are health problems, get them out to the clinic or to the hospital.

Stop there? Not hardly.

There are probably kids in the family. We have a program called METS (Migrant Education Talent Search). Its staff members, working with \$50,000 in HEW (Department of Health, Education and Welfare) funds, have in less than a year placed more than two hundred poverty-line students into colleges and have obtained nearly a quarter-of-a-million dollars in financial aid from the schools. In addition, METS referred a tremendous number of youngsters into HEP classes at a number of centers.

Here lies the heart of what any program should be doing -- the children. It's essential to work with every member of the migrant family. None should be overlooked. But, it's a desperate necessity that we concentrate our efforts where they will do the most good -- children who haven't yet gotten to the point where it's nearly impossible to get out of the migrant stream, children who haven't yet dropped out of school, or been thrown in jail, or lost all their teeth, or who can still recover from serious malnutrition and serious mental malfunctions.

Here is the greatest opportunity. Take a youngster out of the fields; away from all that will place him in the tortured footfalls of his parents. Give him education. Let him see in person what normally he would see only on television -- that there is a decent life available in this country, that there are good jobs available that will enable him to feed his family properly and purchase the so-called "good things" of life including the chance to bring up his own children in an atmosphere that reflects the general plenty of these United States.

Thus, on paper, it's easy to run a successful migrant program that provides upward mobility for many people. But, in the nitty gritty, as all of you know, it's a bit different.

Take, for example, the following report from one of our social service coordinators:

James Smith, age 46, had been ill for sometime and received transportation from CAMP to pick up USDA food, visits to the doctor and to the hospital. He was placed in a nursing home, Shady Rest, on January 28. There he lived until he passed away February 13. There was no insurance for burial. I did issue a food order for the lady who was keeping his two children; she will be getting an AFDC (Aid for Dependent Children) check for these children. They have no mother; she burned to death in a fire...

And another:

Lucille Jones, age 43, lives at Buck Purkett Quarters. She had been certified for food stamps the first of the month with all three of her children in the hospital and three grandchildren to take care of. On February 23 she came into the office and confided that she didn't have the \$30.00 to buy her stamps. The following day carried her to Naples and we talked with Mrs. Griffin at county welfare who had her recertified. She was given \$1.50 which purchased her stamps of \$63.00. The first \$1.50 I donated and the regional staff of CAMP then contributed another \$1.50 to buy soap powder and toilet articles which aren't covered by stamps.

And two brief items from one of our job counselors:

"Housing in this area continues to be the need for the target populations."

"The farming cooperative has been a problem because of the bus which has been giving us trouble. The big problem here is finding jobs in this area for the people, most of whom prefer not to relocate."

We have found at CAMP that we have to do what we have to do with what we have to do it with. We know the problems. We also know solutions to many of them. Most of our aides are hired right out of the fields and thus are intimate with the immediate problems.

We have made important breakthroughs in several long-range areas. Particularly impressive is our relationship with Volkswagen of America and General Motors Corporation.

At Volkswagen we have developed a cooperative mechanic's training program which allows us to determine who are the mechanically-inclined persons -- not really difficult because many of the target population have tinkered with an old abandoned car or have helped out fixing a tractor. A person is put through various testing programs and then lined up with a Volkswagen dealer where he works for a month. If both are satisfied that this person will work out, he is sent to Jacksonville for mechanics training. We provide the transportation. CAMP and the dealer share board and room costs and we provide a trained counselor in Jacksonville to help in any way. Volkswagen is openly pleased at the program because they, like many employers in business and industry, are having trouble getting trained personnel and they have found that the dropout rate among CAMP-referred clients is less than that of the general population.

General Motors has a similar training program that we initiated. Significantly, Volkswagen and General Motors have taken our Florida plan and put it to use in other parts of the country. These are our large-scale programs.

We recently began placing clients in an assembly line program with ITT (International Telephone and Telegraph) in West Palm Beach, Florida. They too were carefully screened by our personnel and the program is working well. So well, in fact, that ITT's New York public relations staff visited several months ago to take films and still pictures for promotional purposes. The group is organizing into its own cooperative, mainly to obtain a vehicle to take them the forty miles to work each day. Similar programs are also underway with RCA, Pratt-Whitney, IBM and many other companies, large and small.

Perhaps of major importance is that in all instances, entry levels have been lowered for clients and in almost every case, our clients are succeeding.

We are also working with the various sheriff's departments throughout the state in an attempt to place minority people as deputies. We have had success in one county and foresee success in others. Here, though, entry requirements are stiff and law enforcement officials hesitate to bend their rules that successful applicants can not have a police record.

We have demonstrated that it is possible to get jobs, training programs, etc., for our clients. But two major problems remain: transportation and housing. The target population usually lives some distance from the urban area where non-farm jobs are available. Rarely do they have cars and even more rarely is public transportation available. Thus it is not only an

imposition, but a near impossibility for a person to get to work on a daily basis if he lives more than walking distance away. We provide what assistance we can and often our staff members use their own cars to provide transportation. We have a limited amount of CAMP vehicles which are used to their fullest -- 30,000 to 50,000 miles a year. We are now preparing a grant proposal which would provide vehicles and drivers and would be a tremendous help. But, we also are working throughout our target area trying to convince public officials that public transportation is a necessity. Of course, one may argue: If they can't get transportation, let them move into the city where the job is. That's easy to say. If it were possible, there's no certainty that it would be the proper step. The average American doesn't particularly like being uprooted from his environs. And to the unaverage American, of a different culture, it's even a more serious proposition. Ghettos are too often the only place they can relocate if they do move into the urban setting.

Housing is perhaps the worst situation that exists in South Florida. The fact is that housing doesn't exist, at least in the quantity or quality necessary or desirable. Through CAMP's leadership, construction is underway on a 470-unit farm workers community development on the Gold Coast of Florida in Ft. Myers. Here the migrant and seasonal farm workers will find, at costs geared to their incomes, comfortable housing, food and recreation areas, health facilities, shopping areas and anything else that would make a person consider a place a home.

We threw in some "seed money" which we will get back. As a result, the farm laborer received what will eventually be a \$15 million package that would set a precedent for America. It took months and months of negotiations with local, state and federal officials who had to be convinced that we were going in the right direction.

To be quite candid, local officials saw the potential of development money because the development corporation handling the "turn-key" project had obtained commitments from major firms to locate in an industrial center adjacent to the community. This will bring money and jobs to the area; not only for our people but for the rest of the community. In addition, the site's location is near several schools, including a vocational center that will be an ideal source of trained workers and will enable our clients to receive training right near their homes.

We have also had success obtaining federal money to rehabilitate existing and smaller projects in Pompano Beach and Hollywood, Florida. A continuous effort is underway to obtain more. Local officials seem to be content to condemn and destroy housing but then do nothing about replacing it. As a result, migrant workers still live in abandoned cars or find a roof over their heads in a palmetto bush along the canals.

Other areas in which we are working are elimination of the crew leader -- long a source of deprivation to the migrant. Also we try to encourage year-round farming in Florida, which can be done -- thus cutting down on migration which is the root source of these peoples' problems.

We don't claim to know everything. We don't claim that we can do everything. We aren't so naive as to think that we are the sole authority on the plight of the migrant in South Florida. Thus we rely heavily on the support and assistance of every agency that in any way can do anything, no matter

how limited, to help our clients. Much of our time is taken up referring our people to other agencies and accepting their referrals to us. Close cooperation with others is essential in doing the most with what is available.

What is important is that "concerned America" get off its collective rear ends and stand up and do something. We're doing something. There's no reason why others can't also. If something fails, that's no reason to throw up your hands and say: "You can't do nothing for those dumb migrants." Quite obviously, you can.

CHAPTER V
KNOCKING THE SYSTEM FROM WITHIN
OR
THE SCOPE OF SCHOOL #364 - SPECIAL SERVICES

SISTER GIOVANNI

Firstly, I speak only from my foxhole. I speak for no one else! It's tough to stay alive in the face of the system for anyone who dares to be different. And I pride myself on being different. I intend to stay that way.

I represent a project, GAP (Guadelope Area Project), and that's what we intend to do -- fill the gaps and when the gaps are filled, get out.

I would like to give you a short rundown of what we intend to do, but you've got to remember this: the reason we succeed is because great people help us and, more importantly, that we can succeed because the people we work with and for are great. I do not speak for the entire GAP community -- we have as many different levels as there are different levels in the dominant society. I don't think anybody can be a speaker for any community. I'm talking from and about my project, as I see it.

GAP began about seven years ago. I won't go into the history of thirty years ago when we dragged the Mexicans up here from Texas and Mexico to take care of our soybean and beet fields. You watch us Anglos - the dominant Americans - we do it every time -- every time we want dirty work to be done, we know who to invite -- the poor from some place else. Then we don't give them enough money to get back to Mexico or Texas, or where else they came from, and then we invite them to live on any riverside where the scenery is beautiful but where the floods hit every spring. I think it's important for you to know that the poor migrants who have "settled out" in St. Paul, Minnesota have paid taxes on a flood wall every single year they have lived here but the flood wall was not built until after they were forcibly moved out. Don't you dare listen to anybody tell you that poor people welch on taxpayers' money! Who do you think pays taxes in our area? Why the system has me, a nun, paying taxes -- sales tax!

Young people have to get a decent education--to get some of the peculiar laws off the books. You know what the laws say? --if you displace a person from a substandard home, you have to have a comparable house in which to put him. My kids are supposed to be stupid and they can see the ridiculousness of that law. There were four displacements from the old west side where the port authorities had placed us with little humanity. Then they displaced hundreds of people by putting in a bridge. Couldn't the system have put in that bridge where there were no people? No! It would have cost too much to fill in the ditches and lower the hills--it cost too much to move sand but people were moved with impunity.

We have no recreational facilities in our area so the city built us a park, big deal--half a neighborhood house and a swimming pool! After the

construction was completed, the city said they couldn't staff it because the city was bankrupt. We volunteered our neighborhood people to staff it, but the city wouldn't allow this because our people were not city employees, nor could they become city employees because they were too "stupid" to pass the civil service exam.

We started a summer project to teach seventh and eighth graders seven years ago when I first got there. The kids were getting D's and F's out of the system schools and couldn't care less. How do you stimulate a fellow to get rid of his D's and F's? I didn't know of any way except sports, so we instituted a sports program. They couldn't play with D's and F's on system report cards. They found that not only could they play good basketball but that they also could study at GAP.

We started a scholarship fund; with mooching--cake sales and this sort of thing--we sent kids to Catholic schools. I thought I'd send them to Catholic schools so I could breathe down the necks of the teachers better. I have since found out that you can do it in either system.

We helped ten kids that first year. Of the ten kids we helped the first year, eight went on either to the University, junior colleges or Mankato State. The next year of the ten we helped, eight continued on.

We don't twist our kid's arms to continue their studies past high school. I'm eminently proud of that scholarship fund. And still some agencies say we can't do anything because we don't have any money! Do you know how much money we put on the spot from my little agency? With private money, \$12,700. But this is a personal loan to the kids; they're paying it back to me.

Is our program a success? You bet it is. The kids we first helped are sophomores in college now. But our youngsters are so loving and humble, too humble; they get lost in the crowd. Unless you've got a dedicated teacher, which we don't have in all our schools, then the kids are lost. One of the kids who came to this University flunked his courses because he didn't receive any supportive help; he was lost in the crowd. And don't tell me it's too big to find the kid! Do something about it!

When the summer project of seven years ago was so successful, my mother superior suggested I get on the anti-poverty program. For thirty years I taught about the government, and I was pretty patriotic--until I began to work with it. Yikes! Did you ever try to write a government proposal? Do you know that you have to figure out how many brushes you need for art classes, how many jars of green or red paint? How would I know? I didn't even know how many I was going to have in the class; but because I needed their money, I did it. We got \$9,000.00 for the first project.

The first project was so successful that adults came and asked for courses. We wrote another proposal. Uncle Sam said he didn't have enough money. I believed him. We went on our own.

Sixteen weeks, sixty-two classes, one hundred-five adults. Success. We got so much publicity from the newspapers, television and the radio that we were invited to continue with the federal aid of OEO for Year A. After Year A, as funding was for only a year, there was not enough money for us, we were told, so I went to Washington to inquire. After extensive inquiry OEO gave us money

for Year B, more than we had asked, but I believe this was hush money. At the end of Year B, I was sick and tired of this kind of game. The record keeping got me. If a sixteen year old walks into my house, I don't care if he's white or black or brown or polka-dotted; but the government stipulates that you indicate his color in fourplicate, if you please. I'm a people-person, not a paper-person. I'm an educator, an organizer and a dreamer of dreams. I am not a writer of records for bureaucrats.

My order released me from teaching and bought me a house; they knew that I would miss the payments to the bank and they'd rather have me miss the payments to them. We open the house from 9:30 in the morning to 10:00 at night. Now it is possible to operate later if somebody's around and they usually are. I used to say that we were under O.E.O; now I'm under G.O.D. and it's a heck of a lot better. I don't really worry about money. If the Lord wants this program to succeed, He's got to see that I've got the wear-with-all to work it. Our house is often called the "miracle house". People think it's weird the way our prayers get answered. It is not weird; God is still around taking care of his poor.

We work with jobs--many of our people are not so much unemployed as underemployed. And I don't know which is more frustrating. A man I know works at Armour's and can't possibly get away because of economic pressures, and he's only eighteen hours away from getting his CPA. I know engineers working in assembly lines, but they can't get out. My job then, is to help these people to a perspective to anticipate better jobs which they want, and not which dominant society thinks are better for them. Secondly, we teach people to "rough up" agencies paid to get them jobs but which don't, as often as not.

Then there are the housing authorities--great white gods who tell us what kind of houses to build. Come down to our neighborhood and see the glorified turkey boxes they gave us. Years ago Father Ward went to the City Hall to plead that if they're going to put low rent housing in our neighborhood, they should put individual housing scattered throughout the neighborhood. What do they give us? Three blocks of project houses, in their lingo known as "Congress Street" homes. Who are they trying to kid? There are four families in each unit; the dividing walls are not accoustically treated so what happens in any one family is known by the other three. And remember that one-third of those families are fatherless with lots of kids. Housing authorities dare to ask us if we have problems! No place for teenagers to go; no playground for kids to play in. Housing authorities make problems when they are supposed to be planning a city without problems.

We take care of emergencies at my house, emergencies arising after agency people have gone home. Who says that your problems are supposed to hapen between 8:30 a.m. and 4:30 p.m.?

For all of St. Paul some 11.26% of the people are reported to have less than eighth grade education; for the GAP community, essentially a Chicano barrio, 50% of the people have less than an eighth grade education. Put yourself in that position, remembering that this is 1970, and think what kind of a job you could get or hold down. A psychological killing results so thoroughly that our people will not go down to Mechanics and write an employment exam, the GED. This is complicated by the charge of \$15.00. The State Department of

Education for Minnesota insists they need the \$15.00 to administer the test but I can give the same test and I can correct it without it costing me or anyone else a cent, except what I have to pay for the paper. The best I can do now is to prepare them so they won't waste the \$15.00; I tell these people to come to me before taking the GED test. They are given the Stanford Adult Achievement, which tests eight areas approximate to those found in the GED. If they're weak in any area, a tutor is assigned to work on that weakness and then the student goes to take the GED test. We send the winners down and work with the others until they become winners.

Our program grew due to needs. Last year we discovered approximately thirty of our people a year dropped out from our local high school and not one thing had been done about it by the public schools. I went to six people in the State Department of Education before one bureaucrat was reached to ask him if we could take these kids off the streets and educate them in a way more meaningful to them. They agreed to let us take the kids off the streets, that's a gray hair off of their head, but still won't give credit leading to a high school diploma because we didn't have an accredited roof. That's the rub. So we joined the system. I think the state is sorry now for the day they designated the GAP program "School #364-Special Services" in the public school system. I got a letter the other day saying ours is the only school in the public system which does not cooperate. Isn't that a dirty shame! It is important, I think, to stay in the establishment; knock it from within the inside--change a few things. We're changing a few things.

To date, there are twenty-one dropouts in the GAP school; most of them are still on probation or on parole. They are doing well with us. Some were on fourth grade level readings but were 16 and 17 years old. How can you succeed if you can't read? So we teach them how to read, how to do their basic math and spelling. Then the sky is the limit--they go on to programs such as a history seminar, French, Spanish, astronomy, archaeology, beginning and advanced typing.

An important aspect of GAP is that we do almost all the teaching on a one-to-one basis. We don't need 500 in a class, not even ten or fifteen. If you want a class, you say so and I'll get you a teacher: I take my hat off to the young people from the various colleges and the University who have come in and helped us as teachers, aides and tutors. We couldn't get along without these young people. They're dedicated and really great. My gripe is that there are not enough of them. There are too many who sit around and think that they ought to, but don't. It requires a commitment to people and a project rather than to a paycheck. Last quarter there were eighty-five on the staff. People from the area who work for us were paid but those from outside the area were accepted only on a volunteer basis.

There was, additionally, a need to build a live-in for teenage girls. Our teenagers have the "normal" teenage problems plus the additional problem of culture. For example, if the dad and mother were down in Mexico or Texas, they would tell the kids, "You do this, period", and they'd do it. But now they're in Minnesota, and the kids are getting educated in our American schools and feel they don't have to act that way--to automatically obey. Through no fault of their own--and don't you blame the parents--the parents can't handle their kids. So what's the pattern? Our girls run away from home and then they bed down with any Tom, Dick or Harry and they've got more problems. What was needed for them was a live-in so they could come,

stay at the GAP house, which is also my home, where they would be safe until "over the hump" and then go on back to mingle with school and home in the mainstream and not with the rat race.

Housing authorities and others told me that it would take two years to build a house with the school and live-in as part of it. I couldn't accept that. Kids were hanging from the lights, and I had to do something. So an addition to my house was built, and it's beautiful. One advantage of building it as a special project school was it was no longer judged a house. This meant it was not necessary to follow the housing codes. As it was not a regular school, it was not necessary to follow the school codes. We called it a cultural community center, and there are no codes for that!

So I got the space so badly needed including heat and lights plus ceilings, walls, two lavatories, nine glorious rooms all painted different colors (the teenagers did all the painting) and with rugs on all the floors. It is necessary now to shove the kids out at 9:00 -9:30 at night because they don't want to leave--the building is theirs. But where do they go when I have to shove them out? It really bugs me. I've been tempted again and again to get a few rollaway beds.

In order to pay the construction company there was a loan taken which had to be repaid in 120 days--\$30,000.00. The \$30,000.00 was due yesterday, and for two months I'd been running around asking people to please help me, to please pray--pray that people who've got the money would soften up. It appeared I was asking for a major miracle, but I wanted it to happen very badly since the girls needed a house. I also wanted to prove that God still is around, that prayer still is important. Do you know what! The money came last Saturday. Isn't that great? I was nearly out of commission with limpness on Saturday. I knew that it was going to come, but when it came, WOW!

Now we have all kinds of people coming to our Community Cultural Center for community meetings--it's open to everybody and our building crew has branched out. Somebody wanted to do us a favor and leased us a shop on the mall at Signal Hills for \$1.00 a year. We're building a Mexican shop in it and only Mexicans are going to work in it. This will take into the larger community the people I meet everyday. The shop is being built by our own boys. We're calling it the Little Store, La Candita. Our own people make the items to be sold from the shop and not one of them has been paid so far. They're all doing it on a gamble. When we sell the stuff, the people will be paid. Our latest product to be developed is our own taco sauce. If the shop is a success, plans are for a corporation of neighborhood people to take it over.

At the "Special School" not one cent is charged for any class taught, but the student has to pay back to the program. The best way to pay back has become to teach what has been learned to somebody else. At least one third of the teachers are people from the GAP neighborhood.

Some people ask if this project is a success. Let me give you an example. One of the greatest things to happen in the last few days concerned a fellow who is a dropout from high school. I asked his mother why he was not in public school. "He's bored," she said and she couldn't punish him for that because he got A's and B's. I get bored, too, with the way some people teach some of the classes you have to take. So I asked him to come into the

house and teach for me. Do you know what? He comes and teaches three kids basic math. I started him out with only three classes half an hour apiece. I didn't offer to pay him a thing, but next Friday's a payday and I'm going to hand him a check. Then, next week I'm going to have him come all day. Some people have asked if I'm going to send him back to high school. Why should I? If I could find a good one, I would.

Our project is great. I think it's great because it helps the people with their problems as they define them. We have very few rules. We roll with the punches. If your problem is severe, we drop everything and take care of you. We have great people working for us but they do not match the greatness of the people for who we work. The philosophy of our house is that you can not teach a man anything; you can only help him to find it within himself.

CHAPTER VI
THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL

PROGRAM FOR THE SIMULTANEOUS ECONOMIC AND
EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL NEW MEXICO

A PROPOSAL BY HELP
(Home Education Livelihood Program)
Alex Mercure, Executive Director

Carolos Atencio

Community School

It is important that educational institutions in a rural area assume a role that generates stability within the rural village entity, rather than contributing to its erosion with a curriculum that promotes out-migration. To this end, schools must cease to serve as sieves by which those "judged" to be fit are further referred to other similar institutions in the ultimate goals of acquiring middle-class orientations--the "new life" by which human fulfillment is so mistakenly judged. The enormous human "residue" left on the wrong side of the sieve is relegated to a life of consistent unemployment, etc., inclusively characteristic of a condition known as human unfulfillment. The economic bleakness of an area is usually paralleled by an educational picture that is equally dismal. To this extent the educational institutions are then prime targets of reform. The following statistics relate one such story.

The educational situation in rural New Mexico is statistically presented as follows. The data comes from three counties--Taos, Mora and Rio Arriba.

Table I shows the median number of school years completed by adults in 1939, 1949, and in 1959.

Table I: Median Number of School Years Completed
By Adults of Both Sexes Over 25 Years of Age
Taos, Mora and Rio Arriba Counties 1939-1959

	1939	1949	1959
Taos	5.3	6.8	8.2
Mora	4.7	5.5	7.3
Rio Arriba	4.6	6.3	8.1

Table II shows the percent of adults completing less than eight years of school in the three counties.

Table II: Adults, 25 Years and Over Completing
8 Years or Less of School. 1939-1959
Taos, Rio Arriba and Mora Counties

	1939	1949	1959
Taos	79%	65%	59%
Mora	86%	73%	73%
Rio Arriba	83%	71%	62%

Both tables say the same thing. The population of these counties was poorly educated in 1939 but even more so in 1959 considering the fact that a minimum requirement for jobs paying decent wages changed in those twenty years to become at least a high school diploma.

More than half of the tri-county population has an elementary education or less. By the standard of the day, after two generations, the picture looks worse.

Tables III and IV show the percentage of 16-17 year old persons and 18-19 year old persons enrolled in school in Mora, Taos, and Rio Arriba counties.

Table III: Percent of Persons 16-17 Years of Age Enrolled in School. Taos, Mora and Rio Arriba Counties. 1939-1959

	1939	1949	1959
Taos	66%	71%	84%
Mora	58%	63%	84%
Rio Arriba	61%	69%	69%

Table IV: Percent of Persons 18-19 Years Of Age Enrolled in School. Taos, Mora and Rio Arriba Counties. 1939-1959

	1939	1949	1959
Taos	26%	24%	56%
Mora	23%	32%	33% (est.)
Rio Arriba	24%	40%	39%

These tables reveal startling statistics inasmuch as these two age groups comprise roughly those in high school and those who have continued their education in some way, either at college or in vocational school. At first glance, the drop-out rate is high: 31 percent in Rio Arriba, 16 percent in Taos and Mora. Particularly striking is the relative lack of change, especially in Rio Arriba County. In terms of the number of students enrolled in classes beyond high school, only Taos County shows any appreciable increase.

The severe economic conditions portrayed in the table which follows underscores the parallel demoralizing aspects that accompany the educational deterioration.

The statistics revealed are certainly dismal. They emphasize the need for change and more importantly, a need for an organization or individual to assume the initiative for changing the situation. The related fact that these 3 counties--Taos, Mora and Rio Arriba--still retain a high concentration of Spanish-American population (71.5 percent) as opposed to the overall statewide figure (28.3 percent), underscores the problem for this particular ethnic group.

The concurrent existence of economic and educational deprivation not only suggests problem linkages but successively solution linkages. The following proposed step in the direction of resolving the socio-economic problems of rural communities utilizes the educational and economic institution of the community in an integrated fashion.

A rural community possesses, in a holistic sense, group characteristics evolving from the continual demands imposed on it in its struggle for survival. Basic, and proportional to the degree of economic success attained, is the group characteristic of community confidence--the extent to which a rural

TABLE V

SELECTED INDICATORS OF SOCIAL CONDITIONS
IN TAOS, RIO ARRIBA
SAN MIGUEL AND MORA COUNTIES

County	A EDUCATION		B HOUSING (Occupied Units)		C WELFARE			D MIGRATORY WORKERS
	MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED (Years)	COMPLETED HIGH SCHOOL OR MORE (%)	STRUCTURES BUILT SINCE 1950 (%)	SOUND STRUCTURES WITH ALL PLUMBING FACILITIES (%)	DPW RECIPIENTS (#)	DPW RECIPIENTS AS % OF STATE DPW POPULATION (%)	COUNTY DPW RECIPIENTS AS % OF STATE DPW POPULATION (%)	# OF COUNTY RESIDENTS WHO MIGRATE ELSEWHERE FOR TEMPORARY EMPLOYMENT (#)
TOAS	8.3	24.9	24.1	29.9	1,125	7.1	5.2	3,800
RIO ARRIBA	8.1	23.2	21.1	25.7	1,398	5.9	6.4	4,200
SAN MIGUEL	8.1	27.3	15.5	40.6	2,040	6.6	9.3	10,000
MORA	7.3	16.7	8.3	16.6				3,000

Sources: (A) & (B) U. S. Bureau of the Census, County and City Data Book, 1962.

(C) New Mexico Department of Public Health, 1967 State Plan for Hospitals and Health Facilities Survey, Construction and Modernization.

(D) Migrant Health Grant Application submitted to H.E.W. by State Health Department.

community views itself as capable of solving its own problems based on a "communal" feeling of self-help and self-worth.

Each community acting as a system depends for its effectiveness on the idea of involvement of the totality of its members. Many times, community development experts, although recognizing the initial intent of community involvement, fail to emphasize the importance of involving the institution that retains a pool of "significant" individuals and subgroups--the enthusiasm of youth of the community and the specialized talents of the local public school teachers.

Community School

The implications stemming from this philosophy hold significant changes for the educational machinery within a rural community. It indicates the need for the evolution from a rural school that clings to the vestiges of a philosophy stressing the preservation of the status quo and promoting out-migration to that of a community school having a philosophy that charges the school with the responsibility of initiating changes so desperately needed for a meaningful development. In this sense, the term community school is used to signify an institution that becomes a tangible force in the task of developing the full potential of the natural resources in the rural village. Very simply, its primary recourse is to minister to the needs of the community. Thus, the practices and principles taught in the school become a functional part of the life of the community. In this manner, the school carries on its educational function in a fashion directly related to community problems which can now be thought of as opportunities to concentrate and develop the hidden potentialities of the community. The utilization of the community school concept in which the community itself is viewed as a laboratory where the solutions to problems discussed are sought, would have as a prime goal the development of the individual's capacity to reflect on his community's environment, ecology, cultural traditions, economic situation, etc. and relate these to the identification of its problems and possible solutions based on a comprehensive view. The plan's impact on the community's economic development and educational situation is mapped out as follows:

Economic Development

A program of education strengthened around the opportunities that exist for the improvement of the efficiency of a land-base economy, can produce immediate beneficial economic results to the total community. Aspects of the curriculum are then geared in tune with their potential input to the development of an economical venture. Rather than allowing the school curriculum to develop a limited number of its human resources for urban involvement and a substantial portion of the remaining for urban decay, the school can assume a role as a community institution that provides a continuous input of new ideas into the economical development of the community. It further provides the needed channels into the actual economical mainstream of the community so that these ideas may germinate and expand from their theoretical nature to their applicability in a setting that is "natural" to them.

Albert Hirschman views the development of rural communities as ". . . not so much on finding optimal combinations for given resources and factors of production as on calling forth and enlisting for development purposes resources and abilities that are hidden, scattered, or badly utilized." The community school can provide the forum from which economic ideas are

collectively applied within the natural environment which spawned them. Thus, consecutively, both the resources and abilities within the community are listed.

Community school activities can be in the related categories with definite linkages among them:

1. Land development program: Much of the richness of the rural areas lies in the attraction and the affinity for the land that the rural resident possesses. It is well that the cities provide the place for an aggregation of human and other resources in order that a vital economy be established, but frequently the urban economy can be eroded as a result of inadequate attention being paid to rural economic development. Even though economics as a science is essentially "hard nosed", it deals not only with figures, but with people who sometimes do not prefer what the economist deems economically desirable. Thus, any development must be geared to the life-style of the native population and the ecology of the land.

The provision of a choice to the rural resident, where as a result of confidence in a rural land development program he can choose between a rural or an urban habitat, is a prime concern of the community school. The activities of the school will insure that before an individual is committed to an academic program that foretells of his coming out-migration, he will have scrutinized other choices of remaining and further will be provided with significant choices. This significance will be measured not only in monetary terms but what this choice means socially and culturally to the individual.

2. Entrepreneurship: A firm hope for a healthy rural economy stems from the notion of local individuals attempting and realizing their potential in developing their own businesses. Their ingrained interest in the survival of the rural community lends itself well to the abolishment of any "exploitiveness" on their part. The chances are thus reduced that outside interests may control the economy of a region to the detriment and misallocation of resources.

Many of these entrepreneurship activities can be initiated in areas from which much of the livelihood of these rural communities stems--range management, forestry, soil conservation, livestock operations, mining, recreation development, etc.

Expressed interest by the youth of the community in such entrepreneur functions will imbue the community with new economic confidence. The community school will attempt to encourage this both technically and financially. It is regrettable that in many cases, while the indigenous population is forced to out-migrate in search of subsistence wages, outside interests take advantage of the rich resources available because of increased technical knowledge, knowledge of legal structures and adequate financial resources. The community school proposes to utilize the specialized talents of the local teaching personnel and with the provision of technical assistance by specialists and financial assistance in order to stem this tide.

3. Optimum utilization of federal, state and local agencies: Federal, state and local agencies have been charged with providing assistance to local residents in their attempts at land development, etc.. Yet, for various

reasons including lack of knowledge on the part of the residents of their programs, limitations within the program itself that precludes resident participation, little advantage is taken of these programs by the indigenous population. Usually these programs wind up helping the big operations usually controlled again by outside interests. Thus, the federal and state agencies contribute to the "colonization" of local resources.

The community school proposes to change this situation by aligning an inter-institutional effort in providing local support for community development.

4. Job resources and career channels: A significant by-product of the other community school activities will be identification of career outlets and job resources open to the young people of the community that will not force them to leave, but enable them to stay and develop what they now possess or hope to acquire. Quite often outside talent is imported by local projects and federal and state governments to staff projects that were originally designed to help develop the area. Yet, this importation fails to initiate and, far less, achieve the potential development of the area's human resources. Skilled personnel are thus imported with the consequent relegation of the rural native to the role of providing menial and seasonal service to the in-migrating technical and professional element. With little foresight the public schools have encouraged this take-over by failing to educate their indigenous students to the potentialities of their native region in terms of career outlets and personal development opportunities. Corrective measures can be instituted by a community school approach largely by involving the youth of the community in the total effort of rural economic development. The increased foresight into the job and career potential of the region based on a comprehensive view of the proposed future can enable the young people to make a knowledgeable choice of future training.

Education

The main impetus contributing to the evolution of the community school concept is quite frankly the negative detachment of public school institutions from a concern for rural development. The constant school-sanctioned exodus of young talent to urban academic indoctrination centers, and the concurrent tolerance of high dropout rates of those not fitting the academic mold render the public school as an extremely vulnerable rural institution as far as the drive toward rural development is concerned. This quest is also an extremely potent force since it has institutionalized resources available that are in key areas affecting rural development. It is conceivable that within the institution, avenues are available that lead to a choice of life-style, and that these choices be based on a comprehensive view of the potential that each life-style has in terms of human fulfillment. It is also necessary that just as the academic curriculum is supported by future expectations based on employment demands from the urban society, so must the rural development choice be bolstered by significant and rewarding rural development programs.

To this end, the community school proposes to attempt both the socio-educational and economic development synonymously. Each will complement the other so that the curriculum of the school becomes a "living" curriculum which the students then use to make their own choices.

Educational theory reveals aspects in need of consideration when dealing with groups not having the culture and life-style of the dominant Anglo culture.

In some cases all-encompassing factors hold special relevance to minority group youngsters and as such hold significance for the community school concept.

The United States Office of Education's Coleman Report polled 645,000 pupils throughout the country and discovered that the secret to learning lay with student attitudes. Attitude toward self, of power to determine one's future influences academic achievement far more than factors of class size, teacher qualifications or conditions of school plants. It includes the fact that of all the variables measured in the survey, the attitude of student interest in school, self-concept and sense of environmental control show the greatest relation to achievement. Furthermore, a pupil's attitude-- "the extent to which an individual feels that he has some control over his destiny"--was not only the most important of the various elements studied, but it appears to have a stronger relationship to achievement than do all the "school" factors together.

The community school concept asserts that a viable environment within which such a process of self-concept enhancement can occur is the community school entity. The sense of security so vital to the education process is directly related to the familiar and to that which is within the grasp of an individual trying to bridge the gap between his philosophical aspirations and his physical situation. Andrew Greeley and Peter Rossi evaluated the effect of Catholic parochial education on the life options of its pupils and learned that they compared favorably, both educationally and in terms of the job market. By a process of elimination the sociologist inferred that the "ghetto" atmosphere of parochial schools generated an ambience of security which helped Catholic students to achieve. In this fashion, the community school can also demonstrate this positive reinforcement, stemming from a strong familiarity with the local culture, traditions and life-styles.

The dynamic demonstration of the utility of the community school concept can have tremendous repercussions among educational circles in the form of curriculum revision, and more importantly, a change to educational philosophies more consistent with the life-styles of the diverse population elements being served.

Methodology

The community school idea of human involvement for the common goal of human betterment constitutes a conceptual base from which a community's educational institution realizes its potential as a community change agent. Its curriculum is thus a "living" curriculum geared to total involvement with a relevance to the community it serves. Rather than viewing education as an end, it views it as the means by which the community enhances its social, economic and cultural development. The problem then remains to organize the community school entity in such a functional manner. The community's needs must be dynamically integrated into a problematical learning situation of the school. The familiarity associated with the local problem renders the problems of transfer from a theoretical viewpoint of the problem to the applicability of the findings as very minute or nonexistent. The consequent relevance of the learning process would not only enhance the applicability, but would also underscore the need for the related literacy skills.

It is envisioned that within the proposal's objectives, a multidisciplinary team would approach the problem of socio-economic rural development with the prime goal of aligning inter-institutional efforts toward the resolution of the various community problems.

A director, with the assistance of a community liaison staff member, will be charged with the responsibility of identifying community needs and of utilizing the laboratory potential of the community school to meet these needs. He would align the needed resources to set up the projects and programs that would be indicated. He would also provide the basic linkage between the school and other community institutions so that unity of purpose is achieved. The utility of the proposed "versatile funds" would allow the community school to initiate the proposed projects. These funds would also be available as a guarantee in order that private funds be attracted into the ventures.

The primary problem will be one of convincing the public school institution of the potential involved in the effort. As such, the community school staff personnel should see to it that they are considered as an inherent part of the school institutional structure. Secondly, similar dialogue must be established with other community institutions in order that the total community realizes the full implications of the program and the need for total community involvement.

Community institutional involvement is tentatively outlined as follows:

Public School Personnel

- a. School Board--these individuals are in a prime position to complement the services of liaison person. Once these people are convinced and involved in the effort, various channels of communication are opened to the community at large.
- b. Public School Personnel--Within this component is one of the primary forces to be utilized in the community school program. This reservoir of untapped talent encompasses the total spectrum ranging from the field of human relations to that of specialized skills such as industrial arts, etc.. At present, their endeavors are largely theoretical and oriented toward preparation for a time when the "real" problem comes along. Thus, their efforts are somewhat frustrating inasmuch as the final "product" is yet to be realized. The community school project can stop this waste of human talent and relegate the staff's efforts toward a familiar, common, and self-rewarding goal.
- c. Public School Students--These individuals can benefit from a "live" learning situation in which the pseudo-learning environment of the classroom is replaced by the opportunity to involve themselves in educational efforts aimed at realizing concrete community objectives. The program will initiate economic, social and cultural endeavors that will attempt to give these youngsters the choice of remaining in a rural area that offers to many a living environment significantly better than the typical urban scene.
- d. Local Industries--Members of the community school can not only learn skills (such as with the local newspaper) but will be encouraged to participate in the entrepreneurial aspects of the living laboratory atmosphere.

- e. Private and Public Health Services--These will relate to the educational and health aspects of the community.
- f. Individual Skilled Artisans or Artists--Not only can these community-skilled people provide information but will be useful in encouraging apprenticeships for whatever craft or art may interest community members.
- g. Cultural Groups--Organizations of a historical, musical or artistic orientation can be involved with the school not only to reinforce the cultural awareness of the community but to broaden its horizons both with respect to local tradition and to the larger society.
- h. Other Community Development Agencies--These can make available extraordinary opportunities for training and entrepreneurship involvement with such things as the cattle feedlots in certain areas, farm cooperatives, etc.

In order to render cohesiveness to the community school effort, developmental projects need to be initiated that will focus and encourage community unity. Such projects need to be quite functional and at the same time serve as a podium from which common problems and aspirations are discussed. It would also extend the community school concept to the total family, stressing the need for total involvement.

Previous Community School Studies

A look at previous efforts in community school programs reveals a series of endeavors by dedicated people. John Dewey, among other noteworthy educators, was intrigued with the idea of a community school to such an extent that he writes in the foreward to the book by Elsie Clapp entitled Community Schools in Action, "Here are cases in which communities develop themselves by means of schools which are centers of their own life."

The community school referred to above was established in a rural community in West Virginia and was thought of as a "socially-functioning school." In this context, the school was primarily viewed as an institution by which the community would enhance its social life. A 1948 study more specifically relating to this proposal, appears in a book entitled A Community School in a Spanish-Speaking Village (published by the University of New Mexico Press) in which the authors, L. S. Tireman and Mary Watson, were concerned with ". . . the curriculum then, as a fixed Procrustean bed to which all must conform has been a lamentable fixture of the common school. Wise teachers have long known that this idea must be changed. The Procrustean bed must be made adjustable to the child. The curriculum must be made to fit the needs of the child."

These authors reason further that a school should be the center of the community, that it should be sensitive to the needs of the community and, in cooperation with the parents, plan a program that will make the best use of all available resources. Such an environment should stimulate pupils to engage in many activities. In reality, they should thus find the school a vital place in which they can happily live.

Even though the Tireman and Watson Study, as with most of the others reviewed, was concerned primarily with the educational impact through the use of the total community as an educational center, the authors did recognize certain interesting aspects of the community school idea. "The intimate relationship between the economic level and the educational level is universally recognized. But we have not realized that rural schools must contribute more than they now do to the solution of the economic problem." The authors further observed that the study at Nabe, New Mexico, suggests that, if the rural schools would give less attention to college preparatory courses and more attention to the problems of the community, children would not drop out in large numbers at an early age and that over-age boys and girls will remain in school if they are environmentally at ease.

Tireman and Watson noted several drawbacks resulting from the five-year program. One was that the five-year time element was insufficient to measure any real community change. "Progress must be measured in generations not years." In addition, the program was geared only to the elementary grade school and thus continuity was not assured through the high school years. The authors further found that some of the eighth-grade pupils upon entering high school had difficulty conforming to the rigid memory-oriented curriculum of the high school and consequently several dropped out. A final point made by the study reveals a question that is certainly indicative of the community today. "Does this situation (the economic-social deterioration of the rural community) exist because of social and economic forces beyond our control or have we bungled the educational program somewhere, and are we now on the wrong road?"

A final note in this review of previous community school experiments is afforded by a look at the Michigan Community School Service Program which was in session from July 1945 to October 1953. Operating with a primary goal of taking all that is known about a community, putting it together in a working program of a community self-improvement, and then observing what happened, they put the community school idea to a test. The experiment eventually realized much success, yet there were inconsistencies in efforts to achieve community improvement through the local community school to the point where, in the second phase of the project, the community improvement program was not developed through the community school at all. A further detailed study of the community school concept may also be found in the Fifty-Second Year Book, Part II, of the National Society for the Study of Education.

Sponsoring Agency

HELP (Home Education Livelihood Program) has for the past five years been involved in providing education, housing and economic programs for the seasonal underemployed migrant farmworkers in the State of New Mexico. Initially, the agency provided for the development of adult basic education, including literacy skills training and prevocational skills training. Community centers were established throughout the state in order to carry out these functions.

Nevertheless, after ten months of operation, the program was judged to be in need of revision. The intent now was not only to provide the training, but to initiate economic development so that the utilization of this training be made possible. Thus, community economic development occurred as a direct outgrowth of adult education. Today, HELP has initiated economic endeavors including such projects as warm-up feedlots for small cattle owners, an apple processing cooperative, a crate factory and a profit-making corporation--Del Sol, Inc.--that has revived the potency of native skills such as rug

weaving, etc. and turned these enterprises into profit-making ventures that will eventually be owned by the people of the community.

HELP has thus taken the necessary steps in evolving educational efforts into community development ventures that constitute a hope for the development of healthy rural economies. A further effort with the potentially effective school institution is certainly logical.

HELP proposes to utilize its existent out-reach mechanisms and staff resources in order to evolve the community school entity. An integration of effort and purpose between the local school district and HELP community centers will be most necessary to the task. Based upon the needs of the total community, the cooperative effort can formulate a program that has no gaps or distinctions based on age levels, aspiration levels or economic levels. It would attempt to bring into play the total community resources in order to resolve the common need. Throughout its existence, HELP has accumulated expertise in its related fields of activity. It is capable of providing technical assistance to the community school program as well as providing outlets for the laboratory-oriented activities of the school.

The aforementioned survey of previous experiments in community school projects reveals basically an idea that is quite consistent with the effort which is suggested in the proposal outlined herein. Yet, in numerous cases, the experiment would not contend with factors that are inherent in this proposal's design. Included are such things as non-rural projects and the fact that the community school idea revolved around exclusive aspects of social community development. Thus, the economic potency of the economy was perhaps not ignored completely but certainly was not emphasized.

HELP believes in the total inter-relationship between the economy and the educational aspects of the rural community. The agency has thus far had initial success in rural economic development. It is one of the few agencies possessing a bright future in this respect. Logically it is, by virtue of its five-year involvement in rural New Mexico, in an extremely favorable position to enhance the economic development of rural communities. Since the beginning of the HELP program, a symbiotic linkage has existed between its educational and economic projects. The project presented in this proposal will extend HELP's commitment to the development of communities to include institutional life as well.

Timing

The program herewith presented is based on an 18-month period. The six month extension of the usual twelve month program period is inherently important to the successful demonstration of the Community School project. Many of the proposed ventures need additional time and the time thus allocated is judged to be proportional to that need. It is to be hoped that, with the termination of the initial 18-month experiment, the local school district would be willing to assume responsibility for the continuation of the school.

CHAPTER VII
FROM BABYSITTING TO CHILD DEVELOPMENT
A LOOK AT THE TAP PROGRAM

LENORA DANIELS

The TAP Day Care Program was started in Bakersfield in April of 1966 with two centers. Since 1966 the TAP Day Care Program has expanded to the communities of Lamont, Delano, Wasco and Livingston. TAP also operates Day Care Centers through delegate agencies in Kettleman City and Planada.

At the beginning of the program, the basic concept was mainly to provide babysitting services for parents who were doing farm labor work and to eliminate the hazards of taking their children to the fields. In the field the children were exposed to heat, dirt and many types of communicable diseases.

Another reason for the centers was to release older siblings from babysitting in order to attend school which in turn would help break the "Cycle of Poverty" through educational means. TAP provided the children with a safe and protective atmosphere with proper care, supervision and a nutritional diet.

Since the beginning of the program, children have received the basic enrichment activities offered in any nursery school program. During the past two years, however, emphasis has been shifted from the babysitting aspect as the focal point to educational development of the children.

The Philosophy of the collective TAP centers is based on a mixture of different philosophies emerging during the early development of nursery and day care centers. All centers have these basic physical areas:

1. Quiet Spot Area: where the children have stories, songs and finger-plays.
2. Dramatic Play Area: where the child is able to act out different roles. The setting of the dramatic play area changes as the lesson topic changes; thus the child is able to relive and re-inact new learned experiences.
3. Block Area: where the child learns to build, create and develop his muscles. Blocks of different shapes and sizes are used to help the child build his vocabulary through creative play and construction.
4. Manipulative Play Area: where the child develops hand muscles and learns hand - eye coordination.
5. Library Area: where the child is free to select books of his choice and interpret them based on his experiences.

In 1968 under the administration of Mr. Arthur Shaw, the TAP Program began to progress in the area of planned yearly curriculum. I was responsible for developing the first curriculum--under the title of "Lesson Plans". This curriculum contains a year's outline of subject areas to be covered within the operation of a center. The areas of study begin with the concept of "SELF". In this unit the children learn about who they are (Boy, Girl), their names, etc. Each unit has suggested books for each age level, finger-plays centered around the area being studied and creative activity to help with the reinforcement of learning. The curriculum suggests songs, manipulative toys and dramatic play themes.

From "SELF", the first person the child knows in his environment, "FAMILY" is introduced since it is the second thing that the child recognizes in his environment. After "FAMILY", the child is exposed to the following concepts: the senses, concepts of colors and shapes, numbers, alphabet, size and weight and community workers. Holidays and seasons are introduced as they occur during the year. Units are provided on the library, health, nature, safety, American Heritage, (Mexican-American Heritage is being developed) and transportation. Each unit normally covers a week and field trips are used with each unit to reinforce classroom learning.

In the summer of 1969, Miss Phyllis Gaines developed a manual for Language Development and Reading Readiness. A sequential teaching order was needed in working with the Mexican-American children in our program, in view of the language barriers faced by these children.

Special emphasis is given in the manual on difficulties common among Spanish-speaking children who are learning to speak English, for example:

1. In Spanish there is no "glide" in vowels (i.e., the mouth does not make two vowel sounds, one strong and one weak; when only one vowel is written.)
2. "Ch" and "Sh" are often confused. (There is no "Sh" sound in Spanish.)

The TAP Language Program was started on June 16, 1969 on a daily basis. In the mornings, class sessions were held and consisted of the materials from Part I of the lessons in the language manual. Those materials gave the children practice in using and developing basic English language sounds through charts, songs, pictures and games. Part II of the manual gave the children experience in using sentence patterns that would be useful in school. The sentence patterns practiced helped them to learn how to identify and point out objects, to describe the positions of objects (such as: over, under, in, out, beside), and to classify objects by telling what kind of objects these are. In the reading readiness program the pre-kindergarten children participated. The program helped the children to tell when objects were alike or not alike, progressing from very easy to more difficult materials. Part I of all lessons were taped and the children used earphones while the teacher illustrated, by picture, the words being said of the concept being taught. The completed manual called for weekly lesson plans to be drawn and sent to central administration on a monthly basis.

With the development of organized and planned curriculum the administrative staff began to take a look at the effectiveness of the program. To do this,

records were needed to verify the operation of the program. Previously there had been no records, only the testimony of the teachers. This testimony was good for conversation but was not a documentation that showed the number of children coming into our program at X-level and leaving at Y-level. No means of evaluating or verifying the program had been implemented previously.

On considering the needs for testing our effectiveness, we felt the following questions should be answered.

1. The effectiveness of the program.
2. The effectiveness of the staff delivery.
3. The effectiveness of the curriculum being developed.

With these desires in mind, a consultant was brought in to assist in developing a valid testing program which would key on a test developed for our students and circumstance. The following tests were reviewed as a basis for considering a test for the TAP Program.

1. The Stanford Binet
2. Verbal Language Development Scale - By Merlin J. Mechem
3. The Leiter International Performance Scale by Leiter

The Leiter test is now being given to the children enrolled in our local center on an experimental basis.

All in all we are proud to say that our child development program has been rated one of the best in the State of California, and the additional material we are now developing will hopefully prove to elevate our program to even a higher rating. Realizing the great need for the child development especially on the pre-school level, we are hoping to set examples for the other child development programs. We hope to serve an even greater populace in the near future. We credit our success to the fact we never lose sight of the special needs of the people we serve, and that we are free to adapt to changing conditions and adopt our own materials.

Part Three

Establishment Programs

CHAPTER VIII

BENIGN NEGLECT: EDUCATION, ECOLOGY AND THE INVISIBLE POOR

PATRICIA HEFFERNAN-CABRERA

ecology...the branch of biology that deals with the relations between living organisms and their environment...Webster's New World Dictionary.

ecology...the study of relations between individuals and their environment; in psychiatry, especially, the study of relations between human beings and human institutions...The American Psychoanalytic Association Psychiatric Glossary.

ecology...the relationship between the distribution of human groups with reference to material resources and the consequent social and cultural patterns, e.g. poverty, insanity, crime and other social phenomenon show characteristic distribution definitely related to the ecological pattern of the environment...Encyclopaedia of Social Science.

The word ecology has many definitions; all of them embrace the concept of man in relation to his environment. In this, the decade of the ecological encounter, we must recognize that the preservation of natural resources cannot be separated from the conservation of human resources, for man and his socio-educational institutions are in themselves basic ecological issues.

The 1960's was a decade when Michael Harrington's "The Other America" introduced a shocked nation to her invisible Americans: the uneducated, unemployable, hungry, hopeless poor who dwell in the shadows of the affluent society...a multitude who are locked into a culture of their own and can find no way out of their desperate condition. Our collective social conscience responded magnificently with an all-out declaration of war on poverty. It would have been blasphemous, then, to say the nation would waver in its concern. Our intent was to eliminate the culture of poverty and to achieve first-class citizenship for the disadvantaged through education, job training and other creative programs. Now, political rhetoric and massive federal spending notwithstanding, the invisible Americans have become a national embarrassment, a contradiction of our success-image, and it would appear that we would turn our attention to other causes. Environmental pollution has become the cause celebre of the 70's, ecological conservation the rallying point that unifies the nation.

But what about the poor? What happened to our vision of providing equality of opportunity? Will it be replaced by a legacy of self-perpetuating poverty? Will we endorse a new policy of "benign neglect": patronizing and subsidizing the poor, but relegating them to second-class citizenship? Will our invisible Americans be pushed into our unconscious again, in favor of more ameliorable concerns?

Educators must take the leadership in assuring a wary nation that the problems of the poor are, indeed, primary ecological issues that cannot be dismissed or repressed; they must also share the blame for failing to bring the vast majority of the disadvantaged into the educational mainstream. Successful programs do exist, but in isolation. Information and workable solutions which could have broad general implications...for ghetto blacks in the North, for Indians on reservations, for migrant and seasonal farm workers in the Southwest, for Puerto Ricans in urban slums, for poor whites in Appalachia and the South, for pre-schoolers, for dropouts, for all our various by-passed populations throughout the nation...is seldom shared. Creative ideas frequently disappear in the bureaucratic abyss. Enthusiastic project directors are becoming discouraged; the invisible Americans are becoming more invisible; tax-paying Middle America is getting tired of massive spending programs which do not, for all practical purposes, resolve the problems at which they are directed. We seem to be perpetuating the heresies of ethnic discrimination and socio-economic disadvantage. Meanwhile the poor continue to struggle along in uneducated, unemployable misery and the overburdened taxpayer and the politician are looking for new causes to espouse.

For too long, the catharsis syndrome has immobilized educators. For the most part, the field of education has been so busy "telling it like it is" that it has not faced up to the harder reality of "telling it like it's going to be". The education profession has not, for the most part, been fulfilling its commitment to the achievement of optimal intellectual growth for the environmentally enriched who comprise Middle America. Programs remain static, technology is seldom exploited, and the teacher-as-preacher is more the norm than the teacher-as-stimulator and provocateur of inquiry, self-discovery and interperson-communication. But the era of ecological confrontation mandates problem-solving instead of mere problem-stating.

Time is running out for these virtually disenfranchised "invisible Americans". Those with no job skills are being phased out of the labor market by automation; and there is a limit to the welfare burden the already harried taxpayer can continue to assume. Perhaps one of the most tragic of the many problems encountered by the migrant stream has been the inability of their children to become successfully involved in the school situation. Although the migrant farm worker has been on the American scene since the post-Civil War emergence of share-cropping and has been recognized as a significant force in the labor market since the 1920's, it was not until passage of the 1966 Elementary-Secondary Education Act and the subsequent Bilingual Education Act that any legislation was enacted which included specific reference to the educational needs of this multiply-handicapped, distinctly disadvantaged population.

USC's People-to-People Approach

Teacher Corps, the University of Southern California and Tulare County refused to accept the continual failure of traditional programs to educate the nation's 5-1/2 million disadvantaged Mexican-Americans (most of whom live in the five Southwestern states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas). Instead, in the summer of 1967, Teacher Corps Rural-Migrant, the nation's first comprehensive effort in bilingual education designed specifically to reach and teach the children of migrant and seasonal farm workers, took on the formidable challenge. We developed a pragmatic people-to-people program that is preparing future teachers to recognize the

complicated dimensions of poverty and the cultural alienation, social isolation and language deficiencies which further encumber those who speak no English or a substandard dialect of English. Tulare County, in the heart of the agriculturally affluent San Joaquin Valley and the center of California's migrant subculture, was a logical choice for such a pilot project.

Teacher Corps Rural-Migrant, in seeking creative new approaches to the education process, is predicated on certain assumptions which can serve as guidelines for other teacher training programs, school district administrators and community advisory boards, whether or not they are concerned primarily with the forgotten poor: 1) All citizens, no matter what the degree of their socio-economic disadvantage or language handicaps have a learning potential and a right to an education with the concomitant right to work and the right to be self-sufficient and self-fulfilled in our society. 2) America's young people are looking for opportunities for meaningful involvement in contemporary society; some of this country's brightest young minds are directing their talents toward the field of education. 3) The mystique of professional sanctity which often keeps teachers aloof from the world around them can be removed by putting the teacher squarely into the middle of community life. The teacher can become a facilitator of interperson-communication and intergroup dynamics as well as a specialist in methodology and media in the classroom. 4) Teachers who recognize the isolation of the child who is monolingual in a language other than English who become proficient in the child's native language and who specialize in TESOL (the teaching of English to speakers of other languages) facilitate early and real communication - an essential first ingredient in the learning process. 5) Teachers with an in-depth understanding of child growth and development, peer-group relationships, poverty communities, minority cultures and the relationship of poverty to learning and growth can accommodate the individual and cultural differences exhibited by migrating children, and are comfortable with the absence of routine. 6) Through educational leadership and example, teachers can be committed to a philosophy that addresses itself to "learning how to learn" and the role of the inquirer in this process so that they are self-loving, self-actualizing people who can move with children through the learning process.

How do you set about creating this interperson-communication between students and teachers, teachers and parents, students and other students? The school setting, by its very nature, limits certain kinds of behavior and thus changes and imposes limitations on the development of interpersonal relationships. It is our philosophy, in Teacher Corps Rural-Migrant, that for new teachers to achieve interperson-rapport with their students, it is necessary for them to have more than a textbook-based, university-or-demonstration-school-confined-relationship with the teaching role; and when children are going to come from a social milieu very different from the teacher's own, that teacher must become involved in the day-to-day realities of the child's life outside the school; he must learn to know the child's family and his neighborhood community.

So in Teacher Corps Rural-Migrant we perceived the need for workshops and seminars in intercultural understandings and intergroup dynamics and how these are related to the learning process. We believed it was critical to affect changes in the attitudes of prospective teachers and present personnel towards the culturally different, if we were to overcome the by-passed condition

and bring learning into the realm of reality.

Migrant parents "care" about their children, but are frequently unable to articulate their concerns about schools, jobs and community affairs. Since the teacher is often their only positive link with the middle-class world, he faces a unique challenge as the translator of community expectations, the "friend who knows his way around the culture". Through their involvement in activities within the communities, participants in Teacher Corps Rural-Migrant have shown that it is possible to affect positive communication about shared concerns between the residential establishment and the migrating poor. Community projects are developed which encourage people to help themselves.

Particularly significant because of the self-help and maintenance of effort-approaches, are such projects as ARTESANO, a company to manufacture Mexican furniture and artifacts. ARTESANO began as a dropout prevention program and is now a rural industry managed by a low-income community advisory board with Teacher Corps interns acting as consultants. It has become a profit-making enterprise capable of generating contracts for boxes, sink tops, etc. with the profits being returned to the corporation in order to train more low-income employees and to develop new contracts for the young firm.

The Cutler-Orosi Intercultural Center is another case in point. As the dream of an idealistic young intern from Santa Barbara, California, it began as a media-museum-activities-center in which children would write plays, make movies, throw pots and paint. When he completes his two years of training in June, the Center will continue under the supervision of other interns and a community advisory board.

Other intern-initiated-community-based-projects are being integrated into the regular school program. There is a science house at Cutler which is giving the library a run for its money. There's a bilingual-Montessori-Community-pre-school in the making at Stone Corral. Classes for Adults in English as a Second Language and citizenship only needed a little tender loving care in order to get going. Saturday outings to the river and to the mountains have resulted in new course work being introduced into the school curriculum as special elective courses - courses such as "Environmental Biology" and "Mammal Ecology."

Traditionally, programs dealing with the disadvantaged have a singular emphasis on compensatory education to overcome the cumulative deficits of environmental anoxia. Teacher Corps Rural-Migrant looked to the findings of child development specialists and decided to train teachers who could - and would - turn each child's environmental experiences into curriculum for the classroom.

Every child brings his own set of background experiences to the learning situation. Why not use those experiences for curriculum building? To start with the child "where he's at" is the time-honored formula which has enjoyed so much lip-service. However, capitalize on the positives he brings to the classroom and allow him to discover himself and to emerge as a learner, sharing this joy of self-discovery.

Kindergarteners armed with cameras are engaged in a project in Visual Literacy, a project designed to utilize their family, their home and their life experiences in learning to speak English (their second language) and to learn to read what they themselves have written about what they themselves

have captured on film. This project is exemplary of one of the unique features of Teacher Corps Rural-Migrant. There are others.

A primary emphasis in Teacher Corps Rural-Migrant has been on workshops and seminars offered not at USC but within the local communities. These have been offered not only for teacher-interns enrolled in the program, but as inservice training programs for local school district personnel. Some of these are also designed as conferences to encourage the attendance of community leaders and other interested participants. USC determined not to limit the outreach of knowledge.

Micro-Conferences evolved as a "cram" effort during our first pre-service because we found it necessary to disseminate a variety of viewpoints and information about social conditions, community services and existent programs in the local districts. The design calls for 10-15 minute presentations and immediate movement of the "experts" into the audience, using "question" tables for short answer periods. The design allows for more intimate audience involvement. These conferences provide a feasible forum for an exchange of ideas, help to define the expectations of the local communities, and open the doors to interaction between teachers and the residential (opposite of migrant) community, teachers and the education structure, teachers and the social welfare agencies, and teachers and the migrant (or other minority) population. But most important of all they allow for participation.

Community Live-ins, which represent another unorthodox approach to teacher education, give the prospective teacher an opportunity to make a study and appraisal of the community and school district to which he may be making a contractual commitment. This experience brings teachers-to-be face to face with the expectations and concerns of people already actively involved in the community and helps them to understand what kinds of new programs might be developed as well as how to work within existing ones. The Live-In, essentially, is a public relations effort to establish lines of communication between the teachers and the community.

HILT is High Intensive Language Training (in Spanish). It became increasingly apparent during our first in-service training program that there was a desperate need not only for culturally empathetic teachers who maybe could speak a few Spanish phrases, but for teachers who were bilingual. It is a strange paradox in our society that we program Spanish and other languages into our school curricula in order to make "Anglo kids" bilingual, yet we insist that Spanish-speaking children be monolingual in English. We not only fail to capitalize on the cultural heritage of the non-English-Speaking child (which could enrich the total classroom environment), but we inhibit that child's capacity to be a bilingual.

Acting upon this realization, Teacher Corps Rural-Migrant, in cooperation with the Bureau of Research and the Mexican-American Affairs Unit of the U.S. Office of Education, developed HILT, the nation's first High Intensive Language Training Program in Spanish. This six-week "crash" program in the Spanish language and culture for future teachers who were going to work in Mexican-American communities has become the basis for pre-service in subsequent training.

Drama and improvisation enhance both the teacher and the teaching act. The practicing specialist from the arts proved to be a vital adjunct to the development of our teacher education program. The performer's imagination and insight has been able to inspire our teacher-interns to achieve an unexpected degree of creativity and personal resourcefulness. Their whole "presentation of self" thus becomes more dramatic and vital to the classroom environment and will undoubtedly continue to have impact on their classroom performance and lesson-planning abilities throughout their teaching careers. In drama workshops, interns are taught to improvise and create without benefit of supportive staging and props. On virtually no budget, they are able to write, stage and produce children in theatre. In working in the schools, their productions, geared to find a role for each child, result in an "everyone wins" kind of situation that engenders the enthusiastic involvement of all of the children. Video-tape, used in the drama workshops, gives the interns an opportunity for self-evaluation in a non-threatening situation. As a result of thus perceiving themselves as they are seen by others, they are provided with an opportunity for personal growth and self-development. This has been manifested, in some instances, in dramatic changes in physical appearance, in acceptance of self and in the ability to relate to others. Micro-teaching and Team Teaching were other significant innovations. Micro-teaching is used as a diagnostic tool allowing interns to evaluate their own performance. It is also used to practice the application of clearly defined teaching skills when working in small groups of students. Team teaching allows interns to explore techniques an individual alone might be reluctant to attempt. In addition, it capitalizes on the particular strengths and talents that each intern brings to the classroom situation. Recently, our interns conducted a Teach-In to share their experiences and innovations regarding multi-mediated training, visual literacy, preschool intervention programs, mathematics and science learning centers, TESOL and other concepts. School district personnel and university consultants were invited to attend. Interns learned from interns and more importantly we learned from them.

Throughout the program, interns and team leaders are encouraged to explore, introduce and develop new approaches and teaching strategies in the classroom experience and to show kids they care even outside of the classroom. And it is working, this interperson-involvement. It is making things happen in the education of the rural poor. While interperson-involvement is no substitute for methodology, empathy - the "caring" element must be one of the qualifications school administrators evaluate when they hire teachers. An informal survey conducted by the Woodlake Community Action Group pointed to a startling conclusion: the migration flow of the farm labor population began changing with the advent of Teacher Corps in the district. Vera Carranza, chairman of the low-income community advisory board, reports, "...more families are making every effort to have at least one parent remaining in Tulare County during the school year, so the children can stay in school. These children want to go to school, and feel for the first time that teachers really care if they show-up or not..."

The fact that USC Teacher Corps Rural-Migrant has been invited to remain in the districts to extend its services and to work in developing modular scheduling, non-graded schools and other innovative programs in the schools is highly significant. Of even more significance, however, is the fact that more Mexican-American children in the participating school districts are achieving

success in the school situation and more are realizing that it will be possible for them to continue their education after high school. Some are already looking to the day when they, too, can "reach and teach" with Teacher Corps.

Now is the time for a new look and new designs in education, not only for the poor, but for our total citizenry. The future promises exciting challenges for educators and new hope for by-passed people, particularly if we free ourselves from rigid schedules and traditional curriculum concepts. The age of the computer and other technological potentiality is here. It is but for us to put it to work.

Mediated training packages, contract education, flexible modular scheduling, dial-access-retrieval systems, individualized learning centers and educational television allow us to begin to redesign the process whereby the output maintains the precious value of the input. Each of those educational-curriculum strategies constitutes a solution to educational needs. It is man who must move on them.

Public awareness of the symbiotic relationship between ecology and education mandates an exchange of educational ideas and philosophies--a sharing of information--not only within the limited confines of a program, but throughout our nation. Only then can an enlightened society maintain a proper perspective about the ecological relationship between man and his societal environment. For if we are to refer back to our original definitions to deprive individuals or groups of their right to a satisfying life style by denying their equality of educational opportunity is in essence to upset the balance of nature which is at the very heart of the ecological issue.

CHAPTER IX

AN OREGON COMMUNITY COLLEGE AS THE SETTING FOR MIGRANT FARM WORKER PROGRAMS

ROBERT N. PATTERSON

The Migrant Education Programs of Treasure Valley Community College are unique among migrant programs funded by O.E.O. Migrant Division in two distinct ways: 1) it is the only multi-purpose migrant program grant funded by the Migrant Division in contract with a community college as the sponsoring agency; and 2) it is operational in two states, Idaho and Oregon, which until very recently were located in two separate O.E.O. regions. This uniqueness has had a varying effect on the development and growth of our program.

The uniqueness of a community college being the sponsoring agency for a "multi-purpose Migrant Grant" has a great many implications and begs a number of questions to be answered, the first being: Is it possible for a public educational institution, such as a community college, to operate a program successfully for a group of people, who have been historically and traditionally by-passed by other public educational institutions?

The answer to this question has to be a qualified "Yes." But only because this particular community college has been true to its philosophy and honest about its commitment to provide educational services to all segments of its community and has created flexibility within the institution allowing provision for the very special types of programming required to serve the needs of special groups. This does not mean any community college can do this -- the question is does such a college give only "lip service" to its philosophy and commitment or is it really only a "junior ivory tower" straining to ape university practices. If the latter is true, the college cannot possibly be successful in this kind of venture -- serving the by-passed.

Community colleges do have some advantages over the other higher educational institutions in performing these special services. They are the most recent addition to the higher education system. Therefore, they are not likely to be so steeped in the tradition of the past that they cannot make changes or initiate new and different approaches to education. They have the added advantage of being local and close to the community which they serve.

Operating a program in two states located in two separate O.E.O. regions has presented procedural and bureaucratic problems. Laws and regulations are "visible" and can be evaluated and compliance can be made with them. On the other hand, though, politics and inter-agency jealousies are very "invisible," and they are very real as a constant threat to any worthwhile accomplishments being made. We realize ours is an extreme situation, but these same jealousies and political overtones seem to exist in similar type programs conducted elsewhere in the nation with only varying degrees of intensity.

The Program

Treasure Valley Community College initiated programs for migrants and seasonal farm workers in the spring of 1965. The first programs were entirely

child oriented. They included a twelve month pre-school program for four and five-year-old migrant children, a remedial education program for elementary and junior high children, a migrant summer school and day care programs. More than a thousand children participated in these programs. In 1966 all of the childrens programs were "spun off" to either Head Start or the Title I Migrant Amendment of E.S.E.A.

These changes make it possible for the program to be re-directed toward adult and family programs. The program presently operated is wide range -- including education and training, supportive programs for outreach and referral, and programs designed for self-help and better quality living. The variety and diversity of the program resulted from five years of growth, extensive expansion and redirection.

The most valuable asset to our program was an insistence on flexibility. No successful phase of the program was established and then immediately placed in "concrete."

Another asset was a sense of reality. We were aware, then and now, that we could not provide all the services or programs the migrant farm worker must have to satisfy all his needs. Therefore, key programs were first established to fit the most pressing of these needs. Additions to the program were made as additional resources became available through our basic grant from O.E.O. and through our constant search for supportive funding from other sources.

Through our outreach and community development program we are constantly aware of the primary problems to be dealt with by our program and its staff. From this valuable information, objectives are established and the program then concentrates efforts on solving these problems. The primary problems we are dealing with at this time are:

1. The number of migrant and resident seasonal farm workers in this area increases each year while the number of jobs in farm work is decreasing rapidly.
2. Most of the workers lack a speaking knowledge of the English language; therefore, they have difficulty getting jobs outside the area of farm work.
3. A great number of them lack the basic education required for them to advance in a job area outside of field work.
4. They lack job skills which would allow them to get work outside of fields and be able to work in a new area.
5. Most of the work in the area is agriculturally oriented; therefore, it is seasonal in nature with prolonged periods of time when many of the farm workers are unemployed.
6. There is not enough industry in the area to absorb the number of workers unemployed.
7. Few of the farm workers know of the community or the services offered by it.
8. They lack a means of communicating their problems and their needs to sources of existing assistance.

9. They live in poor and inadequate housing except for the forty families who have completed their own Self-help houses.

In working on solutions to these problems, the objectives of the program have become:

1. To provide a multi-level educational program designed specifically for these particular educational and economic needs through course offerings in ABE (adult basic education), ESL (English as a second language), GED (general educational development), vocational training, and active involvement in the areas of job development, job placement, economic development and self-help housing.
2. To assist young adult children of migrant and seasonal farm workers in their attempt to obtain a college education or a vocational training program of their choice by means of tuition support and assistance through part-time jobs or by federal, state or local grants for education.

Under the tuition support program students are given a maximum of \$600 per year for books, fees and tuition. These funds are used only for this purpose. The college makes arrangements for additional grants, work study or part-time jobs to make it possible for the student to pay for his board and room and personal expenses necessary to maintain the student while he is in school. These expenses amount to approximately \$1,000 per year. Students in the college transfer program who receive an EOG (Educational Opportunity Grant) and/or loan at our two-year school are assured a transfer of this grant or loan to the four-year school they will attend after the first two years are successfully completed at the community college.

3. To provide assistance to the farmworker and his family in solving his immediate problems by referring him to other agencies for assistance and providing him a place to meet to discuss his problems and needs with other farm workers.
4. To provide job development, job referral and job placement services to the farm worker.
5. To provide the technical assistance necessary for the farm worker to participate in economic ventures through the forming of cooperatives, small business establishments and other ventures of a private business nature on an individual or group basis.

We have a Federal Credit Union for farmworkers which is beginning its third year of successful operation. Three small business loans have been granted and eight applications are pending. A local development corporation has recently been organized for the purpose of providing "seed money" for business ventures.

6. To develop a much stronger working relationship with the business and community.

Present Educational Programs

Though we are continuing to develop our bi-lingual curriculum program which was initiated this year and to use Spanish as a teaching vehicle for those who cannot read or write or speak English, the ABE, ESL, and GED Programs are given the greatest emphasis because they are the most needed. More than 50% of our ABE and ESL students have neither literacy in Spanish or English. These programs provide the key to further skill development, vocational training and job placement.

The full-time education programs are designed primarily for the heads of household because of their pressing need for a concentrated full-time program. Part-time classes, while beneficial, require too many years in preparation to achieve the same results and keep the head of a household from having the opportunity of getting job skills earlier.

Participants in the education program may enter our ongoing programs at any educational level. They are provided with the type of program that fits present needs, and they have the opportunity to advance into higher levels at individual rates.

Included in each phase of the ABE program is a pre-vocational orientation, individual personal counseling services and job counseling. The pre-vocational programs include three months of exploratory experience in the various areas of the college vocational department. Each man chooses an area of his interest and spends ten hours a week for three months in that vocational area. The pre-vocational program is conducted by college instructors, and it is held in the vocational building where the men get laboratory experience closely simulating on-the-job conditions. Because the men vary greatly in the educational levels, little if any text book instructional material is presented.

Individual and group counseling services are carried on throughout the five month period to assure the individual's self-concept growth. Group discussion periods are set aside in the school day to give the student an opportunity to express themselves in a group situation. The topics of discussion in these groups are determined by the groups themselves. Through testing and counseling, we determine when each man is ready to change to a different level in the program.

All students are tested shortly after their entrance into the program for placement and for a record to determine advancement. The WRAT, TABE, Adult Basic Education Testing Series are used for placement of those who can read and write English.

A number of ESL Tests are used for those who speak Spanish, depending on their literacy in Spanish. A few such tests are: Pictorial Reasoning Test (PRT), Common Concept of Foreign Language (CCFLT), Rapid Test.

The "Tennessee Self-Concept Test" is given to the student at the beginning and at the end of the program to determine what is happening to each student's "self-image" as a result of being in the training program.

Achievement Tests are administered prior to the ending date of the program to determine educational attainment.

Vocational programs are provided in two ways. One program is a three-month initial vocational program in which the student studies in a vocational area of his choice for a half day and studies for his GED the other half day. After successful completion of this program the student is placed in a full-time school year vocational program. Students in the tuition support program enter either a two-year vocational program or a two-year college transfer program. They are not required to have a high school diploma on entry, but must have completed a GED before their first two years are completed.

Area farmworkers who are holding down a full-time job are given an opportunity to attend evening classes in vocational areas that will increase their job capabilities. Also, staff members are given an opportunity to take college classes, tuition free, in the evening to develop their job capabilities more fully.

There are also four Opportunity Centers which provide a year-round educational program for the benefit of both the resident farmworker and the migrant farmworker. Their classes include the same classes as those taught in the full-time program except vocational training is given on a part-time evening basis at the college. They also conduct classes in citizenship, domestic skills and driver education at the center level.

The center staff members are in constant communication with the people through meetings and individual home contacts. Through these contacts they perform the much needed services of taking care of everyday problems, referring participants to our full-time program and other agencies and a contact with the other participants for follow-up purposes.

Periodic follow-ups of the participants are made on a scheduled basis. The outreach staff plans a follow-up program for each student who participates in our full-time educational programs. The first goes into effect immediately after the student has completed the programs. The purpose is to determine what he is doing, what effect the training program has had on his getting employment, etc., and to determine if he needs attention at that time to assist him in getting a job or further training. A second follow-up is scheduled three months later, and a third near the end of a year. Follow-ups related to part-time students and personal assistance are made by the area outreach staff as part of their weekly schedule.

During the past program year, we have been able to extend our educational program on a full-time basis to more than double the number of full-time students we had a year ago, because we have developed a cooperative program with three other agencies to assist us in providing ABE and vocational training for farmworkers. We have a number of students going to school under the WIN program. The State Employment Service has furnished us with thirty-six (36) full-time Basic Education students, all farmworkers, who are part of the relocation project being conducted by the Employment Service. These students are newly relocated migrant farmworkers who were identified in Texas last year and came to this area as part of the experimental demonstration project.

Also, a small amount of State ABE funds have become available to be used in our part-time classes to extend services to more people on a part-time basis. This small grant (\$10,000) was very important as it allowed us to send nine of our staff members to special institutes and training

programs at various colleges and universities throughout the country -- a value of far more than \$10,000 in training money. Though all who went benefited greatly from the training programs provided, especially benefited were those new teachers recruited directly from the farmworker group and who have had little or no prior professional background in teaching. The institutes were designed for special purposes. The institutes attended by our staff dealt with administration, curriculum, ESL for the Mexican-American and general ABE teaching.

During the past summer and fall we conducted a new type of program in cooperation with Boise Cascade Corporation in Burley, Idaho. The Corporation provided the salary for the trainees to go to school four hours and work four hours a day in their container plant. This program lasted for a twelve-week period. At the end of this period the men went on the job for eight hours a day. They continued to attend ABE classes at night at the out center. Twelve men who took part in this program are presently working for Boise Cascade Corporation. We feel this was a very successful venture and we would like to initiate more of the same type.

Self-Help Housing

Self-help housing program became part of our grant in 1968. During the two years since, forty farm worker families have moved into their new modern homes. Construction has started on an additional twenty homes, and applications have been filed which should bring the total number of these homes up to ninety or possibly a hundred within the next year.

We feel this program is extremely valuable to our participant families because the housing problem in the area is acute. Our experiences from conducting this program have shown us the building of a house is not the only value received by the participating families. This program might even be considered as one of the most effective educational programs we operate. It has a positive effect on every member of the participating family group prior to construction, during construction and especially after the construction of a home.

Summary

Treasure Valley Community College has operated programs for migrant farm workers for the past five years, programs which are anything but traditional in their nature. At the outset the program received most of the benefits from this arrangement because the college had facilities, staff, materials and equipment at the immediate disposal of the program. This made it possible for the program to become operational almost the day the first grant funds were received. This arrangement also gave the program an established entity with which it could identify and receive a certain amount of status in the community.

Now, after five years of operation the college and the community are receiving the benefits of the program. The college has gained several hundred students over the years through the program who could not otherwise have gone to school. The community has gained a better informed, better educated, more productive group of citizens who are contributing strongly to the economy of the community.

Most importantly the migrant farm worker and his family have gained. His children are receiving a better education. Also he has for the first time been given the opportunity to have a voice and a choice in what kinds of educational programs he wanted for himself and his family.

Though our program has made some gains and has grown a great deal since its first year, we are not yet satisfied that everything has been done nor that all the problems have been identified, let alone solved. As our program gains a new level of development and sophistication, we become more acutely aware of the scope and intensity of the problems yet to be solved.

CHAPTER X

EDUCATION IN A SMALL RESERVATION SCHOOL--A DOUBLE PROBLEM

OR

"EARNIE JO, WERE YOU REALLY IN THERE?"

LOIS STEELE

The title of this paper states there are two problems facing students in small reservation schools. First, it is hard for students who come from small high schools with twenty to thirty enrolled to adjust to the numbers of students on the college level. ~~This is a problem--Indian students share with any small town high school students.~~ The second problem concerns only the Indian students and results from the reservation school system and school teachers. This paper centers on the second problem.

After listening to and reading about the "Indian problem", I feel we are justified in discussing the "middle-class American problem". The middle-class values were discussed in January, 1970 Today's Education by Edwin Roberts and Thomas Bradford Roberts. Both pro and con were given, and I think every educator should read this article. The middle-class values serve an important function for white suburban middle-class people. These values help to lend respectability to those playing the middle-class game and adhering to the rules. However, the Fort Peck Indian game has different rules. When you have two groups playing different games, trapped on the same playground, chaos can result. Often the group with the most power dictates the rules for all, and those who won't or can't follow these rules and play the power structure's game are pushed out of the playground.¹ This is a particular problem when Indians are thrown in with non-Indians. Since most of the faculty in reservation schools aspire to the middle-class values, these values become the rules in school systems regardless of the balance of whites and Indians enrolled.

The letter of invitation to give this paper stated this was to be a "gut level" presentation on the educational problems of "by-passed" populations. This phrase, "by-passed", still bothers me, if it relates to American Indians. To call Indians a by-passed population is to assume we are standing on the road wanting a ride when in actuality the Indians I know best, those still on my reservation, are perhaps using a different digit from their thumb to indicate their feelings about the moving middle-class American population.

The current majority society assumes everyone aspires to what they are or do. If someone says he doesn't want to be like them, it is only because he can't--he lacks something--and then he pretends he doesn't want it. I contend that most reservation Indians want very little of what middle-class America values. Therefore, Indians couldn't possibly be by-passed by middle-class America because middle-class America is going nowhere. Let us look more critically, and I hope impartially, at these different value systems, especially as they pertain to secondary education.

¹Rosalie H. Wax has written an article for Trans-Action, May, 1967, entitled "The Warrior Dropouts" which discusses how the independent, energetic boys often become "pushouts".

I should first explain my background in this area. I was raised on Fort Peck Reservation in Northeastern Montana, and I am an enrolled member of the Assinoboine Tribe. The towns are classed in Montana as AA, A, B and C according to size of school enrollment. On the reservation we have one size A town, one size B town and two size C towns; that is, all are smaller towns with high schools. Of course, there are smaller groupings of houses and churches away from the main highway that are primarily Indian which have no high schools. I have taught in three of the four high schools and junior highs in the Class A, B and one of the C schools. I am now teaching at the junior college that serves some students from the Fort Peck area. So my remarks are geared only to Fort Peck unless otherwise defined. I have also taught on the Flathead Reservation and was advisor to Indian students while teaching at Rocky Mountain College in Billings, Montana. This background does not qualify me as an expert, but I listen to my people and my students and to my childhood memories and I believe I understand some of the problems.

One problem in reservation schools is punctuality. The old Indian language had no words for time and the Indian of today watches his grandparents not get too upset over being on time. The term "Indian Time" means whenever everyone gets someplace and wants to do something. Hence, Indian parades may start at 2:00 p.m. instead of 10:00 a.m. and no one is surprised. We say "dok cha" if asked to do something which means "later when I can" or "later when I want to". The English language has no common counterpart for this word.

In the larger reservation schools when Indian students were tardy three times, they were suspended for three days. This effectively put them further behind academically, helped reduce self-confidence and eventually helped to push them out of the system.

The vicious circle starts in the first years of elementary school. My girlfriend, also raised on the reservation, went into the principal's office to check on a student of hers. She had seen the third grader enter the school ground, but he never came into her classroom. She was told the boy had been suspended for three days for being late. She asked if the principal realized that this boy's mother was in jail and that this kid had to get himself ready to come to school and that he could not tell time very well. The principal said that rules are rules and that if we start making exceptions for one of those kids, we have to make exceptions for all of them.

This adherence to the rules without considering the individual will end if a parent arrives on the scene. The Indian parent, however, has seen much of his life controlled by bureaucracy, so he does not feel he can fight this bureau either.

Discipline in a mixed system such as this becomes the "Prime Concern". I was told, "We don't care what they learn if they learn discipline." I replied, "I prefer mutual respect and the excitement of discovery as a means of control in my classroom."

It is hard to get mutual respect in a lot of Indian student-white teacher situations. If you are labeled a "dirty snot-nosed Indian kid" long enough and put into the slower classes by virtue of your breeding, not your intellect, you eventually start to lose respect for yourself and the system and develop a chip on your shoulder as a permanent part of you anatomy. Not all white teachers elicit this response from Indian students, but it only takes two or

three such teachers to do this throughout the elementary years.

Ridiculing and bawling out a white student from a farm sub-culture will usually bring about the desired results of "discipline". This is true regardless of where the action occurs: the basketball court, the laboratory or the classroom. It does not work with a true Indian student. One college coach found this out the hard way when his 6'8" Indian center did not return second quarter. The coach had treated the student fairly in the sense he had treated him as he did the rest of his team--an occasional bawling out during a game or practice. In fact, the rest of the team felt the Indian boy had been "babied". However, this particular Indian boy was not used to being yelled at during a game or bawled out in front of other players, so he left. One Indian coach I know baffled the white community in which he coached by his technique of never yelling at his team when they were playing. Only on time-outs would he very calmly take his players aside and explain what they were doing wrong. His techniques of mutual respect rather than demands and threats seemed to work with white boys also. These attitudes toward "being shamed" seem to be an outgrowth of permissive child-rearing and therefore are very difficult to explain to non-Indians in a way they can truly understand and accept.

In larger reservation schools, where ability grouping was given lip-service until recently, Indian students were always found to have the same ability and therefore were given to the poorer teacher. Ability was measured by tests geared to a home possessing television, umbrellas and spinach--not to those with five dogs, dry meat and tripe. These groupings are sometimes used as punishment. I had a very bright student in the low group in seventh grade science. She did her work and was drawing straight "A's". I checked to find out why she had not been put in the average or fast class at the beginning of the year. She had been in the average seventh grade class the year before but at the end of the year had missed fifteen days of school, including finals. The office did not know why, but the policies stated that any student missing so much school was automatically failed. A failing student was put in the slower group the next year. Upon questioning the girl I found that her mother had had a baby and had been sick the rest of the time; the girl was made to stay home and babysit. This girl was eventually moved into the fast group and came through with flying colors.

That reminds me--it is ironic how color and intellect go hand in hand. When the Indian girl referred to above was moved into the fast group, there were three Indian students and approximately twenty-six white students there already. There were approximately thirty-one Indian students enrolled, never all present, and two white students in the slow group. The average group was broken about half and half. A closer look at the Indian students in that average group revealed a better socio-economic level than those of the so-called slow group. Through the effort of concerned teachers and townspeople, this grouping system, which served only to put the slower students further behind year after year and attach a stigma to them, has been abolished. However, it hurt quite a number of students. The pros and cons of true ability grouping, with good teaching occurring at all levels, is not within the scope of this paper.

One problem the Indian student faces that tends to put him behind is the traditional attitude toward competition. Competition is foreign to the early

elementary school Indian student. It has not been drilled into him that he must be first in everything from potty-training to talking to grades. He grows up watching his parents share and expecting to be shared with. My mother daily admonished, "Remember, you are just as good as anybody else, but you aren't any better." This attitude of non-competitiveness in the classroom is hard for the white middle-class teacher to understand and accept. It is so foreign a concept to her that she screams that the students are lazy, they just don't care, they have no pride.

No, Miss Frustrated School Marm, the Indian student is not inherently lazy. He cares about things that matter to him, that interest him. He has so much pride that to be 'shamed' is a very traumatic experience, one he will not undergo willingly. Therefore, he will only attempt things he knows he can do. If self-confidence has been broken down over the years, he often will not think he can do much. But then is the guy that is always first the happiest guy around?

One Indian teacher told me, "I really don't like to talk about Indian problems with the white teachers up here." I asked him to explain. He replied, "Oh, they mean well, but they don't know." I probed further. "They don't know what problems are--you have to live a lot of the problems to really know. You can't read it out of a book. Don't you agree?" I reflected for a moment on how much my own upbringing helped me to understand and respect the problems of my students, then I mumbled in the affirmative.

This led me to wonder why the sharpest Indian students in my own class and the classes I was teaching seemed the most frustrated. Perhaps it is because they see the barriers and the dilemma more clearly. An escape from reality then becomes very necessary--often this escape takes the form of alcohol or defense mechanisms that lead to mental illness. The disorganized culture has no other substitutes except suicide. A person is told that it is good to get an education and leave the reservation and make something of himself. This implies that if you stay on the reservation you will be nothing. It also implies that if you want to stay on the reservation where you understand that society and its demands, something is wrong with you. Even the older Indians have been brainwashed to believe this in schools like Carlisle, Chemawa and Fort Shaw.

Other middle-class values can serve as problems for Indian students, especially those of cleanliness (attitudes toward gang showers, for example) and modesty. The Indian sense of humor is different from that of the great outside world. Understanding this and using humor as a teaching tool can be very rewarding for a reservation teacher. I will give you an example later in this paper.

A knowledge of Indian values would be helpful to white teachers. A speech teacher stressing "eye contact" would feel less frustrated if she realized that Indian students have been unconsciously trained not to embarrass someone by looking directly at him. A principal might realize why another student will not tell on his classmates or try to tell them what to do, if the principal understood that Indian people are not trained to be their "brother's keeper" as many other segments of our society are taught. I am not passing a value judgment as to which is right, but I am only pointing out areas where communication is likely to break down. These and other areas I could elaborate on as I did the subject of competition but time and space are limited.

I would rather use the remaining space for a few suggestions to those working with Indian students. Standard of dress should not insist on nylon hose as a status symbol when there are students who barely have jeans. Nor should economic factor be allowed to prevent students from participating in extracurricular activities. Lack of towels and gym clothing can prevent students from fulfilling requirements in physical education, as well as keeping students from enjoying athletics. Rosalie Wax in "Warrior Drop-outs" mentions the fact that "few school administrators recognize the opportunity to use sports as a bridge to school". Taking basketball away for infractions of the rules often is the precipitating point at which a boy drops out of school. Not providing athletics and active intramural activities for girls is a fault of both reservation and non-reservation schools--one fault that I see gradually being eliminated.

I have other suggestions but probably the most important, I feel, is to appeal to the Indian sense of pride and their sense of humor when you want anything done. I tried this once at Brockton when I had entered the girl's rest room and found it a mess. I gave the student body a speech that went something like this: "Kids, I don't ask much, but today I got up tight when I went to the john and found someone was walking on the toilet paper again. Evidently you stepped on it when crawling over the stall. However, that made the stall fall down between the two end ones. Now it is dangerous for an old woman like me to sit in such a precarious place, especially since the toilet seat is now loose from all the crawling on it. I nearly fell off when I tried to read the writing on the walls."

"Earnie Jo, were you really in there? The one phrase read, 'Earnie Jo was here.' I recognized your handwriting too, Harold. GIRL'S on a door means you should be playing on the girl's basketball team to belong in that particular john."

"Oh yes, girls, the next time I walk in unexpectedly, please don't panic. The ashes on the toilet seats are dirtying my undies. I know you have better aim than that. I know I could walk over to the other building as the other teachers do, but it is twenty below zero, and I'm busy. And you know, at my age, control becomes difficult. So please leave one stall half-way in order for me--no ashes and cigarette butts on the seat and no footprints on the paper."

During the last period that afternoon some of the girls wanted me in the rest room. I thought that someone was sick, so I hurried down there. I found the best end stall had been completely scrubbed down, the entire floor of the rest room had been mopped. A fresh roll of paper had been installed. On the door of that stall was a sign which read, "Reserved for Mrs. Steele." I laughed and cried at the same time.

CHAPTER XI

"THEY CAME HERE FIRST"

PAUL JONES

Today there is an ever increasing interest in the American Indian. This new concern for the problems and opportunities facing our first Americans is long overdue and greatly needed. However, let no one think that the new interest in the Indian has been translated through substantial additional resources made available to the Indian. Thus far, the interest in the American Indian today has not been expressed in additional dollars and cents for needed and necessary programs to help the Indians help themselves. Yet the American Indians have made tremendous gains in obtaining and creating education for themselves. The most exciting development for the Indian is that they increasingly plan, direct and control their own programs. In this regard, I can think of nothing that has occurred in the field of education for by-passed populations as important as Navajo Community College.

In my comments I would like to use the Navajo Nation as an example of Indian problems and progress. I do this for the obvious reason that I know them best, and besides, they are by far the largest tribe of Indians in the United States. It is estimated that the 1970 census will show over 130,000 Navajos living on the reservation which includes parts of the states of Arizona, New Mexico and Utah. The next largest tribe, the Pine Ridge Sioux, would number less than 13,000.

Twenty years ago, over half of the Navajo children of school age were out of school for lack of facilities. The strides the Navajo Nation has made in getting children in school are among the most exciting and important anywhere in the world. Twenty years ago, the Navajo had only a handful of college students and far fewer college graduates. More than half of the Navajo children were out of school and the average number of school years completed for Navajo adults was less than one year of education. Today, 90 percent of Navajo school age children are in school. There are nearly 1,000 Navajo college students today. The average number of school years completed for Navajo adults now approaches three years.

The Navajo Tribe is proud of its progress in the field of education. We have successfully solved many of the problems related to the number portion of education. In cooperation with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, other colleges and universities and many other resources, we have directly tackled the problem of education. During the past twenty years, Navajos have made great gains in this area. The Navajo Tribe has developed a \$10 million Tribal Scholarship Program for high school graduates so that today approximately 500 Navajo scholarships are available for students attending colleges and universities throughout the country.

New schools were built including the crash program of trailer schools during the mid-1950's and these efforts at providing additional classroom seats for Navajo children have largely solved the problem of lack of school

facilities. We are very proud of the strides we had made in getting Navajos into schools of all types. The improvement in the number and percentages of Navajos in all kinds of schools is very important. However, in my estimation the future of Navajo education rests on whether we are able to control our own schools.

One of the most exciting opportunities facing the Navajo people today is the chance to direct and control our own education. This is something new. Even three or four years ago, there was little opportunity for Navajo parents and Navajo communities to guide and control the education of their children. The Rough Rock Demonstration School was the first example of total Indian control. It has convinced most agencies and people that Navajo control over Navajo education is the answer to many of the problems facing Navajo education. Rough Rock is an isolated elementary school in the heart of the Navajo Reservation controlled by an uneducated seven member school board. Yet, this group of men have provided strong and excellent leadership in education.

The Rough Rock experiment began several years ago. The Bureau of Indian Affairs turned over a brand new BIA elementary school facility to a group of Navajos who incorporated to assume the responsibility for the school. In addition, the Bureau of Indian Affairs turned over the money they would have spent had the school been operated by the Bureau. Additional money for community education and activities was obtained from the Office of Economic Opportunity and private foundations. Out of this has grown a school controlled by the Navajo people themselves which has the kind of program and curriculum that Navajo parents want. Today, there is a Navajo as Director of the school and from the school board through the top level of administration there is Navajo control. Today, there are many other communities on the Navajo Reservation that are trying to obtain control over their schools like Rough Rock did over its school.

The success of Rough Rock made it possible for the Navajo Tribal Council and the Navajo people to attempt to realize another long-standing dream of ours. This was the start of the first college located on an Indian reservation and controlled by Indian people. Today, Navajo Community College stands as another clear example of successful Indian control over Indian education. We have approximately 427 students enrolled at the college this year and there are representatives of over twelve different tribes. We do not look upon a college on our reservation as a way to build higher walls around our reservation but rather as a way to knock down those walls and establish closer understanding and communication between ourselves and the non-Indian. Already, over forty different tribes have sent representatives from throughout the United States to visit the College and to see for themselves whether or not what they hear and read is true. We have had Indian leaders from Canada, Mexico and South America visit our college to see for themselves and to learn how it was accomplished. They leave knowing that the college is controlled by the Navajos and that it is possible for Indian people to control their future and their destiny.

The college is located temporarily at Many Farms, Arizona, where it shares facilities with the BIA high school. We hope by the fall of 1971 to be able to move into our own new campus which will be located at Tsailee, Arizona. Our first phase of construction is for 500 students and we will build for a total of 1500 at Tsailee when all phases of construction are

completed. We have both college transfer or parallel programs as well as vocational technical programs for our students.

We have established the first Indian controlled press at the college. Now, there is a Navajo Community College Press which will primarily be interested in publishing books by Indians, about Indians and for Indians.

Two years ago, people throughout the country said it would be impossible for the Navajo to start and operate their own college. Today we are!

During my terms as Tribal Chairman, we worked very hard to interest Navajo people and to make it possible for them to be involved in the education of their children and their communities. It makes me very happy to see that the seeds we sowed ten years ago are bearing such good fruits.

The future of the Navajo people will be better and brighter as we are able to expand the number of schools and the education controlled by the Navajo people. There are many people who believe that the way to improve education for minority groups or others is through having better auditoriums and larger multi-purpose rooms, higher salaries for teachers, better teacher aides, more specialized services like counseling and many other items like these. These people believe that through more of these kinds of things you can improve the quality of Indian education and solve many, if not all, of the problems facing such education.

I do not say these items are not important; I only say they are not the most important. I believe the most important way to improve not only Indian education--but also the entire area of Indian affairs--is to provide the Indian people with the opportunity to control and direct all programs affecting them. It is through doing for themselves that people learn from their mistakes and their successes. Too long, the Navajo people have been denied the right to be wrong. Let us remember, THEY CAME HERE FIRST.

Part Four
The Private Sector and Agency Responses

CHAPTER XII

SOME OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE RELATIVE LACK OF SUCCESS OF GOVERNMENT
ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMS AMONG MEXICAN-AMERICANS

DR. CLARK S. KNOWLTON

In this presentation, I want to discuss with you what I regard as some of the reasons why government and private agency social programs have had but limited success in reducing poverty among the Mexican-Americans in the Southwest. My observations are derived from my personal experiences as a participant observer in anti-poverty programs in New Mexico and West Texas from 1960 to 1968.

Objective neutrality, even among social scientists, is a rare commodity in the Southwest. In that incredibly beautiful yet haunted and hallucinated land, a mosaic of American Indian, Mexican-American and Anglo-American cultural groupings exist still somewhat differentiated from each other. Each of these major groups is subdivided into interesting cultural subgroupings that for the most part have never been studied. The Anglo-American occupies the dominant economic and social position with the American Indians on the bottom level. Blacks are becoming an important population element in several Southwestern cities such as Phoenix, but they have not yet developed a well defined social position vis a vis -the other minority groups in the region.

In a land shadowed by bloody prolonged conflicts between Anglo-American, Mexican-Americans and Indians for access to and control of scarce natural resources, the memories of old injustices and conflicts never die. The values of the frontier West live on just beneath the social surface. Violence is never very far away. In an ethnically, racially and socially polarized region, traditional prejudices are passionately held. Tolerance of dissent and legal due process rank low among Southwestern values.

A border area in which people, goods and ideas move freely across the national boundaries of Mexico and the United States, the political and economic trends of one country are influenced by events within the other country. Chronic unrest has always existed among minority groups in the Southwest. Armed bands have raided across the border from both sides from the 1830's to the 1900's. The last Indian fight may have taken place in the 1900's. The first region to be settled by Europeans in the United States, it was the last to be firmly articulated into the country's social structure. It was not until the 1940's that the number of Anglo-Americans came to outnumber the Mexican-Americans and that English became more important than Spanish. Even now there are many counties where few Anglo-Americans live and where English is seldom heard.

Most of the regular government departments such as the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Interior, the Department of Defense and the Department of Commerce have long been active in the Southwest. Their program accelerated the settlement and rapid economic development of the region. Although, most of these programs have been very beneficial to the Anglo-American population, many of them have been very harmful to the welfare

of the Mexican-American people. Very few government departments have ever evaluated their programs in term of their economic and cultural impact upon the minority groups of the region. The general practice has been to develop programs according to the needs and desires of the Anglo-American segment and to ignore the economic systems, cultures, languages and socio-economic characteristics of minority groups. For this reason, many government programs are significantly responsible for the existence of poverty, malnutrition, disease, and the erosion of Mexican-American land, water and grazing rights. In general the Mexican-American people still regard the American government as their enemy who exploits them and does nothing for them.

The American government never implemented the sections of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that ended the state of war between Mexico and the United States and that protected Mexican-American property rights. Traditional Mexican-American land tenure and water use practices were never accepted by American courts or legislative bodies. All land not registered in the U.S. land courts was defined as public domain and few poor Mexican-American landholders knew about the existence of the courts. Such land was open to homesteading under the Homestead Act. Land hungry Anglo-Americans homesteaded large sections of land that had been used by Mexican-Americans for hundreds of years and drove off their inhabitants by force and violence. The irony of it is that the commercial Anglo-American farmers who replaced the Mexican-American subsistence farmers have seldom been able to operate at a profit without substantial government subsidies that were never given to the Mexican-Americans.

Hundreds of other Mexican-American farmers lost their land and water rights through the establishment of irrigation, water conservation and flood control projects by the U. S. Corp of Army Engineers and the U. S. Bureau of Reclamation. Many of these projects simply ignored existing Mexican-American water rights because they were not legally registered. Other irrigation and flood control projects placed heavy fixed annual charges upon covered land that the small Mexican-American farmers could not pay. The irrigation and flood control districts thereupon foreclosed their landholdings. This process is still going on along the Rio Grande.

The establishment of the National Forest System in the Southwest absorbed millions of acres from the Mexican-Americans without compensation. The officials who organized the forest districts ignored the land use and land ownership patterns of the Mexican-Americans. Entire villages were often inclosed in the variously run forest boundaries. National Forest Personnel have treated the local Mexican-American population with such contempt and disregard for local economic needs or customs that the angered populace may well burn the forests down as a means of expressing their resentment. Mexican-Americans have been denied the right to graze milk cattle or work horses in the forest while neighboring Anglo-American ranchers are freely given permission to graze riding horses. Grazing permits for beef cattle and sheep have been cut so drastically in such areas as northern New Mexico, that hundreds of poor Mexican-Americans struggling to remain on the land have been forced into deeper poverty or have had to migrate into the urban slums of neighboring cities. The U.S. Forest Service rationalizes their behavior by claiming that the forests are overgrazed. However, the Service spends more money to develop camping and picnic sites, hiking trails, wildlife habitat and recreational areas primarily used by Anglo-

Americans than they do to improve the grazing resources so vitally important to the village economy of the mountain regions of New Mexico.

The Immigration Bureau is the classic example of a federal agency in bondage to local Anglo-American economic interests in the Southwest. Labor and border crossing regulations are ignored or enforced by the bureau depending upon the need for labor on the American side. When workers are needed, the immigration authorities close their eyes to illegal border crossers. When the harvests are over or need for labor diminishes, the immigration agents conduct human roundups and manhunts throughout the Southwest and neighboring regions. The immigration bureau dumps the products of its successful hunt in Mexico ignoring their civil and legal rights. Thousands of American citizens of Mexican descent are often caught up in these roundups and find themselves in Mexico simply because they are not carrying evidence of legal citizenship with them. No other agency is as responsible for the mounting unrest along the border as the immigration bureau.

As the result of the growing national concern during the 1960's with the continued existence of massive poverty in an affluent society, coupled with rising unrest among minority groups, regular government agencies hastily revised and expanded their traditional programs. New agencies such as the Office of Economic Opportunity were created, clothed with innovative flexibility, freedom from bureaucratic procedures and staffed with personnel that for a short time did possess a moral drive to eliminate poverty. Although these new agencies did assist many individuals to escape from poverty, developed many innovative and interesting programs with considerable potentiality and trained a cadre of community organizers and field workers from the ranks of the poor, due to inherent limitations, they had but little more success than the older departments in eliminating poverty.

Culture conflicts, failure to communicate effectively with minority groups, program rigidities, the chronic tendency to treat symptoms rather than basic causes of poverty, the vacillating attitude of government agencies when attacked by local political groups and the inability to develop programs consistent with local cultures, values and economic needs were at least partially responsible for the failure of both regular departments and new agencies to reduce poverty among the Mexican-Americans.

It must be emphasized that Mexican-Americans range from those who are quite acculturated and at home in Anglo-American society to those who are still culturally isolated from it. Perhaps the majority of Mexican-Americans would fall somewhere in between these extremes. It is dangerous to generalize about the behavior of any large group of people. Such generalizations tend to ignore the subtle differences that exist within any ethnic group. However, it is safe to assume that few Mexican-Americans understand the mysterious functioning of the American government or of the mind, values and behaviors of Anglo-American middle class bureaucrats, administrators and planners. These gentlemen tend to assume that Mexican-Americans and members of other minority groups share the same cultural values, have the same social and economic aspirations and operate in the same broad frame of reference as they do. When they are confronted with behavior based on a different value system that they interpret as illogical they become irritated, bewildered and frustrated. The masses of Mexican-American people unable to comprehend the behavior of the Anglo-Americans, become just as irritated, frustrated and bewildered. This

cultural gulf has condemned more programs to failure in the Southwest than any other single factor.

Programs based upon traditional Anglo-American middle class values such as individualism, future orientation, personal social mobility and conspicuous consumption have little hope of winning Mexican-American acceptance. On the other hand, programs that are group oriented and designed to improve family, neighborhood, community and regional economic and social conditions have a far greater possibility of success. The Mexican-American for the most part is oriented toward group membership. Individualism among them is defined as selfishness. His ties to his family, peer groups, neighborhood, village, friends and community are very strong. The average Mexican-American is seldom willing to abandon them for personal advancement. Anglo-American administrators oriented toward an individual approach to social problems finds it very difficult to conceptualize problems around group interests and advancement.

Anglo-Americans in program development prefer to create boards clothed with decision-making powers responsible to the program agency. The boards elect chairmen with limited powers who serve at the pleasure of the board. The major function of the chairman is to carry out board decisions, develop an agenda for board meetings and to chair board meetings. The board creates a network of subcommittees to conduct board business and to report back to the board. The board chooses a program director to manage the program subject to the powers of the board.

The chairman conducts the meeting following Robert's Rules of Order. Each item on the agenda is presented for discussion. Then the matter is decided by the vote of the board. The vote of the majority is decisive. The minority voting in the negative are required to accept and abide by the decision of the majority.

This whole process is baffling to the Mexican-Americans. They enjoy a good public meeting and can make tremendous speeches about moral issues. However, they are most adverse to taking a public stand against other people present. If they do criticize other Mexican-Americans in public or attack their opinions, their popularity among their own people is apt to sharply decrease. They would much prefer to hold a long series of small intimate informal meetings to ascertain if a consensus exists about an issue. If a consensus of the vast majority of those involved does exist, the matter will then be put to a vote and disposed of. If a large or even a small minority is opposed to the opinion of the majority, the majority would prefer to table or to drop such a divisive issue. The vote of the majority is never binding upon the behavior of the minority. Even when a vote has taken place, those opposed to the decision of the majority will be free to raise the issue again and again. Then Anglo-Americans become confused and irritated because boards composed of Mexican-Americans never seem to follow an agenda, stick to a point or reach an agreement. Decisions once made are always seeming to come apart.

In Anglo-American board members, chairmen or agency representatives would take the trouble before a public meeting to go over agenda matters in advance with all Mexican-American groupings involved in the matter, they can ascertain whether a consensus exists or not. If one does not exist,

the Anglo-American is advised not to press the issue until a consensus can be formed. If no consensus can be created, the issue should be tabled permanently. Mexican-Americans will listen to logical arguments. They can be persuaded. They will discuss issues in small intimate gatherings. But they are resentful at having to take a stand in public that might expose them to the hostility of other people.

Few Anglo-Americans know just how thin the margin of survival is for many Mexican-American families. The survival margin is often so thin that many Mexican-Americans cannot afford the luxury of antagonizing their neighbors, of experimentation with job training, education or searching for better jobs. Anything that disturbs their family routine may threaten the survival of the family. A wrong decision could be fatal. Therefore it is best to be conservative, cautious and hesitant.

Unfortunately, Anglo-American professionals seldom really communicate with Mexican-Americans. The professionals tend to discuss and to develop programs from a rational Anglo-American point of view. If the program drawn up is adjusted to the economic and social variables involved, it should succeed. If it does not, the failure is the fault of the local people. Few planners realize that local minority group people may often have a different hierarchy of needs and problems. Few professionals are willing to accept the idea that poor semi-literate, non-English speaking Indians or Mexican-Americans may have definite accurate ideas about their own problems and may have suggestions about their solution that are as good as or even superior at times.

Another serious barrier to successful program operation is the chronic inability of Anglo-American program directors and professions to know who the real Mexican-American neighborhood or village leaders are. Anglo-Americans tend to assume that the better educated Mexican-Americans who have decent jobs, speak adequate English, live in decent homes and have been to school must be influential people and potential leaders. They never realize that such people, precisely because of these characteristics, are seldom acceptable as leaders to the Mexican-American masses. Because they make so many mistakes about selecting leaders, they often drive the real leaders into active opposition to their programs.

The narrow segmented government approach to programs and problems is a serious persistent cause of program failure. Most government agencies focus on a narrow range of activities. They develop a set of rationalized values and procedures to justify their approach. They fail to realize that the problems of the poor are extremely complex. Almost all economic issues have social and cultural components that must be considered before the economic issues can be even properly defined, let alone solved. Most agencies focus on a purely economic approach.

Furthermore, in every Southwestern community, a subtle struggle for power and influence goes on between agency personnel that may factionalize a community, sabotage a program and deepen the already existing cynicism toward all government agencies. Very few examples of successful interagency cooperation have ever come to my attention in this region. Local agency personnel will push programs that are completely maladjusted to local situations and they know that such programs will fail. As communications run downward in most agencies and seldom upward, agency personnel are afraid to criticize agency procedures for fear of injuring their position in the agency.

Most Mexican-Americans and American Indians are extremely suspicious of all government agencies and their personnel, whether Anglo-American or Mexican-American. As they have suffered so brutally from government agency activities in the past, they find it difficult to believe that government can ever be benevolent. The whole apparatus of organized local, state and federal government is viewed by them as an organized conspiracy against the well being of the Mexican-American or the American Indian. They do not have an understanding of the theories and values underlying the American political system. The major reason for this is that these theories and values have been so seldom put into practice in the Southwest. This deeply rooted cynicism about the motives of government is one of the most serious obstacles to any successful war against poverty in the Southwest.

Many programs advanced by agencies in the Southwest were successful in other regions but they will not be successful in the Southwest because of differing geographic, social or cultural environments. Examples are legion. Thus, in Northern New Mexico, most village irrigation systems are simple mud and brush structures that wash out in the first spring freshet. It would seem a simple matter to persuade some government agency to assist the village population to build a series of small concrete diversion dams. So far, this has been impossible. The writer well remembers one argument with a representative of the U. S. Corp of Army Engineers in which he was told that the Engineers would be delighted to build one or two big dams if the projects could finance them but could not be involved in building a series of insignificant small dams. The rigidities of programing, the inability to regionalize programs and the lack of program flexibility are responsible for the death of many programs.

The language barrier should not be overlooked. Many English-speaking Americans feel personally threatened by the sound of Spanish. Mexican-Americans are fired for speaking Spanish while working. School children are excluded from school for the same reason. I have never managed to quite understand the Anglo-American hostility toward the Spanish language. Very little attempt is ever made by Anglo-Americans to cross the linguistic barrier. Government representatives tend to assume that all those who hear their voice must understand English. Anglo-American representatives on poverty boards seldom provide facilities for translation and interpretation.

Many Mexican-Americans sharply resent the lack of courtesy and consideration for them and for their language. Often not understanding the proceedings, they withdraw from participation. Although the language barrier may not be so critical outside the Southwest, it is always present and must be considered.

And finally the most fundamental reason for the failure of government and private agencies to reduce poverty is that they treat the symptoms of poverty such as poor housing, malnutrition, disease, inadequate schools and lack of skills rather than the fundamental causes of poverty such as discrimination, segregation, alienation of land and water resources and denial of due process and civil rights. Many employees of government agencies aware of this situation will often subtly encourage local Mexican American groups to attack discrimination, segregation, exclusion from political activities and the existence of tenements owned by prominent people in the community. Enthusiastically believing that the millenium has arrived when representatives of the all powerful government in Washington tell them to attack their local enemies, they have responded with vigor. Inevitably, the government representative will abandon

the field troops when political pressure is applied in Washington. South-western political and economic elites are very much aware of the growing unrest among minority groups in the Southwest. In many areas such as in New Mexico, they have reacted violently against the threat. In other sections, they have shown a greater willingness to compromise and to adjust to meet the growing demands of the local populations.

In closing, I would very much like to say that some programs have succeeded. The designers and directors of these programs have secured the cooperation of local Mexican-American leaders. They have involved the Mexican-American people in all stages of program design and program implementation. They have been oriented toward neighborhood, community or village problems as defined by the local people. Operating within the framework of Mexican-American values, they have been able to utilize the many strengths of Mexican-American culture. There is no reason why other programs so designed, directed against the fundamental causes of poverty, can not also succeed in the future. As unrest is increasing rapidly, it would behoove the state and federal governments to increase their pace somewhat.

CHAPTER XIII

THE NEED FOR COMMITMENT

GILBERT CHAVEZ

In listening to previous papers, it became apparent the tempo hoped for had been set. First this was to inform the people here and those who read the proceedings how things "really are" for minority group members, particularly as this relates to educational institutions operated by the system. Second it was to consider the quality of commitment necessary, not only from those working outside of the establishment but from friends within the system, particularly as this is now viewed by the Office of Education in Washington, to insure success in any program. And third to show some of the benefits accruing to all when the system comes at least half-way.

It always starts with the individual--no matter the program he is in. It starts with the individual's perspective of himself and of the opportunities which he might logically pursue. For example, I am from Arizona originally and started learning my role in American society by being called a "greaser," dirty Mexican. I was taught to be very ashamed of speaking Spanish in elementary school simply because, I know now, the teacher didn't understand Spanish. We were chastised for speaking Spanish by being kept after school. Later, in high school I was taught I was a Mexican-American and for the first time that maybe I did belong; it must be remembered, however, how few like me make it into high school--so many drop out earlier. In college I called myself a Spanish-American because the people in my milieu made me be ashamed of being Mexican. I am now in Washington, D. C., and there is a current rage of new labels--Chicano, brown, machismo, and the Spanish-speaking. The point is, of course, I was never taught simply who I was separate from labels--I've had to learn basic identity on my own--the schools first of all were no help.

It would be unfair to say that labels are just bestowed by the dominant group, the Anglos. There are labels within that are sometimes just as hard to live with. For example, minority members who try to move on to positions of responsibility, usually using education as the vehicle, in the hope they can do some good for their people, risk being called such current disparaging names as tío tomas (Uncle Tom), vendido (sell-out), cocoanut (brown on the outside but very white on the inside), or Aunt Jemima for the women. It is sometimes very difficult to be effective within a minority group if you appear to be anything like a member of middle-class society. Some of the minority people have come to distrust anything and everything even remotely associated with the majority or Anglos because they have been told so many, many lies in the past.

If system education is to accomplish anything with the by-passed populations, those portions of these people who are representatives of minority groups will properly insist on a re-evaluation of basic educational philosophy. In order to accomplish this, there must be more commitment than is now visible. Words have been very easy and very evident. Greed by institutions seeking fat grants has also been evident. Now it is time to see this all translated into some action, where the people served are clearly in focus and have been brought

in to assist on some basic decisions--to be involved in the establishment of goals, objectives, and priorities.

Consider one aspect of the total problem of education in this country-- just one aspect of the degree of failure in providing adequately for the basic population. This is that there are over 24,000,000 persons in the United States defined as illiterates. Given the wealth of this country and the amount of this wealth given over to education, what has happened to produce such a depressing number of people who still are unable to read in a society based on the printed word? These 24,000,000 persons, struggling to read the price on a can of beans or a contract regarding the rental of any property, have an understandable paranoia--they have been cheated by experts in the past who have capitalized on their condition of illiteracy. Chances are they will be cheated again--today. They are our forgotten people. It will take considerable commitment to begin to redress the wrongs. It will take a change in perspective of establishment schools.

Having established commitment as a priority, the Office of Education personnel are frequently asked, "What do you mean by commitment?" The answer begins with a simple, "Show genuine concern and no interest in 'creaming' a federal grant." Interest begins with involvement. The establishment people too often sit in a big white tower and say that minority groups are not really interested in education. After all, this view suggests, we are just five miles away and it only costs fifteen cents by bus for them to come to our educational establishment and provide an educational experience and still they don't come. Why don't they come? So the establishment people design programs and set rules of the game and say, "They're not interested". Yet good programs exist where by-passed people were met half-way by people from the system who were interested, people who have commitment and again this means to me evidence--action and not words--of genuine interest in people. Commitment requires organization in the end. Realistic organization of schedules being flexible, classes held on Sunday if necessary. Not enough of this is happening. However, there are occasional programs where commitment has been or is evident. In Minneapolis you could suggest people curious about what commitment means to visit Sister Giovanni's GAP Project (Gaudelupe Area Project). There is also a lady in San Antonio who has organized 135 volunteers to teach 1,800 adults every night of the week--and without a penny in the beginning to underwrite the whole thing. However, it must be more than an individual commitment if the massiveness of the problem is to be approached properly. The system must become involved totally.

Next commitment must be from total society which will support the effort of government or of an administration to provide educational opportunities. High priority is to show the minorities themselves the importance of education, but this will be achieved only when they trust the process--not easy just now as it has been a process which has alienated them too often in the past. High priority must be to get out into the ghettos, the barrios, and the stagnant industrial areas to ask questions, to probe, to work with the people at their own defined level of appropriateness.

Commitment then is supported by flexibility. This usually involved going to the people, finding from them what their problems are, working up possible solutions in concert with them, and then attempting to organize programs addressed to these solutions. It always requires that the establishment

educational institutions, if not defined out of existence by itself at the onset by refusing to adopt the flexible posture required, come at least half-way towards the people. The reasons for this have been discussed--the people simply don't trust the schools but regard them as just another tool of the dominant society to insure a condition of continuous deprivation. An example of an establishment institution which came more than half-way might be useful.

Big Bend Community College in Moses Lake, Washington, sought and obtained an OEO-Migrant Branch grant in 1967 to organize and conduct educational programs for migrant workers in the central part of that state. This was a pilot project, and it was funded at the onset as an experiment but only then because the college had gone first to the people involved and asked them not just to participate in designing a program but to design a program they thought would work. There were other colleges in the area, some much closer to the bulk of the migrants, but none were willing to assume responsibility for the program as there was virtually no "skimming" or "creaming" allowed on the grant--the grant was set up to serve the maximum number of people not to finance existing colleges.

The extent of the college's commitment became immediately evident. I was hired out to Arizona to run the program, but the migrants themselves and not the college made up the vast majority on the select committee which had searched for the executive director. The search committee had fourteen members, and the college was represented with a single vote--the president, who gave it to a faculty member who had had some experience in some volunteer programs the college had offered migrants the previous spring at no cost to the students.

Once hired, the college instructed me to put into effect what the migrants had asked for, and I was turned loose to do it. In the first year, and there were only two months of "crank-up time", we enrolled 600 people. This success was doubtless due in part to the fact that at no time were the people told, "This is what we are going to offer you, and you must come here to receive it." We took the programs to them, and we asked for them to be constantly evaluated by the user--the student.

The college program was eventually absorbed into an umbrella-type program which involved all migrant programs in the state. Before this happened, it has grown to a \$1,500,000 budget and involved scholarships for adults to learn to read, farm worker children to move into vocational training or into university preparation work, scholarships for education beyond the community college, and the first successful self-help housing project ever attached to a college or university (this has since become more common, but until Big Bend did it, the only other attempt had failed--this at a university in Nova Scotia).

Now a most important thing is that Big Bend Community College did not ask for and did not take any of the grant money for itself. The college was satisfied by simply being able to provide or accommodate the training needs of some hard pressed people in its community. This is commitment. It was a commitment which reached and stimulated the people served--because they felt a part of it.

There is also individual commitment as well as institutional or program. About ten years ago I really didn't know the role that I should play. I didn't

know then that it was important for me as a Mexican-American to go back and try to do my thing for the people who really needed help. Commitment like this from browns and blacks throughout the country is so necessary, as well as from the Anglos--probably more so in some cases from the Anglos than from the minority group, though this is touch and go. In Washington, D. C. we sit sometimes in meetings and see Anglos take the initiative to start things needed by our people, and we ask, "What's this guy's bag?" Meanwhile, the Anglo is often trying to convince us of something needed for ourselves, and I always wonder why we don't do it ourselves. Why is it that we don't come through and do these things? Sometimes because of the experiences we've had growing up, we mistrust some people--some people who really want to help. Too often the educated minority group member who "makes it" doesn't want to look back. This is stupid because at that moment when the ethnic source has been rejected is the exact moment of self-emasculatation.

Some things have to change drastically in order to reduce minority paranoia, especially the education in the elementary schools. They have to find teachers, they have to change the curriculum, the practicum, the experiences that the minority groups have in the school community. The teachers and administrators have to be better prepared to know who they're going to teach. They have to know and appreciate that these people are interested in coming to school, but there is also the matter of food--and when you have six or seven in the family, education becomes secondary--a chronic choice of necessity for far too many in this rich society.

There is also the matter of commitment of establishment institutions--the university particularly--to the clientele they still serve--middle class youngsters. The young people in Washington, as the young people throughout the country, have tried to change the philosophies that exist in most of the schools throughout the U.S. I think it is important that the University, the elementary schools, the community colleges prepare their people much better; that they allow an exposure to the things that students are going to be involved in. Education must become relevant at all levels if the illiteracy of 24,000,000 is to be dealt with. Presently, it's just like a faucet with even more illiterates dumped into a huge pool of existing illiterates. This huge pool just fills up with more and more young adults, inadequate to the needs of their time. We have to stop that faucet in some way.

It seems that the federal offices approach education with a "band-aid" type of medication. So many different kinds of programs are funded by the Office of Education that coordination has been patchy. A better job of providing opportunity, not only for the adults, nor only for the children, but for a total family educational approach will result if basic issues and not symptoms are dealt with.

Though there are twenty-four million illiterates "discovered" currently, I'm sure there are many more. If this problem of illiteracy is to be eliminated, there will have to be a true commitment, not only by the establishment but also by the people served. It will require coordination which now does not exist. The federal government can and should lead in this effort. The 1970's will have to hold a better future for these people. The past has already failed them.

CHAPTER XIV

ACCOUNTABILITY AND RESPONSIBILITY IN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS FOR BY-PASSED POPULATIONS

JAMES L. OLIVERO

At a time when there is considerable need to re-align national priorities to focus more attention on meeting man's socio-educational needs perhaps than on launching an extended space program, there are a considerable number of people--particularly highly placed decision-makers--who do not believe that the problems of by-passed populations can be resolved, even if unlimited funds become available immediately. Clearly there is a cry for accountability and responsibility by both the by-passed populations and the fiscal decision-makers.

While it is possible to enunciate glittering generalities about various individual efforts to meet the needs of the disadvantaged, this is a far cry from systems actually developing long-range programs whereby certain program outcomes can be guaranteed. Keeping busy in education is no longer sufficient. "Accountable improvement is the current watch word."¹

Some educators maintain that many powerful programs already exist and that the task is to simply make a few adaptations before installing what others have designed. There is some evidence to support this notion, on a limited basis. But we have injected so little resources--one-half of one percent of available Office of Education funds--in research that we have not been able to answer the following questions:

1. What are our specific objectives?
2. What specific content must we have to accomplish our objectives?
3. How do we ascertain culturally relevant input so materials can specifically focus on the participants' needs--be they black, Spanish-speaking or Amerindian?
4. What specific instructional methodology is necessary to use any material?
5. What evaluative criteria will assess key performance criteria?

Complex problems are not going to be solved by very simplistic notions. Complex problems require complex solutions and our society has some very serious and complex problems. We simply do not know enough about such factors as: How people learn, the relationship between economic development and educational motivation; circumstances which prohibit the inculcation of such attitudinal elements as positive self-esteem, etc. Needed is much more systematic research and development that relates theory to practice. Only when these programs have been developed can appropriate dissemination activities take place. The urgency for immediate, long-range solutions to age-old problems makes this process an impossibility.

¹Schutz, Richard E., "The Nature of Educational Development." Journal of Research and Development on Education. Volume 3, Number 2. Athens, Georgia. Winter 1970.

This paper is intended to illustrate a model to obtain maximum accountability from program input. Rather than focus on a narrow target such as a particular project, consider instead a common frame of reference about various assessment devices that relate to establishing creditability and accountability in programs for by-passed populations.

Accountability means, "Doing what you claim you are going to do!" In the long run this means some sort of evaluation plan whereby one can determine how closely program objectives are being accomplished. The question "What evidence will be accepted that program goals have been accomplished?" It's not something that is easily answered. Specified testing procedures must be established.

Unfortunately, testing to many means shuffling IBM cards and their statistical content. Instead, we need to attach far greater importance to people than to the numbers we gather. The testing procedure is, after all, a people business--whether we at the South-Western Cooperative Educational Laboratory in Albuquerque are talking about American Indian children, Spanish-speaking children, or Black children;--we are nonetheless still talking about children, and we must keep this first and foremost in our minds. Other programs have different foci, but people are at the heart of all of the important issues.

Techniques generally used for testing and measuring can arbitrarily be categorized into four rather distinct classifications

1. Conventional research approaches
2. Performance criteria approaches
3. Cost-benefit and accountability approaches
4. Standardized test approaches

The conventional approach is the typical means of assessing progress or growth. We simply pit one approach, or one methodology, or one program against another; and by tested mathematical formulæ seek to determine if one methodology is significantly better than the other.

The performance criteria, or behavioral objective approach, is a personal preference. In this, specifically defined terminal objectives are established A Priori and assessment instruments are used to help determine how closely the terminal objectives are achieved. This procedure usually overcomes the following limitations:

1. Difficulty in demonstrating statistical significance of one technique as opposed to another without meeting acceptable performance standards.
2. Overcoming cultural bias of instruments because they practically are irrelevant when used with certain target populations.

Rather than debating the merits of one approach versus the limitations of another, suffice to say that the performance criteria system is an alternative to be considered because it helps establish credibility in our programs.

The need and the desire to accomplish performance criteria is less common in education, perhaps, than in any other segment of our society. If doctors perform poorly they can be sued for malpractice; similiar recourse is available to those in law and other professions. While malpractice may be evidenced by

failure to remove a scalpel before suturing, might evidence of malpractice in education be characterized by the generation of self-fulfilling hypotheses in the by-passed populations that they are in some way inferior to the rest of society and that inferiority probably, although not necessarily, stems from the color of the skin, and the fact that English is not spoken in the home.

If I.Q. Tests are irrelevant in terms of the student's home environment; if tests are paper and pencil rather than oral--essentially "measuring" reading rather than other factors; if children come to school undernourished; if textbooks focus on "Dick and Jane" themes rather than more specific cultural factors--the children are likely to have difficulty negotiating the educational system. Each element is pretty straightforward and each problem can be solved. We may not have the tools now, but the need is immediate! Perhaps for the first time we have managed to identify the causal factors rather than constantly pursuing remediation. But what needs to be done requires resources--human and fiscal. Such key problems as changing national priorities must be addressed if we are to accomplish the objectives in sight.

If resources in the magnitude necessary become available, though, we must be prepared to answer questions involving cost-benefit and accountability. This is a third type of research approach that should become a reality rather than being just a topic for the professional literature.

From congressman to individual taxpayer more and more attention is being given to accountability--people are asking with increasing frequency "what are we getting for the money we are investing?" There are just enough examples of "nothing" answers to that question to cause us to be more on the defensive than the offensive because we cannot provide concrete results. It is far easier to obtain funds for future space explorations after a lunar landing than it is to obtain additional monies for the "right to read" when the only thing we know about reading is we can't teach it very well.

The fourth approach, the standardized test procedure, is familiar to everyone, unfortunately many people are unfamiliar with some of the evils of such an approach and therefore fail to recognize the injustices of comparing apples to oranges when all of the rules of the comparison have been prepared by the apple-growers.

Most of the work in which educators are engaged is directed at one of the following activities:

1. Cognitive
2. Psychomotor
3. Affective

Maximum attention has been directed at the child's cognitive growth. This is important because basic skills mean opportunities for jobs. At the same time much more attention must be directed to the psychomotor and affective dimensions if we are to concern ourselves with the total learner, be he child or adult.

Using the foregoing research approaches and considering the cognitive, affective, and psychomotor factors, let us now consider an operational schema for examining several factors which seem to influence the work with by-passed children and adults.

Many of our challenges are attitudinal, and stem both from ignorance and from outright prejudice. Unfortunately, many of our teacher education programs fail to emphasize the similarities and differences in cultures and, indirectly, contribute to the perpetuation of various stereotypes. There are some members of our society who are prejudiced and practice discrimination on a day-to-day basis. Many of these prejudices are so inbred that we are unlikely to change them. At best not as rapidly as might be wished.

Ignorance about cultural factors is another issue. Many people mistakenly assume that non-English speakers are culturally disadvantaged, particularly if they reside in locales where English is the predominant language.

These people are different from the middle-majority, but their culture often is full and rich even though some factors in it may work against negotiating the formal instructional systems at least as the system is now organized.

A short film produced by the Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory depicts a number of factors about the American Indian of which most of us are ignorant. Some of these factors are historical; others are outgrowths of conditions that have been forced upon unsuspecting people by those who claim that "we are here to help you."

Many youngsters first enter the formal educational establishment in states where the law requires that all instruction be in English. How is a child supposed to retain anything that might remotely resemble positive self-esteem when the schools directly and indirectly tell him he is a second class citizen because his "different" parents have taught him to communicate in something other than English?

This isn't the end of the problem, however, soon after admission into school, the child is given a standardized test patterned on students with a fair command of English and who are familiar with the types of environmental conditions promoted by the "Dick and Jane" oriented tests. If the teacher has difficulty with the child, a glance at his records certainly can confirm the fact that neither the teacher nor the curriculum is at fault--the child is stupid; the test says so!

Some individuals are beginning to make claims for culture-free tests, promoting the position of the "fluid" general intelligence. Another effort to eliminate cultural biases in tests is being studied by Dr. John Ertle of Montreal who is attempting to determine intelligence by measuring brain waves via the EEG. Apparently some common characteristics of brain waves do appear when "bright" individuals are tested; but this technique may be so embryonic that we can not afford to bank too heavily on it for the present. We must find other alternatives.

What alternatives are open? Rather than attempting to use "global" instruments to determine I. Q. potential aptitude for school, etc. Perhaps we should exert greater effort at diagnosing the students entering behavior

TABLE I
 VARIABLE DESIGNATION AND
 THEIR RESPECTIVE MEASURING INSTRUMENT

VARIABLES	INSTRUMENTS
Learning Style	Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Ability (ITPA)
English Language Hearing Vocabulary	Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT)
Entry Skills	Preschool Inventory Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory Child Interview Scale and Test Information Sheets (SWCEL Scale)
Motivation	Items related to self-esteem, Mother-father identification Reward preference Locus of control and Test/school anxiety
Environmental Process	Wolf's Environmental Process Characteristics Home Interview Questionnaire

with respect to specific content appropriate for them.

Recently, sociologist Malcolm Garber attempted to determine the profiles of various groups of culturally different children. He made intensive investigations with Spanish-speaking and Amerindian (Navajo and Pueblo) children and adults in a study entitled Classroom Strategies: Culture and Learning Styles, Volume I.² After using all of the testing instruments, only a very few of the more than 300 variables seemed to have any semblance of significant relationships.

But consider a more specific type of diagnostic tool. In an effort to ascertain levels of communication skills (oral language, using English as a base) an oral test--non-paper and pencil test instrument--has been constructed by laboratory personnel. Some SWCEL testers go into the schools--or the laboratory trains others to test for it--and administer the test to children. This helps SWCEL know if the student (typically ages 3-9) initially possesses communication skills necessary to begin negotiating the school system.

The SWCEL Oral Language Proficiency test helps determine if the lessons are appropriate. If the students don't have the necessary cognitive skills upon entering the program, the Oral Language Program can be useful, depending upon other variables.

Other variables include a variety of activities which have implications for the total systems approach: (See also Appendix A, pages 109, 110, 111.)

1. Materials development
2. Development of teacher protocols
 - a. Teachers of teachers
 - b. Teachers of students
 - c. Teachers of adults
 - (1) parents
 - (2) teacher aides
3. Development of a quality control system
4. Development of cost-benefit system
 - a. Does the program accomplish its goals?
 - b. Is the program as good or better than existing programs?

The implications for psychological testing and measuring relative to these considerations should be obvious. Until recently many of our testing and evaluation approaches have been far too narrow in scope, focusing isolated and fragmented attention on often inconsequential enterprises.

The problems that confront us are not easily resolved. Just to mention a few obstacles that stand in our way we can look at the following:

1. We have few tools of dissemination to exchange ideas and information about what has been successful and unsuccessful.
2. The climate for change often is lacking in the various places that need change most.

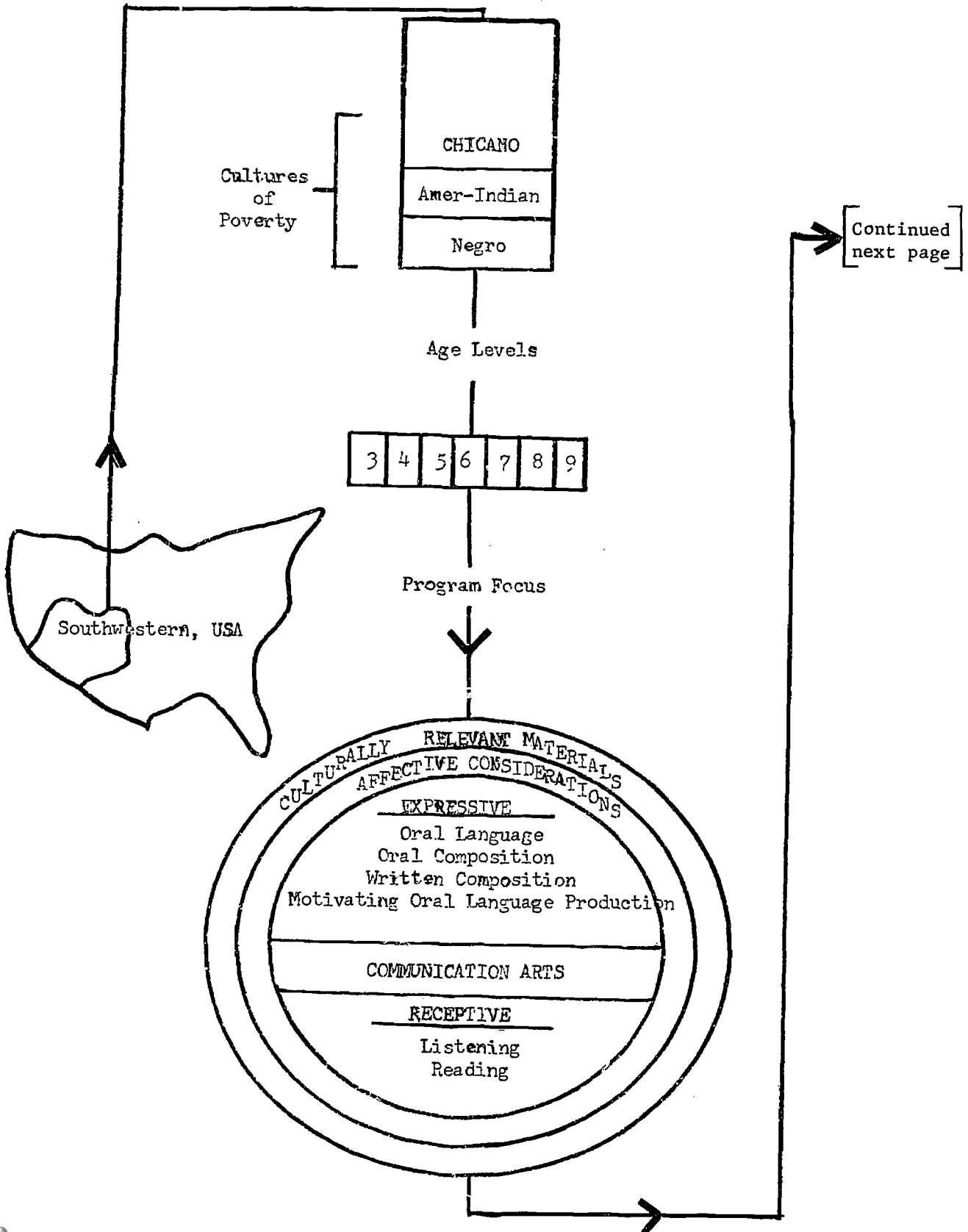
²Garber, Malcolm, Classroom Strategies: Culture and Learning Styles, Volume I, Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1968.

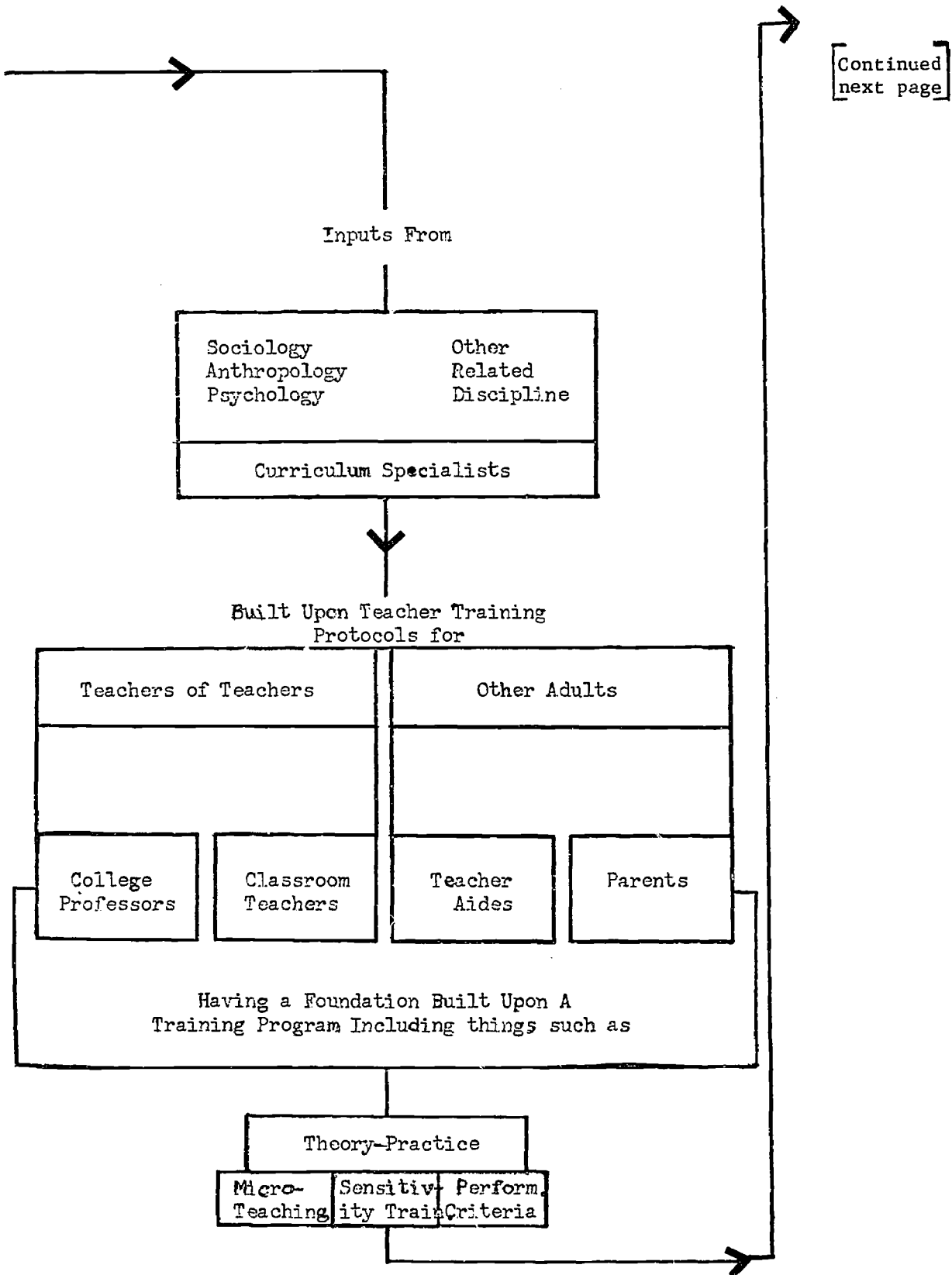
3. There are untrained and incompetent teachers who need to be replaced.
4. The year-by-year funding system now in vogue mitigates against articulation and continuity of programs.
5. The procedures for marshalling scarce resources are very fuzzy-- if not impossible to unravel. We must find ways to bring together such things as TITLE I, IV, VII, OEO, Community Action Programs, etc.

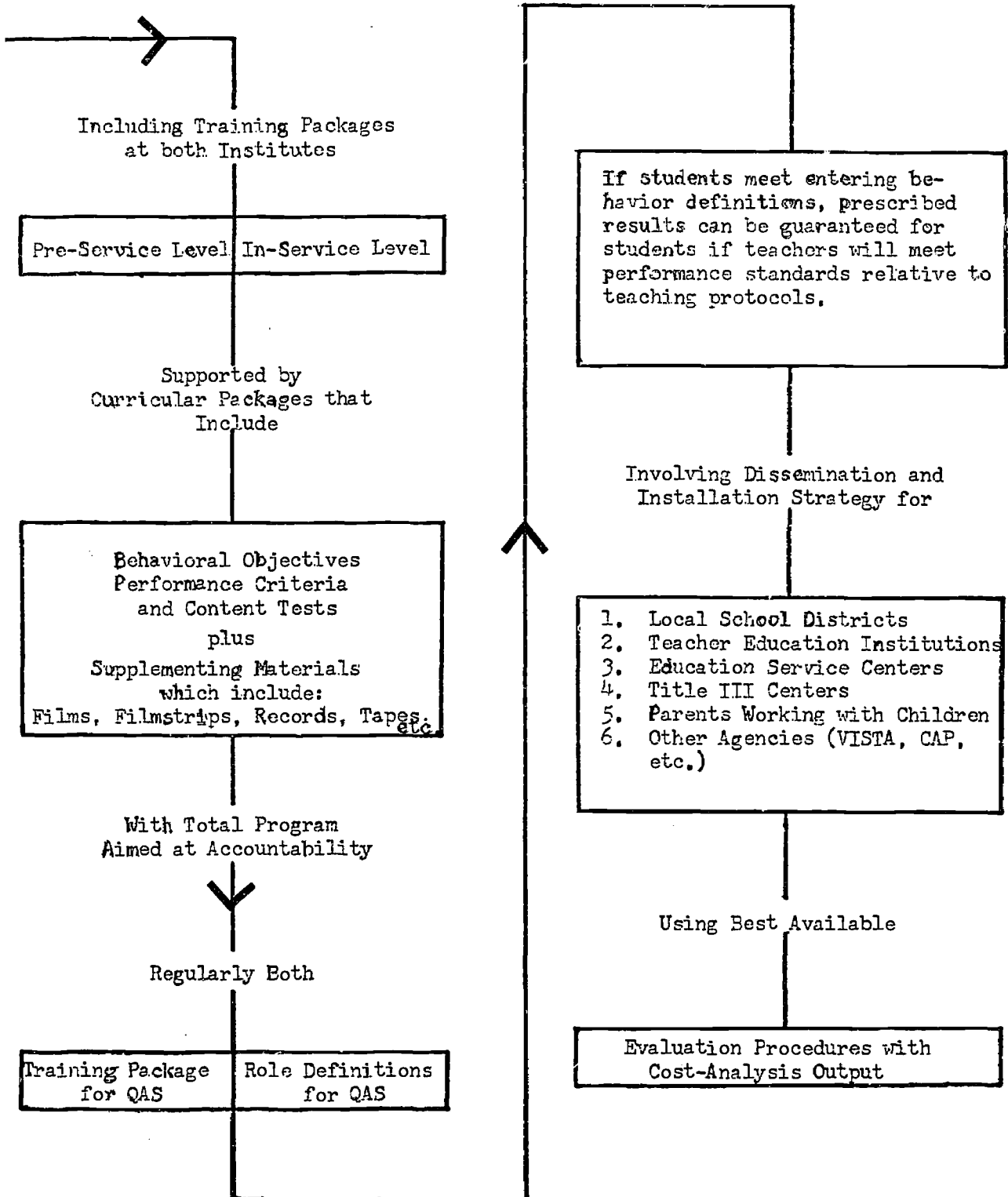
If we can use our resources to conduct systematic development activities we can soon begin the necessary dissemination of proven program materials.

Considering the many pressures that are upon all of us--from the super-conservatives to the super-liberals--the funding, personnel, and backlog of critical issues, one might have the tendency to suggest that the problems are so overwhelming that they may be impossible to overcome. We are reminded at these times of a statement by Mayor Richard Washington of Washington, D. C. when he was concerned with the issue of an underground rapid transit system and how to get it started. His counsel is good for all of us--"It is time to stop talking and start digging."

Appendix A
 A Schematic "Total System"
 (refer to page 107)







CHAPTER XV

A PASSPORT TO THE FUTURE

LEE G. MADDEN

Honeywell, Incorporated, has been engaged in a training program called Operation Passport. This was not started solely as a humanitarian effort, as it is necessary for a company the size of Honeywell (21,000 employees in the local area and 80,000 throughout the world) to have a balanced, qualified work force. There is also a definite and continual need for newly trained people simply due to turn-over and attrition among this many employees. However, it was also deemed desirable for Honeywell to do what it could in the area of social responsibility. Operation Passport, then, is a response to training needs, but it is also a response to the urge for humanitarian effort --in this case a serious effort to work with disadvantaged persons. As with any large organization, however, there had to be an impetus and then an accommodation.

The impetus came for a commitment to the employment of the disadvantaged from the President of Honeywell, Stephen F. Keating, who summed up his and the company's attitude in a speech delivered to the University of Minnesota's School of Business Administration in this manner:

No thoughtful citizen can be content when he sees hopeless deprivation or racial injustice around him. So, for the individual, the urban crisis becomes a moral crisis. He cannot ignore his conscience.... Now, businessmen are as disturbed and shocked at this kind of problem as are all of our citizens... Working with agencies, as a concerned and capable individual, the businessman can be an important force for progress. But it is in his involvement in his business that he can perhaps exert his most direct and helpful influence.... It is the job of business to make things happen, get things done, change the world.

His decision committed Honeywell morally and financially to a broad program of outreach into the unemployed/underemployed sector of the community which included remedial teaching of the educationally deprived, aggressive recruitment, development and permanent placement of the hard core unemployed, and vigorous participation with other business, social and governmental elements of the community in providing economic independence for the needy.

In order to show the company commitment, it is necessary to understand the new corporate policy on Equal Employee Opportunity, which was adopted in 1968:

Honeywell believes that it is vital to the successful conduct of business and to the long-range national welfare to promote economic, social and educational equity for all citizens. Accordingly, all Honeywell employees are recruited, hired, trained, assigned,

promoted, transferred, downgraded, laid off, recalled and terminated based upon their own abilities, achievements and experience without regard to race, color, creed, sex or economic status.

This new policy is more than an employment policy. It recognizes the interaction between the social needs and the economic needs of all segments of our society. It poses a greater challenge. To meet it will require broader understanding and more affirmative action by all of us. Through application of this new policy, we can help provide opportunity for jobs, training, education, and social readjustment for hitherto disadvantaged citizens. To employ them successfully will not be easy. Training and coaching will often be required. But by making them productive, they then have an opportunity to make the now so vitally needed social readjustments in constructive ways, rather than through added welfare demands or violence.

With the above commitments by Honeywell executives and the corporate policy, accommodation became possible, and it was only a matter of time until the program we now call Operation Passport came into existence. Faced with the dilemma of unfilled factory positions in localities of chronic unemployment, Honeywell decided to intensify its efforts to employ men and women whom society has variously classified as disadvantaged, hard core unemployed, or unemployable.

In analyzing the possible alternatives for accomplishing this objective, it became apparent that (1) job applicant requirements and recruiting procedures had to account for the limitations of the needy and (2) some kind of a training program was necessary to bridge the gap between the capabilities of the jobless and realistic requirements for job success.

In the fall of 1967, Honeywell began a careful study of job applicant qualifications. Those unrelated to successful job performance were trimmed, including the high school diploma requirements. We then instituted an aggressive recruiting program using multiracial counselors to interview would-be employees in their own core city neighborhoods. Community center facilities were used as well as a special mobile recruiting van.

Based on analysis of manpower needs and training capabilities, Honeywell decided it would have to establish a preplacement training center in which disadvantaged employees could receive proper orientation and training to adequately prepare themselves, mentally and physically, for their subsequent assignment in one of Honeywell's factories. In May, 1968, the training center opened its doors and the first group of PASSPORT trainees arrived.

The two initial programs were as follows:

Operation Passport - This training program is designed for individuals who possess an 8th grade literacy level but lack factory experience. Passport trainees spend six weeks in the preplacement training center, which includes both classrooms and simulated factory work areas. They receive an orientation to factory life and training in basic factory skills.

The orientation focuses on establishing and reshaping work attitudes and behavior patterns. The sessions follow a discussion format in an informal

atmosphere and have the objective of informing, motivating, and relieving those anxieties that impede progress. Through them, the trainee becomes familiar with the world of work, learning the basis of our competitive systems as well as the rules and regulations of the company.

After one hour of orientation each morning, the remainder of the day is devoted to skill training in a fully equipped factory setting. Job training is offered in the categories of assembly, stores, and maintenance. Each trainee rotates through all three job roles to provide the broadest possible exposure to work requirements. This allows him to evaluate his interests and abilities in each area before concentrating on one of them in anticipation of a permanent job assignment.

Upon graduation from Passport, the trainee is placed in a regular factory position where on-the-job training is continued over the 12-week probationary period. No special treatment is accorded the former trainee; he must make good just like any other new factory employee. To help him adjust to the new work situation, however, every foreman receives special sensitivity-awareness training and each graduate is assigned to a "buddy" during the period of adjustment.

Project AIM - AIM is designed for those who possess neither factory experience nor an eighth grade literacy level. Trainees who elect to enter AIM spend approximately ten weeks in the preplacement training center, receiving remedial education in the morning and skill training in the afternoon.

Upon entering the program, each trainee is tested to determine his school comprehension level, whereupon a particular curriculum is developed for that individual. Depending upon needs, course work includes:

- Basic Reading Skills
- Basic Mathematical Skills
- Consumer Education

Each trainee progresses at his own pace thereafter, receiving supervision and special individual attention, as needed, from one of the two AIM instructors. In this relaxed learning atmosphere, trainees respond well, nearly all reaching the eighth grade achievement level within the 10-week period.

Training in job skills and factory placement of AIM graduates are handled in the same manner as for Operation Passport.

Training Center Staff - Administering the factory orientation and job skill training for both Passport and AIM are a project manager, a foreman, two full-time counselors, a production planner, and two group leaders. These individuals have been drawn from within the Honeywell organization on the basis of their specialized abilities and their effectiveness in communicating with and motivating people coming from deprived backgrounds.

Remedial instruction under Project AIM is provided by instructors from the Minneapolis Public Schools, Adult Basic Education group. They have special training and experience in teaching those with learning problems.

Other Educational Programs - Honeywell, in cooperation with the Minneapolis Public Schools, Adult Basic Education program, offers instruction for regular employees who are interested in working toward a General Education Development (GED) certificate. Instruction is provided two days a week, with sessions lasting two hours each. The GED certificate is generally recognized as equivalent to a high school diploma, qualifying holders for more responsible jobs.

To help keep potential dropouts in school as long as possible, Honeywell and the Minneapolis Public Schools have established special enriched learning programs in core city elementary, junior high, and senior high schools. Students with learning problems are given special tutorial attention and programmed learning is available via Honeywell on-line computers.

Honeywell also sponsors an extensive free After-Hours Education Program for all employees. The program is broad in scope, offering courses applicable to all levels of employment.

An Investment in People - Honeywell's programs are an investment in people and in the future. Since they were inaugurated as wholly company-funded activities, some financial recovery has been accomplished under U.S. Department of Labor subsidies. However, whenever necessary expenditures exceed allowable costs, Honeywell continues to underwrite the difference.

To date, employee acceptance of the programs and retention of graduates have been encouraging. By providing people with an opportunity to help themselves, Honeywell believes it has found at least one key to solving the dilemma of the disadvantaged, bringing together the jobs and jobless on a lasting basis.

Buddy System - Honeywell and Teamster's Local #1145 combined to establish a buddy system for Passport/Aim graduates. The buddy system is a means by which a graduate from Passport/Aim is assigned to an experienced employee for a period of time. The objective in implementing the buddy system is to help the trainee help himself and thereby insure his success as an employee.

The following are a few of the overall statistics of the Passport training program for the period from May 6, 1968 through December 31, 1969:

Total Trainees	308
Total Graduates.....	187
Total Still in Training.....	68
Graduate Retention Rate.....	36%

The breakdown by race of the 308 trainees was as follows:

<u>Race</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
White	119	39%
Negro	112	36%
Indian.....	71	23%
Spanish/American	6	02%

<u>Race</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
White	33	49%
Negro	30	44%
Indian	4	06%
Spanish/American...	1	01%
	<hr/> 69%	<hr/> 100%

If we are to look ahead to the future, we must first look at the past and try to visualize what we have created by our efforts to become involved. It would be simple if we would have realized a total involvement by the private sector, the government, and the educational fields; but, as usual, we have seen a concession without a total commitment. For until we can show a society aware, concerned, and fully involved, we cannot say we are totally committed. We still are surrounded by bigots and racists who don't speak out against equality openly, but use the political machinery to achieve their objectives, as well as their positions of authority within the private and business sectors.

What the future holds cannot be discussed in terms of hiring the disadvantaged. This has been stressed long enough. We must now look to the areas of unemployed and determine the causes, such as health reasons, etc. We have many who are mentally retarded in a way they cannot successfully produce at the required levels of our society. What can we do for them? We have those with serious diabetes or epilepsy, serious back injuries, etc. What can we do for them? We must answer these questions, for they comprise a sizable of the unemployed today. Can we rehabilitate them for useful jobs? If not, we must admit it and accept the fact that welfare sometimes is justified for some mentally retarded, some blind, some other handicapped who cannot be rehabilitated, and also some of the very young. We hear all the criticism of the welfare system-that it has perpetuated dependency of those who are on it. Yes, this is true when we consider those on it that could be productive, but it is not their fault if we do not take the steps to sort out the people who should be working from those who cannot. This sorting effort must be coordinated with an application of the law that is fair and consistent. This includes realistic procedures for A.D.C. mothers who are making an attempt to work. Industry cannot do the job alone. In these areas help is needed!

There are other areas also that need to be pursued, such as better housing, schools, etc. Indeed, this is nothing new. This has been heard from many of our civic and government leaders, but where are they? Where is the involved man of a year ago or the programs of a year ago? A large number have either been reduced or cut off. Administration policy is most often geared to and created for political reasons. At least this is my opinion and I'm not criticizing the Democrats or Republicans, except to say it is too bad we cannot have in both parties more men of conscience who run and are elected to political office based on their convictions rather than what is necessary to satisfy the political machine. To increase unemployment or to accept continuing inflation is an almost impossible choice. Either will create a reservoir of problems in the city slums or wherever the deprived or disadvantaged can be found. They are not interested in the arguments created by the different political parties, for they don't understand. They are interested in survival for themselves and their families. We cannot expect to take them aboard, train them, and lay them off due to a decline in economic activity for whatever reason. We must not short-change the war on poverty at

home while we spend millions of dollars on war or on poverty problems in other countries. We need and must work for our disadvantaged if they are to have any practical hope of overcoming their disadvantage. We cannot offer a piece of the pie without allowing those who receive it the right to eat it. The private sector must be willing to do its share to provide for training, counseling, retraining, and education of the disadvantaged. The educational institutions must do their share to meet the basic needs of the disadvantaged individual, whether through special programs in the schools or on the work sites. The government must do its share to assure the maintenance of the basic rights of each of its citizens. It will not get a full dollar's value in return for each tax dollar spent on funded programs unless it recognizes and encourages programs which improve opportunity and protect against unfair discrimination.

We sense from our own experience to date that we are not able to measure success by a retention rate, but by giving each individual the chance to fail or to succeed. Failure is also a learning process. Each process of learning enriches the individual and provides a better opportunity for success in the future. We must be willing to spend time, effort, and money to help, but we also must have commitment of concern, of understanding, and compassion. We need to and must succeed in this effort on a self-help basis if our graduates are to attain the dignity, freedom, and fulfillment they seek. Let's not react out of fear, but with intelligent objectives and goals. For example, to put a man to work without training or education will pay no returns, but will result in failure both for the company and the individual. The untrained, under-educated applicant must first be analyzed as to the type of training needed, such as work related skills or remedial education, to meet his needs to become a productive employee. Then we must supply the necessary training opportunity to permit him to develop this capability.

Another area we must cover is an awareness training program that will encompass all employees. This is necessary, for people support what they help create. We must recognize the dignity of the individual at every level in every walk of life. Every man has the potential for ideals and motivation. No matter how little education he may have or how humble his background, we must use every resource of every man for the sake of society and the individual. We must let each individual's ethnic identity work for him. We must not attempt to mold him into our own image, for this would destroy him rather than help him to help himself. This is no one way street and will require that all of us be willing to meet the problems that confront us. The private sector must present the opportunity. On the other hand, the individual must present the willingness to help himself by assuming responsibility toward his job and himself. I refer to responsibility and dedication, but we must realize that we cannot impose them. They must come from within the individual. If he has a genuine desire to succeed, the dedication will follow. Our training programs must be staffed by people of compassion who are intensely committed to achieving a brighter and worthwhile future for each individual. These are the conditions that tend to stimulate the desire and thus lead to the growth of the individual. Our basic challenge in such training is to create an environment of acceptance and understanding on the one hand and prepared, responsible, dedicated individuals on the other.

Part Five
New Perspectives

CHAPTER XVI

SO WHAT?

DON A. MORGAN

The objectives of the symposium were achieved--programs addressing the educational needs of mobile and by-passed populations were examined and experts of known achievements in this area were given additional and proper exposure. The permanent literature of education will be enhanced by the publication of these proceedings. If these are, however, the only lasting accomplishments of the symposium, then it has failed.

The system is wrong, as it creates social agencies - including schools - which serve inadequately and unfairly. Much needs to be done about this in terms of educational reform--providing relevant teacher preparation, involving realistically and totally those to be served by educational programs, humanizing what has become too often a dehumanization process, and finally in coming in to grips with underlying causes of failure and not in treating in a "band-aid" fashion the most immediate, visible and politically expeditious symptoms.

The thesis presented here is that progress will be possible only when new concepts of the value of a human being are examined. Particularly, this will require that the role of any human in modern society be examined closely. It will require that we examine the possibility of inventing new purposes for people.

The need for new perspectives on the purposes of people is particularly pressing in technically oriented societies where advances of science applied to production processes have often left pockets of people behind in conditions of seeming irrelevance. The new purposes for people will come not by applying new answers to old questions. They will come from asking entirely different questions from the basis of entirely new assumptions. Pat questions may be infinitely more inhibiting than pat answers.

An old college joke went that professors of economics need never change test questions as the answers keep changing. Acceptability of different answers to old questions is commonplace in societies such as the United States. Indeed changes are demanded by the people. These demands give rise, for example, to seemingly endless style shifts in the outward appearances of cars and women, though little is done with the inner mechanisms of either which are dependent upon basic principles of intake-combustion-exhaust. Accepting new questions, however, is another matter.

Within the context of questions "never" before raised, it is possible that new evaluations of individual worth could be established in terms meaningful to both the individual and society. To do so could require complete re-evaluation of the relationship of people to basic production processes, and it could lead to completely new perspectives of the meaning of consumption and creativity, and a completely new perspective on the worthwhileness of simply being human. The questions of "What is a job?" and "What is work?" must be couched in completely new perspectives. Also the question of "Why

have human beings?" must be asked.

A very articulate young Black, fresh from the Columbia University "rebellion" (sic) and with a master degree in social theory from the same institution the previous spring, was asked in Seattle (where he was attending a conference of Mexican-American educational leaders in an effort to gain their sympathies and support for the Black power movement) just what the goals of young Blacks were. He answered immediately that the question wasn't pertinent; there were no goals for the rebellion as the rebellion itself would produce them. He went on immediately to add, "You must understand that we assume an affluent society! Production will be achieved through the sheer inertia of by-passed people who assume production is still necessary and by machines. We are striving not to build a productive society as this exists but to build a 'creative' society. A human society."

When the question of creativity plus consumption is examined, it may be that the United States is closer to rewarding consumption and creativity than recognized. Consider the example of the American medical doctor. Now it is commonly agreed that the medical doctor is a high status occupation. Also, it is not uncommon for high status to be rewarded by high income. In some cities medical doctors may gross \$125,000-150,000 per year from private practices and net \$50,000-75,000 of this. What is really accomplished to deserve such rewards? First, the human species persisted through great time spans, if Dr. Leakey is to be believed, painfully it is often true, without the aid of medical doctors. Secondly, the prime function of medical doctors is to serve and save individuals, and it is abundantly clear that the earth has a munificence, if not a burden, of individual human being as presently defined and as presently accommodated. Therefore, if the medic is dedicated to save individuals, and it is not certain individuals are what is needed, just what is it that the \$150,000 really buys in terms of social production? The answer is nothing. If not a producer then, as with other non-producers such as welfare recipients, the doctor must be a consumer of as much as \$150,000 while serving in a non-productive capacity. He may be creative, but he is not productive. This is not to suggest the medical doctor is irrelevant. It is to suggest his role has been misunderstood. The creative, consuming society which serves humans and which was yearned for by the young Black quoted earlier is actually being achieved.

The purposes for people in the American society stem in great part from the basic assumptions of the protestant ethic. These assumptions are that work is good, thrift is good, and education is good. The relativity of these assumptions is obscured by the seemingly unyielding yardstick of economic wealth, power and property. This also assumes that there is work enough for all who will, and those not working choose not to do so -- which is just not the case.

This also assumes that those rejecting education or rejected by it are not fit for education while in fact the fitness of the educational processes and not of people ought to be more closely examined. Though there are purposes for people in any existing society, if it is only to be fattened for the next feast or saved for the next ceremony, they stem if not on the whole from an economic system, at least in part from the interplay of economics with other basic social institutions. Nowhere is this more clear than in the United States which sincerely believes education yields better jobs - endlessly.

Applied to all people this also is not true.

The basic social institutions are regarded here as societal responses to certain imperatives. That is, there are some things which society has to do such as feed itself and train new people, the young usually, to carry on culture across the chasm of death. Social responses to imperatives have led to richly diversified systems of economics, political organization, magico-belief-taboo expressions, formal education and the family. These were institutions perfectly geared to only a modicum of change as significant change threatens the status quo. It is suspected that in even primitive times, each social or economic change left certain people behind who became unwitting and sometimes unwilling martyrs to that change. But when change at a rapid rate becomes possible or threatens powerful interests, there is a resistance (cultural lag, it is often called) which then tends to slow the diffusion or acceptance of it, if not to inhibit it completely. The problem now is that changes are occurring so rapidly, that the number of seemingly unavoidable martyrs to change (those left behind) has reached a critical point. It is irrelevant that institutions have a self-preservation mechanism and relevant that the individual left behind, now approaching a sizeable collective minority made up mostly of minority groups and the young, devise new methods of being defined as still pertinent. In short, there has long been an assumption that social institutions in their universality, in an anthropological sense, were relevant, i.e., they were answers to the old questions of how society provides, and it was only necessary to fit new answers to them in accordance with new pressures. This is no longer the case. The adequacy of old questions, i.e., of existing social institutions, whether they be the hallowed university of middle class aspirations or the concept of simple profit taking without thought of consequence (indiscriminate use of pesticides to gain a better crop) is up for grabs. This can get as basic and direct as suggesting to an American businessman, say a dentist, that it is wrong to tie magico-belief-taboo systems dealing with conditions of immortality to the economic system which gives temporal measures of the relevance of people, i.e., the acquisition of economic wealth and power even if "for the good of society" and even by "the honest sweat of the brow" should not be tied with expectations of a better life -- in the "here" as well as in the "hereafter". This remains heresy in the schema of the protestant ethic.

The dominance of this ethic in American society has led to measurements of an individual's worth to that society. The evaluations provided are no longer meaningful to the comparisons provided. There are, for example, many people who appear to be worthless -- non-productive, non-tax paying and, worse, non-striving. They may have been rejected by or have rejected education as pertinent to them, which is not understandable at all by the middle-class which regards education as an investment towards greater, if delayed, productivity and profit taking. However, these seemingly non-productive, etc., people are in fact producing, striving and learning (if not paying taxes) in ways which are incomprehensible to the protestant ethic but which are most meaningful to themselves.

The American success oriented society repeats the mistakes of early European missionaries in darkest Africa. They asked all the pat questions which would allow them to evaluate structure, content and function of western religions (this repeated an earlier analysis of China by missionaries), and determined that there was no religion in tribal Africa - that they were, therefore, dealing with heathens and had an obligation to impose

their own belief systems into the vacuum. Later, anthropologists and other social scientists unravelled enormously complicated belief and mystical systems from the analysis of tribal and individual behavior patterns which suggested a long history existed for infinitely complicated religions still in existence.

Close examination should be made of the relevancy of the process of the American society which judges people inefficient or non-productive. Where people are judged inefficient or non-productive, the usual assumption is that they should be made more efficient or productive by existing standards. The corollary of this assumption is that efficiency and production will be enhanced somehow through the application of more of the magic called education. This may be monumental irrelevance, even within the framework of existing questions. There are strong suggestions that the new purposes required for people will result in their being trained calculatedly to be less efficient and less productive when judged by present evaluations and comparisons. However, if judged by more relevant questions than now exist, it might be found that they are most efficient and productive in terms of what is needed, such as with the American medical doctor, when they consume in the name of service or creativity. This may also require that people be handled or processed in situations which could not now be called educational.

Much of modern education, for example, is actually accomplished outside "school housing" by peers, family or through a broad network of T.V. And as seen at this symposium, there is developing a substantial non-establishment educational network completely separate and distinct from the traditional public and private schools.

Changing the measures of individual worth could allow the inclusion of more people within the basic society at a respect level visible to both society and the individual. It may well be that the measurement of social contribution will change to a point where greatest status will be awarded people who consume (under present limited interpretation of this word) the most rather than those who produce the most. However accomplished, the relevancy of man contributing within present production schemes and acquiring a social role and status as a result must be examined totally. The role of education in this process must also be examined. To do so adequately will require first that new questions be directed toward the reasons for people to exist.

One additional point needs to be stressed. Not only must formal education take new directions, but these new directions must be realistic in terms of recognizing and giving dignity to not only individual but cultural differences. It is not appropriate that all people become exactly like all other people. Therefore it is not appropriate that minorities be trained for cultural as well as economic assimilation. To assume this should be done is patronizing, denigrating and dehumanizing at the onset. Couched usually in an international vein, Americans seem hooked on feeling that if we just get to know somebody better, we will like them better -- but only if they would just act like us. Such utter nonsense. Consider man-wife fights; it is suggested they can be so very bitter simply because the antagonists know each other so very well and really know how to hurt each other. Consider also the desirability of all Americans becoming exactly like the Patagonians -- Americans would not willingly do this and it is unreasonable for us to expect Patagonians or any other kinds of people to automatically want to become like us.

It would seem that the sum of this symposium is that we must learn to articulate, tolerate, appreciate and support differences while simultaneously struggling to aid in the process of an individual achieving dignity and value in this society. To risk oversimplification, but in regards to the populations described often in these papers as the "target population" or those who have been by-passed, it would seem the job is to first get that skinny little five or six year old kid, Black, Brown, Red, Yellow or White, up to the first grade door with enough moral armament and self assurance that when a teacher tells him he is disadvantaged or unwanted and unloved, the kid can look her straight in the eye and say, "You are wrong. I am advantaged, wanted and loved, because I am a dignified human just like you."